Frontispeice

367. c

Vol. 2.



J. Van.r Gucht. Sculp.

Bibliothecæ Sloaniane. A. 296.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY:

WITH

NOTES

Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Critical;

AND

Illuſtrated with COPPER PLATES, MAPS, and a great Number of AUTHENTICK MEDALS.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original FRENCH of

The Rev^d Fathers CATROU and ROUILLÉ.

VOLUME II.

From the Year of ROME CCCLXII. to the Year of ROME DXIV.

To which is prefix'd,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

LONDON:

Printed by J. BETTENHAM,

For T. WOODWARD at the *Half-Moon* over-againſt St. *Dunſtan's* Church in *Fleetſtreet*, and J. PEELE at *Locke's Head* in *Pater-noſter Row*.

M.DCC.XXIX.

A. 787. 296.

THE CONTENTS:

OR,

BRITISH MUSEUM

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

BOOK XIII.

§. 1. *GAUL* was anciently divided into three Parts. The first, which reached from the *British* Sea to the *Seine*, was called (by the *Romans*) GALLIA BELGICA. The second, which comprehended all the Country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne* quite to the *Alpes*, was named GALLIA CELTICA. The third, containing all that Tract of Ground which lies between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees* and the Western Ocean, was called GALLIA AQUITANICA.

The only *Gauls*, who at several times crossed the *Alpes* and settled in *Italy*, were the *Celtæ* or the Inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*. About the Year of *Rome* 160, during the Reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, *Ambigatus* King of the *Celtæ*, finding his Dominions over-stock'd with ungovernable Subjects, sent away vast numbers of them to seek their Fortune under the Command of his two Nephews, *Segovesus* and *Bellovesus*. The former took his Way through *The Hercinian Forest* (of which the present *Black Forest* was but a small Part) and settled in a Canton of *Germany*, ever since called *Bohemia*, or *Boïemia*, from the Word *Boii*, the greatest part of his Followers being of that *Celtic* Nation which was so named. But these being afterwards driven thence by the *Marcomani* or *Sclavonians*, retired into that Country, which lies between the *Inn* and the *Iser*, and which from them took the Name of *Boiaria* or *Bavaria*.

First Invasion of Italy *by the* Gauls.

Bellovesus was followed by great numbers of almost all the other *Celtic* Nations, as well as of the *Boii*. He crossed the *Rhone*, spread his Army over *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, and at length enter'd *Italy*, between the Mountains *Genevre* and *Cenis*. At this time the *Hetrurians* or *Tyrrhenians* possess'd the better part of it. *Bellovesus* having defeated them in a Battel on the Banks of the *Tessin*, drove them before him and took possession of their Lands, each of the Nations which followed him having its distinct Portion of the conquer'd Countries. The *Taurini*, or the Inhabitants of the Mountains on the side of *Gaul*, had *Piedmont*, the Capital of which is *Turin*. Those Inhabitants of *Provence*, who were called *Salyes*, had *Liguria*. The *Libici*, another People of *Provence*, were placed on the North-side of the *Po*, where *Verceil* now is. The *Insubres* or *Burgundians* settled in the fine Country of the *Milanese*, and there built a Town, which they call'd *Mediolanum* (*Milan*) from the name of a little City in the Territory of the *Autunois*, in *Burgundy*. The *Orobii*, who had dwelt on the Banks of the River *Orobis* in the Country now called *Languedoc*, settled in the Territory of *Bergamo*, and built both the City of that Name, and *Como*, but retain'd their old Appellation of *Orobii*. *Bellovesus* seems not to have carried his Conquests farther than this, nor to have brought into *Italy* all the Nations which had engaged to follow him.

Second Invaſion. A ſecond Irruption into *Italy* was made by the *Cænomani*, (or thoſe People of *Gallia Celtica* who dwelt between the mouths of the *Seine*, and the *Loire*) under the Conduct of one *Elitouis*. He was probably followed likewiſe by the *Bretons* of *Vannes* and the *Carnutes*. Theſe new Adventurers are ſaid to have been tempted to croſs the *Alpes* by the Wine which *Belloveſus* ſent them. The *Gauls* were at this time almoſt perfect Strangers to Wine; nay, ſo late as the Time of *Julian The Apoſtate* there was none made in *France*, at leaſt in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*. The *Cænomani* ſettled North-eaſt of the *Inſubres*, and poſſeſs'd the preſent *Breſciano*, *Cremoneſe*, and *Mantua*, on the North-ſide of the *Po*. The *Veneti*, or the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, ſettled more Eaſtward on the Borders of the *Adriatic* Gulph, and the Country ſtill retains the Name of *Venetia*, which it received from them. As for the *Carnutes*, they ſteer'd farther North, and took poſſeſſion of the Territory call'd from them *Carniola*. Year of *ROME*

Third Invaſion. It is uncertain from what Part of *Gaul* the *Læves* (or *Lævi*) and the *Ananes* (or *Anamares*) came, who made the third Irruption into *Italy*; but the Hiſtorians agree, that the *Lævi* ſeized the Country of *Novarra* on the North-ſide the *Po*, and that the *Ananes* ſettled in the Neighbourhood of *Placenza* on the South-ſide of that River.

Fourth Invaſion. The fourth Tranſmigration of *Gauls* into *Italy* was, when the *Boii* and *Lingones* paſſed the *Alpes Penninæ*, or Mount St. *Godard*, and ſettled on the South-ſide of the *Po*, between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*.

The *Hetrurians* being driven out of their old Habitations by theſe Inundations of Strangers, paſs'd the *Apennines*, and retired into that Country which has been ever ſince call'd *Hetruria*, or *Tuſcany*. It was divided into twelve *Lucumonies*, and reach'd from the *Arno*, to the *Tyber*; being bounded to the North, by the *Apennines*; and to the South, by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. And we are not told, that the *Hetrurians* were any more diſturb'd by the *Celtæ*, from the Year of *Rome* 156 to the Year 356.

Fifth Invaſion. It was 200 Years after the Invaſion by *Belloveſus*, that the *Senones*, whoſe Capital City was *Sens*, and who poſſeſs'd that Part of *Gaul* which lies between *Paris* and *Meaux*, made a fifth Irruption into *Italy*, which was occaſion'd by the following Accident.

Arunx, one of the chief Men of *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*, had been Tutor to a young *Lucumo* (or Lord of a *Lucumony*) whom he had educated in his own Houſe from his Infancy. The *Lucumo*, as ſoon as he was of an Age to be capable of a Paſſion, fell in love with his Tutor's Wife, and upon the firſt Diſcovery of their Intrigue, convey'd her away. *Arunx* endeavour'd to obtain Reparation of Honour; but the *Lucumo*, having more Money, and more Intereſt in his Country, triumph'd over the Complaints of his Tutor; ſo that the latter, finding no Protectors in *Hetruria*, reſolv'd to make his Application to the *Gauls*. Of all the *Celtic* Nations the *Senones* were the People to whom he choſe to addreſs himſelf; and in order to engage them to revenge his Quarrel, he boaſted much of the great Plenty of *Italy*, and made them taſte of ſome *Italian* Wines. A numerous Army of theſe *Gauls* was immediately form'd, who, under the Conduct of their *Hetrurian* Leader, paſs'd the *Alpes*, and without diſturbing the *Celtæ* in *Italy*, fell down upon *Umbria*, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum*, including the preſent Duchy of *Urbino*. They were about ſix Years in ſettling themſelves, whilſt the *Romans* were beſieging *Veii*. At length, in the Year of *Rome* 362, *Arunx* brings the *Senones* before *Cluſium*, in order to beſiege that Place, where his Wife and her Lover have ſhut themſelves up.

31ſt Military Tribuneſhip. §. 2. The *Roman* Republick was now govern'd by ſix military Tribunes, *L. Lucretius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, *M. Æmilius*, *L. Furius*, *Agr. Furius*, and *C. Æmilius*. Two of theſe are order'd to march againſt the *Volſinienſes*, and two others againſt the *Salpinates*; for both theſe Nations of *Hetruria* had taken Arms againſt *Rome*. The former are entirely defeated; and learning more Prudence by their Loſſes, demand a Truce from the *Romans*, which is granted for twenty Years upon Conditions. The *Salpinates* are ſo terrified by the Defeat of the *Volſinienſes*, that they dare not appear in the Field, but leave their Country open to be pillaged. §. 3. At this time one *Cæditius*, a Man of the meaneſt ſort, pretends to have heard a miraculous Voice, which pronounced diſtinctly theſe Words, *Go to the Magiſtrates, and tell them, The* Gauls *draw near*. But notwithſtanding this Warning, and the daily Conqueſts made by the *Gauls*, the *Romans* appear plainly to have had no Apprehenſion of any Danger from them, by their manner of treating the great *Camillus*; their only General capable of making Head againſt ſuch formidable Neighbours. The People's Gratitude for his important Services cannot counterbalance their Reſentment againſt him, for having refuſed to let them plunder ſome conquer'd Cities, and for having obliged them to give up a Part of the Booty taken at *Veii*. *Apuleius*, one of the *Tribunes of the People*, undertakes to accuſe him before the *Comitia by Tribes*. His Accuſation relates to ſome Spoils taken from the *Hetrurians*, which *Camillus* is ſaid to have applied to his own Uſe, and particularly a Braſs Door brought from *Veii*. *Camillus*, during the twenty ſeven Days allow'd him to prepare for 362.

Year of *ROME* for his Tryal, aſſembles his Friends, Clients, former Collegues, *&c.* and asks them whether they will give him up defenceleſs to his unjuſt Accuſers. His Friends, not finding themſelves ſtrong enough to protect him, can only promiſe to pay the Fine which ſhall be laid upon him: So that *Camillus* having too great a Soul to bear the Affront of a publick Condemnation, goes into a voluntary Baniſhment. ('Tis ſaid, that when he came to the Gate of *Rome*, through which he was to paſs, he turned towards the Capitol, and prayed to the Gods, *That if he were innocent they would make* Rome *lament the Loſs of him.* But both this Story, and that of the *miraculous Voice*, ſeem to have been invented by the Hiſtorians to embelliſh their Relations of the great Events which ſoon follow'd.) *Camillus* purſues his Journey to *Ardea*, and in his Abſence is fined 15000 Aſſes of Braſs for Contumacy. This Sum, tho' ſmall, was all he could be charged with having embezzel'd of the publick Treaſure. §. 4. *Camillus* is no ſooner gone, than Envoys arrive from the *Cluſini* to implore the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, againſt the *Senones*, who beſieged their City. The Senate, being unwilling to engage in an open War with a Nation which had never offended *Rome*, ſend three Ambaſſadors, all Brothers, of the Name of *Fabius*, to mediate a Peace between the *Cluſini*, and *Gauls*. The *Fabii* exhort the latter to raiſe the Siege of *Cluſium*, and thus expoſtulate with them: *What Injury*, ſay they, *have the* Cluſini *done you? and what Pretence have you for invading their Lands?* Upon this the Commander of the *Gauls* burſts out into a loud Laughter. *Is it not reaſon enough to begin a War*, ſays he, *that other People poſſeſs Lands which lie very conveniently for us. They have more Ground than they can cultivate; and this is an Injury to us. What other Motives had you yourſelves*, Romans, *to conquer ſo many Nations your Neighbours? Not that we accuſe you of Injuſtice; but it is evident, that you thought this to be the prime and moſt ancient of all Laws, to make the weak give way to the ſtrong. Forbear therefore to intereſt yourſelves for the* Cluſini, *or allow us to intereſt ourſelves for the Cities which you have ſubdued.* This haughty Anſwer leaving the *Roman* Ambaſſadors no Hopes of negotiating a Peace; and they being deſirous to ſee the Bravery of the *Gauls*, and their Way of fighting, adviſe the *Cluſini* to make frequent Sallies. The *Fabii* at firſt deſign only to be Spectators; but being young, and Men of Spirit, they at length put themſelves at the Head of the beſieged, and ſally with them. *Quintus Fabius* one Day engages with a *Gaul* in ſingle Combat, in preſence of the two Armies, and kills him; and while he is ſtripping his Adverſary, *Brennus*, the General of the *Gauls*, diſcovers the Conqueror to be one of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors. The Report ſpreads through the Army of the *Senones*: They call the Gods to witneſs the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Romans*, and their Violation of the Law of Nations. *Brennus* immediately ſounds a Retreat; a Council of War is held, in which the hotteſt are for marching inſtantly to *Rome*; but the more moderate prevail to have an Embaſſy firſt ſent, requiring the Republick to deliver up both him who ſlew the *Gaul*, and the two other Ambaſſadors his Brothers. The *Roman* Senate is perplex'd between their Regard for the Law of Nations and their Affection for the *Fabii*; and, to extricate themſelves, refer the Affair to the People aſſembled *by Curiæ*. And the *Fabian* Family being *popular*, the People are ſo far from condemning the Three Brothers, that at the next Election of
363. Military Tribunes, *Q. Fabius*, *Cæſo Fabius* and *Caius Fabius* are the firſt choſen; to them are added *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*. §. 5. The Ambaſſadors of the *Gauls* look upon the Promotion of the *Fabii* as an high Affront to their Nation, leave *Rome* in a Rage, and inſpire their Countrymen with the ſame; ſo that the *Senones* advance towards *Rome* with all Expedition. All Orders of Men in the Republick ſeem intoxicated. The *Fabii* govern all; and, imagining the lucky Stroke given to a ſingle *Gaul* to be a ſure Prognoſtick of Victory over the whole Nation, neglect the uſual Precautions. The Levies are only of young Men, little inured to War. No Auguries are conſulted, nor the cuſtomary Sacrifices offer'd to the Gods. The Troops march out, and encamp ſixty *Stadia* from *Rome* on the Banks of the *Allia* where it falls into the *Tyber*. The whole *Roman* Army conſiſts, according to ſome, but of 40000 Men; but, according to others, of all the Forces of the Republick. The *Gauls* are 70000 ſtrong, and *Brennus* by his maſterly Conduct gains a complete Victory, on *The 15th of the Calends of Auguſt*; a Day ever after reckon'd unlucky by the *Romans*, and upon which no Enterpriſe was to be begun. The greater part of the *Romans* who fly from the Battel chooſe rather to take Refuge at *Veii* than at *Rome*; ſo that the few who return thither fill it with Terror; it being thought in the City that the reſt are all cut off. The next Day after the Battel, *Brennus* marches his Troops into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and encamps on the Banks of the *Anio*. Thither his Scouts bring him word that the City is defenceleſs, its Gates open, and not a *Roman* to be ſeen on the Ramparts. *Brennus* ſuſpects an Ambuſcade, it being unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the *Romans* wou'd abandon their City to be plunder'd and ſack'd without making any Reſiſtance. This Apprehenſion makes him ſlow in advancing, and this Dilatorineſs gives the *Romans* time to breathe, to fortify the Capitol, and to fill it with all the Youth

Camillus *goes into* Baniſhment.

32*d Military Tribuneſhip.*

Romans *defeated by the* Gauls *on the Banks of the* Allia.

Youth able to bear Arms and the braveſt of the Senators. Some of the Women are at their own earneſt Requeſt admitted into the Citadel; but the greater part eſcape over the Bridge *Sublicius*, and fly for Refuge to the neighbouring Cities. The *Veſtals*, before they leave *Rome*, hide every thing appropriated to the Gods, and which they cannot carry off, under ground. The two *Palladiums* and the ſacred Fire they take with them. When they come to the *Janiculus*, one *Albinius* a *Plebeian*, who is conveying his Wife and Children in a Carriage to a Place of Safety, ſeeing the ſacred Virgins bending under their Loads and their Feet bloody, makes his Family alight, puts the Prieſteſſes and their Gods into the Carriage, and conducts them to *Cære*, a City of *Hetruria*, where they meet with a favourable Reception. (And becauſe the Veſtals remain'd at *Cære* and continued to perform the Rites of Religion there, thoſe Rites were thence call'd CEREMONIES.) Year of *ROME*

§. 6. But whilſt the reſt of the Citizens at *Rome* are providing for their Safety, about fourſcore of the moſt illuſtrious and venerable old Men, rather than fly from their native Country, or carry ſo many uſeleſs Mouths into the Capitol, chooſe to die honourably. And in order thereto they *devote themſelves* to the tutelary Gods of *Rome*, by a Vow which *Fabius* the *Pontifex* pronounces in their Names: (The Gods were thought by the Pagans to be appeas'd by ſuch *Devotements*.) Of theſe brave old Men ſome were *Pontifices*, others had been *Conſuls*, and others Generals of Armies, who had been honour'd with Triumphs. They prepare to complete their Sacrifice with a Solemnity and Pomp, becoming the Magnanimity and Conſtancy of *Romans*. They dreſs themſelves in their reſpective *Pontifical*, *Conſular*, and Triumphal Robes, are carried to the *Forum*, and there ſeat themſelves in their *Curule Chairs*, holding their Truncheons in their Hands. In this manner they wait the coming of the *Gauls*. At length *Brennus*, the fourth Day after the Battel, enters the City by the Gate *Collina*. *Rome* ſeems to be intirely deſerted. However he advances with Caution, and comes at length to the *Forum*, where he is ſtruck with Admiration at the Sight of the fourſcore old Men, whoſe Majeſty, Silence, Modeſty, with the Magnificence of their Habits and Seats, make him take them for ſo many Deities. The *Romans*, motionleſs as Statues, ſee the Enemy advance without changing Countenance, or ſhewing any Concern, at the Approach of Death. The *Gauls* at firſt keep at an awful Diſtance, but at length grow more familiar with the Objects of their Admiration. One of them comes up to *M. Papirius*, and gently ſtrokes his Beard; an Offence not very heinous, yet *Roman* Pride cannot brook it. *Papirius* gives the *Gaul* a ſevere Stroke with his Batoon, and wounds him in the Head. Upon this, Rage and Revenge get the better of Admiration and Aſtoniſhment. The Idols are overthrown, and the devoted Victims receive the Death they ſeek. After this, the *Gauls* ſet no Bounds to their Fury, and the City is reduced to Aſhes. *Brennus*, by the Help of the *Tortoiſe*, endeavours to ſcale the *Capitol*; but is ſo ſeverely repuls'd, that he forbears the like Attempt any more. The Siege of the Citadel is turn'd into a Blockade, and *Brennus* hopes to reduce the *Romans* by Famine. In the mean time his own Army is diſtreſs'd for want of Proviſions. He ſends out Parties to pillage the Fields, and to raiſe Contributions from the Cities round about. And happily for the *Romans* a Party of theſe Pillagers appears before *Ardea*. §. 7. The great *Camillus* had now ſpent two Years there in a private Life; and notwithſtanding the Affront he had receiv'd at *Rome*, his Love for his Country was not in the leaſt diminiſhed. The Senate of *Ardea* being met to deliberate on the Meaſures to be taken with regard to the *Gauls*, *Camillus* goes thither, and perſuades them to arm their Youth in their own Defence, and to revenge the Cauſe of *Rome*. He marches out at the Head of the *Ardeates*, ſurpriſes a Party of the *Gauls* aſleep and full of Wine, and makes a terrible Slaughter of them. This Defeat of the Enemy revives the Courage of the *Romans* ſcatter'd about the Country, and eſpecially of thoſe who had retired to *Veii*, after the Battel of the *Allia*; and they are all earneſt to have *Camillus* at their Head. §. 8. In the mean time the *Capitol* is cloſely inveſted, and the Avenues ſtrictly guarded. Nevertheleſs one *Fabius Dorſo*, being obliged on a certain Day to perform a Sacrifice to the tutelar Gods of his Family, and the Hill *Quirinalis* being the only Place where this Sacrifice can regularly be perform'd; *Fabius*, when the Day comes, dreſſes himſelf like a Sacrificer, comes out of the *Capitol*, carrying his Gods, *&c.* The *Gauls*, out of a Regard to Religion, ſuffer him to paſs to the Place appointed, and to return in Safety to the Citadel, after he has offer'd his Sacrifice. §. 9. As for the *Romans*, ever ſince the Advantage gain'd by *Camillus* over the *Gauls*, they have been eagerly bent on revenging the Cauſe of *Rome*. They are about 20000 ſtrong in *Veii*, and have one *Cæditius*, a private *Centurion*, for their Leader; but he not being a Man fit to make Head againſt *Brennus*, they turn their Thoughts on *Camillus*; and even *Cæditius* himſelf conſents to reſign the Command of the Troops to him. A Deputation is accordingly ſent to *Camillus*; but he abſolutely declines the Generalſhip till the People, aſſembled *by Curiæ*, ſhall have confer'd it on him. The publick Authority was now in the Hands of thoſe

Rome *burnt*.

Year of *ROME* who defended the Citadel, and the Difficulty was how to find a Way thither thro' the *Gauls* who inveſted it. In this Perplexity one *Pontius Cominius*, a Man of mean Birth, but bold, and ambitious of Glory, undertakes the difficult Affair. He puts on a light Habit, provides himſelf with *Cork*, and in the Beginning of the Night throws himſelf into the *Tyber* above *Rome*. The Stream carries him undiſcover'd to the Foot of the Capitol; and at a very ſteep Place, where the *Gauls* had placed no Centinels, he mounts with difficulty, makes himſelf known to the Guard, is brought before the Magiſtrates, and declares his Commiſſion. The *Curiæ* are aſſembled, the Act of *Camillus*'s Condemnation is repeal'd, and he is nominated Di-
363. ctator. *Cominius* returns with the ſame good Fortune, fills *Veii* with Joy, and the *Romans* there confirm the Decree of the Senate, and think of nothing now but fetching him from *Ardea*. It was a Defect in point of Form to have named him Dictator in his Abſence, but the Neceſſities of the State made this excuſable.
§. 10. Whilſt the *Romans* are going to *Ardea* for their new General, the *Gauls*, as they are rambling round the Capitol, perceive the Print of a Man's Hand and Feet on the Side of the Hill, and that the Ground is freſh broken up in ſeveral Places. Hence they conjecture, that ſome body has lately gone up and come down from the Citadel. The thing is reported to *Brennus*, and he immediately forms a Deſign of ſcaling the Capitol in the ſame Place where *Cominius* had paſſed. He chooſes out a Body of brave Men, who are to mount the Hill two and two, that they may ſupport one another. They proceed with ſuch profound Silence, that their Approach is not perceived either by the Centinels on Guard, or even by the Dogs, Animals which uſually the leaſt Noiſe awakes. But they could not eſcape the Vigilance of the Geeſe. A Flock of theſe Birds was kept on the Capitol in Honour to *Juno*, and near her Temple. Their Lives had been ſpared out of Religion, notwithſtanding the Scarcity of Proviſions in the Garriſon. By their cackling and beating their Wings they awaken *Manlius*. He ſounds the Alarm, runs to the Rampart, and finds two *Gauls* already mounted on it. One of them lifts up his Battel-axe to ſtrike him, but *Manlius* with his Sabre cuts off his right Arm, and giving the other a ſtrong Puſh with his Buckler, tumbles him down from the Wall. He in his Fall bears down many others with him, and in a word the *Gauls* are driven back again with Loſs.

Camillus *nominated Dictator by the* Romans *in the Capitol.*

Manlius *ſaves the Capitol.*

It was the Cuſtom not to ſuffer any laudable Action to go unrewarded. Accordingly, the next Morning, *Sulpicius*, the Military Tribune, aſſembles the Troops, in order to beſtow the military Rewards on thoſe who had deſerved them. *Manlius* is firſt named, and in Acknowledgment of his important Services, every Soldier gives him a Part of the Corn he receiv'd ſparingly from the publick Stock, and a Meaſure of Wine of about five Ounces. The next thing to be done is to puniſh the negligent. The Captain of the Guard is condemn'd to die, and is immediately thrown headlong from the top of the Capitol. (Nay, the *Romans* extended their Rewards and Puniſhments even to the Geeſe and Dogs. The former were ever after held in honour at *Rome*, and a Flock of them was always kept at the publick Expence. A golden Image of a Gooſe was ſet up in Memory of their Service, and a Gooſe was every year carried in Triumph on a ſoft Litter finely adorn'd; whilſt thoſe dumb Guards the Dogs were held in Abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every year impaled one of them alive on a Branch of Elder.) §. 11. The Blockade of the Capitol having now continued between ſix and ſeven Months, the Famine begins to be ſenſibly felt by both the Beſieged and Beſiegers. The latter dare no longer keep the Field, while *Camillus* is at the Head of a *Roman* Army: A Contagion ſpreads itſelf in their Camp, and the Infection is increaſed by their burning inſtead of burying their Dead. [So great a Number of the *Gauls* died in one Quarter of the City, that it was ever after call'd *Buſta Gallica*, or *The Funeral Place of the Gauls*.] The *Romans* however in the Capitol are more pinched with Want than their Enemies, and are reduced to ſuch Extremities, that they find it neceſſary to capitulate; and the *Gauls*, being weary of the Siege, make no great difficulty to come to Terms. In a Conference between *Sulpicius* and *Brennus*, an Agreement is made and ſworn to. The *Romans* are to pay the *Gauls* the Value of about 45000 Pounds Sterling, and the latter are to quit *Rome* and all the *Roman* Territories. On the Day appointed *Sulpicius* brings the Sum ſtipulated, and *Brennus* preſents Scales and Weights (for there were no Gold or Silver Coins at that time; Metals paſſed by Weight.) 'Tis ſaid to the Shame of the *Gauls*, that their Weights were falſe and their Scales untrue. *Sulpicius* complains of them, upon which *Brennus* in a Rage throws his Sword and Belt into the Scale where the Weights are. And when the Tribune asks the Meaning of that Procedure, the *Gaul* haughtily replies, *'Tis to make you ſenſible how miſerable a thing it is to be conquer'd.* *Sulpicius* is ſtung with this Anſwer, and is in a doubt with himſelf, whether he ſhall not break off the Treaty, when *Camillus* (who had left his Army without the City with orders to march ſlowly after him) appears on a ſudden at the Place of Parley, and cries out, *Take away theſe Inſtruments of an infamous Traffick.* Rome *muſt not be redeemed with Money*,

Camillus *ſurpriſes* Brennus,

and drives the Gauls *from* Rome.

Money, but by the Sword. To which the *Gauls* anſwer, *The Convention is confirmed by mutual Oaths. Be it ſo,* replies *Camillus, yet it is of no Force, having been made by an inferior Magiſtrate, without the Privity or Conſent of the Dictator. I, who am inveſted with the ſupreme Authority over the* Romans, *declare all Treaties made to the Diſhonour of* Rome *null; and I declare War againſt you.* A Battel enſues, the *Gauls* are worſted, and the Night following leave *Rome*, and encamp three Leagues from it in the Way to *Gabii*. The *Romans* purſue them, give them a ſecond Overthrow, and thereby put an End to this War, ſo remarkable for many extraordinary Circumſtances. §. 12. But the Glory of *Camillus*, who is ſtiled a ſecond *Romulus* and *the Deliverer of his Country*, excites the Envy and Jealouſy of the *Tribunes of the People*. They revive therefore an old Quarrel, which the preſent Circumſtances make it eaſier for them to maintain. They had formerly propoſed a Law for dividing the Senate and Government between the Cities of *Rome* and *Veii*; and now they are for entirely deſerting their old ruin'd City, and making *Veii* the ſole Seat of the Government; and the People are inclined to favour this Project. For tho' *Camillus* has cauſed the chief Temples of the Gods to be rebuilt, and has erected a new one in Honour to that unknown Divinity, (for whom they coined the Name of *Aius Locutius*) who had revealed the Approach of the *Gauls* to *Cœditius*; yet when the private Houſes come to be rebuilt, it is found a difficult Undertaking. The publick Treaſure is exhauſted, the People have been plunder'd and impoveriſh'd, and their bodily Strength is diminiſh'd: This gives them a Reluctance to ſo laborious a Work, and the Tribunes of the People are thereby embolden'd to utter ſeditious Harangues againſt *Camillus*, as a Man too ambitious of being the Reſtorer of *Rome*; and they inſinuate, that the Name of *Romulus*, which had been given him, threatens the Republick with a new King. §. 13. But the Senators take the Part of *Camillus*; and being deſirous to ſee *Rome* rebuilt, continue him a whole Year in the Dictatorſhip. He makes it his whole Buſineſs to extinguiſh that headſtrong Inclination in the People to remove to *Veii*. Having aſſembled the *Curiæ*, he expoſtulates with them upon the Matter, and by Arguments drawn from Prudence, Religion and Glory, prevails on them to lay aſide all Thoughts of leaving *Rome*, and to reſolve to recover their native City from its Ruins. It is neceſſary to have this Reſolution of the People confirm'd by the Senate; and the Dictator therefore reports it to the Conſcript Fathers, leaving every Man at free liberty to vote according to his Judgment. But when *Lucretius* (who is to ſpeak firſt) is juſt ready to begin, it happens that a Centurion, who, having been upon Guard, is marching off with his Men, cries out to them, *Stop here.* And theſe Words being heard to the Place where the Council is ſitting, they are conſider'd as dictated by the Gods themſelves. *Lucretius* takes occaſion from them to urge the Neceſſity of continuing at *Rome*, and in ſhort a Decree is unanimouſly paſs'd by both Senate and People for rebuilding the City. But tho' the *Tribunes of the People* are defeated by *Camillus* in this point, they reſolve to exerciſe their Authority againſt another Patrician, who had indeed deſerved Puniſhment. This is *Q. Fabius*, who, by his Violation of the Law of Nations, and by his killing the *Gaul* in ſingle Combat, had brought ſo many Misfortunes upon *Rome*. His Crime is notorious, and he is cited to appear; but he dies ſo opportunely to avoid a Condemnation, that he is ſuſpected of having kill'd himſelf. *Camillus* cloſes the Year by laying down his Dictatorſhip. An *Inter-regnum* enſues, during which he governs the State alternately with *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and it falls to his lot to preſide at the Election of new Magiſtrates. §. 14. The ſix new Military Tribunes are *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginius Tricoſtus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Poſthumius Albinus*. Their firſt Care is to collect what Remains can be found of the Laws of the Kings and of the Twelve Tables, which had been written on Braſs, and fixed up in the *Forum*; and as the Treaties made with ſeveral Nations had been engraven on Pillars erected in the Temples, Search is likewiſe made after thoſe precious Monuments, and what cannot be found is ſupply'd by Memory. The Pontifices on their part take care to re-eſtabliſh the Ceremonies of Religion, and to make a Liſt of lucky and unlucky Days, *&c.*

Year of ROME

Camillus *continued Dictator.*

364.

33d Military Tribuneſhip.

365.

And now the Governours of the Republick apply themſelves wholly to rebuild the City. As the Workmen are digging among the Aſhes of the Temple of *Mars*, *Romulus*'s Augural Staff is there found unburnt; and this is look'd upon as a Prodigy, from whence the *Romans* infer that their City ſhall continue for ever. The Expence of rebuilding private Houſes is partly defrayed out of the publick Treaſure, and the *Ædiles* have the Direction of the Works. But they have ſo little Taſte for Order and Beauty, that the City, when rebuilt, is even leſs regular than in the Time of *Romulus*. (And tho' in *Auguſtus*'s Time, when *Rome* was become the Capital of the World, the Temples, Palaces and private Houſes were more magnificent than before, yet theſe Decorations did not rectify the Fault of the Plan.) [*The fabulous Story of the* Romans *throwing all the Men in* Rome *above ſixty Years of Age over the Bridge into the* Tyber, *whence the Expreſſion of* Depontani Senes.]

Year of ROME

§. 15. But before *Rome* has recover'd her Loſſes, ſhe is terribly alarm'd by the News, that all her Neighbours are combining to her Deſtruction. The *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, the *Hetrurians*, and even her old Allies the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The Republick under this Terror nominates *Camillus* Dictator a third time, and he appoints *C. Servilius* to be his General of Horſe. [*The fabulous Story of* Tutela *or* Philotis, *and of the Inſtitution of the Feſtival of the Wild Fig-tree.* Vide p. 32.] *Camillus* gathers together all the youth left in the City, and divides the new Levies into three Bodies. He orders one of them to encamp under the Walls of *Rome*, and *A. Manlius* to be General of it. The ſecond he ſends into the Neighbourhood of *Veii*; and marches himſelf at the Head of the Third to the Succour of the Tribunes, who are ſtreightly beſieged by the united *Volſci* and *Latins*. He finds the Enemy encamped near *Lanuvium* on the Declivity of the Hill *Marcius*, poſts himſelf behind the Hill, and by lighting Fires gives the diſtreſſed *Romans* notice of his being come to their Relief. The *Volſci* and *Latins*, when they underſtand that *Camillus* is at the Head of the *Roman* Army newly arriv'd, are terrified and ſhut themſelves up within their Entrenchments, which they fortify with great Trees cut down in haſte. The Dictator obſerving that this Barrier is of green Wood, and that there aroſe a Wind every Morning, which would blow the Smoke on the Beſieged, if the Wood were ſet on fire, orders one Part of his Army to go at Break of Day with Fire-brands to the Windward ſide of the Camp, and the other to make a briſk Attack on the oppoſite ſide Sword in hand. By this Stratagem the Enemy are entirely defeated, and their Camp taken. *Camillus* gives the Booty to the Soldiers, which is the more agreeable, becauſe unexpected from the rigid Dictator. Then leaving his Son in the Camp to guard the Priſoners, he enters the Country of the *Æqui*, and takes their Capital City *Bola*. Thence he penetrates into the Territory of the *Volſci*, and entirely ſubdues this untractable People, after they have harraſs'd the Republick with continual Hoſtilities for more than 107 Years. Nor is the Dictator yet ſatisfied. He marches into *Hetruria* to the Relief of *Sutri* a Town in that Country in Alliance with *Rome*, and beſieged by the *Hetrurians*. The Place has capitulated before he comes, and the Inhabitants have obtained nothing but their Lives, and the Clothes on their Backs. In this deſtitute Condition they are going to ſeek new Habitations, when *Camillus* meets them, bids the Women dry up their Tears, and promiſes to transfer their Sorrows to the Enemy. In a word, he ſurpriſes the *Hetrurians*, who are wholly employ'd in plundering and feaſting, and makes an incredible number of Priſoners. The City, twice taken in one Day, is immediately reſtored to its old Inhabitants. And now the great *Camillus* enters *Rome* in Triumph a third time, and his Glory eclipſes that of all his Rivals. His three laſt Exploits, perform'd in ſo ſhort a time, make Envy itſelf ſilent. In his Dictatorſhip the City is rebuilt and repeopled. Thoſe *Romans*, who had retired to *Veii*, are ordered on Pain of Death to return to their old Habitations by a certain Day; ſo that *Rome* in a Year's time makes as good a Figure as before.

Rome *rebuilt.*

366. §. 16. The Republick chooſes ſix new Military Tribunes, *Q. Quinctius*, *Q. Servius*, *L. Julius*, *L. Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *Ser. Sulpicius*; and under them Affairs proſper abroad. The Country of the *Æqui* is laid waſte; and two Cities, *Cortuoſa* and *Contenebra*, are taken from the *Hetrurians*.

34*th Military Tribuneſhip.*

And now the *Tribunes of the People*, who have been for ſome time quiet, endeavour to revive the old Quarrel about the Diſtribution of Lands, on occaſion of the *Pomptin* Territory, a new Conqueſt which the Patricians have appropriated to themſelves. But this is an ill choſen time, for ſuch a Project; becauſe the Citizens are ſo drained, that they have not enough left for the Expence of cultivating new Farms, and ſtocking them with Cattel; accordingly the People take little notice of the Harangues of their *Tribunes*. The Military Tribunes for this Year, upon ſome Scruple concerning the Validity of their Election, voluntarily lay down their Offices,

367. and after a ſhort *Inter-regnum* ſix new ones are choſen. §. 17. Theſe are *L. Papirius*, *C. Sergius*, *L. Æmilius*, *L. Menenius*, *L. Valerius*, and *C. Cornelius*. And their Year being a Year of Peace, it is ſpent in Works of Peace. To the twenty one *Tribes* are added four new ones, *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina* and *Narnienſis*; and theſe are placed beyond the *Tyber*. The People are now at leiſure to liſten to the ſeditious Harangues of their *Tribunes*, concerning the Diſtribution of the conquer'd Lands. However, which is ſtrange, no popular Faction ariſes. §. 18. The Expectation of a War induces the Centuries to chooſe *Camillus* one of the *Military Tribunes* for the next Year. The Collegues, appointed him, are *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius*, and *P. Valerius*, all Men of Moderation, who know how to do themſelves and *Camillus* Juſtice. In full Senate they transfer their Authority into his Hands, and leave to him the ſole Management of the War, ſo that he is in effect Dictator. The Republick had deſign'd to turn her Arms againſt the *Hetrurians*; but this Deſign is alter'd upon the News, that the *Antiates* have enter'd the *Pomptin* Territory in Arms, and obliged the *Romans* who had taken

35*th Military Tribuneſhip.*

Four new Tribes.

368.

36*th Military Tribuneſhip.*

Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion of it to quit it. *Camillus* allots each of his Collegues a different Employment ſuitable to his Rank, and joins *Valerius* with himſelf in the Command of the Army, which is to march againſt the *Antiates*; but *Valerius* refuſes to be upon an equal Foot with *Camillus*, *You ſhall be my Dictator*, ſays he, *and I will ſerve under you as your General of Horſe.* The *Latins* and *Hernici* had joined the *Antiates* near *Satricum*. So that the *Roman* Soldiers, when they come within ſight of the Enemy, are terrified at their Numbers, which *Camillus* underſtanding, mounts his Horſe, rides through the Ranks, puts his Men in mind that theſe are the ſame *Latins* and *Volſci* whom they had ſo often vanquiſh'd, and that he is the ſame *Camillus* who had led them ſo often on to Victory. He then diſmounts, takes the next Standard-bearer by the Hand, and leads him towards the Enemy, crying out at the ſame time, *Soldiers advance.* A Battel enſues, in which the Enemy are entirely overthrown. The *Latins* and *Hernici* ſeparate from the *Volſci*, and return home. The latter fly for Refuge to *Satricum*; but *Camillus* comes before it, and carries it by Aſſault. He then leaves his Army under the Command of *Valerius*, and returns to *Rome* to ſollicit the Senate's Conſent, and get things neceſſary for undertaking the Siege of *Antium*; but while he is propoſing this Affair to the Conſcript Fathers, Deputies arrive from *Nepete* and *Sutri*, (two Cities in Alliance with *Rome*, and which are in a manner its Bulwark, as well as the Keys of *Hetruria*) demanding Succours againſt the *Hetrurians*. *Camillus* is order'd to their Relief, and the Troops aſſign'd him are thoſe which *Servilius* had commanded in *Rome*, and kept in a readineſs in caſe of any Emergency. He marches, finds *Sutri* almoſt taken, and recovers it. *Nepete* had ſurrender'd voluntarily to the *Hetrurians*, and the Inhabitants ſeem better affected to them than to the *Romans*. He is forced therefore to bring his Troops againſt this faithleſs City; he takes it by Aſſault, puts the Garriſon to the Sword, and condemns the Authors of the Revolt to ſuffer by the Axes of the Lictors. But tho' this Campaign has been diſtinguiſh'd by Victory and Conqueſts, yet no Triumph follows, which is to be aſcribed to the Modeſty of the General. He declines an Honour which he cannot ſhare with his Collegues, to whoſe Moderation and Eſteem for him he is ſo much indebted for his Glory. §. 19. But as well eſtabliſh'd as *Camillus*'s Reputation is, he has a Rival at *Rome*. *M. Manlius Capitolinus* is not only uneaſy to ſee his Glory obſcur'd by that of *Camillus*, but his Ambition carries him to aſpire at an abſolute Dominion in the Republick. To this end he attempts to gain the People, by making himſelf the univerſal Patron and Protector of the poor Debtors. However in this fourth *Tribuneſhip* of *Camillus* he does not let his Deſign appear ſo manifeſtly as afterwards. The latter, before his Year expires, ſummons the *Latins* and *Hernici* to anſwer for their paſt Conduct. They had given but too plain Proofs of Unfaithfulneſs; nevertheleſs they make a plauſible Excuſe, and the Senate readily receive it, being unwilling to multiply Enemies at this Juncture. §. 20. The ſucceeding Adminiſtration of *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *T. Quinctius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Papirius*, and *C. Sergius*, ſeeming leſs formidable to the factious *Manlius* than the former one; he openly vents his Spleen againſt *Camillus*, complaining that his Collegues had been only his Subalterns in the laſt Adminiſtration, and declares that he owes his greateſt Glory to him. *For he had never recover'd* Rome, adds he, *out of the Hands of the* Gauls, *had not I firſt ſaved the Capitol.* He then enters into the Factions of the *Tribunes of the People*, inveighs againſt the *Patricians*, takes all Methods to become popular, and is always attended by a Company of ruined, inſolvent and factious Men. The Senate, alarm'd at his Conduct, think it neceſſary, in order to ſtop him in his Career, to create a *Dictator*. Their Pretence for it indeed is a new War with the *Volſci*. *Cornelius Coſſus* is the Perſon nominated, and he appoints *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* to be his General of Horſe. They gain a complete Victory over the Enemy in the *Pomptin* Territory; and among the Priſoners find great numbers of *Latins* and *Hernici* and of the Inhabitants of *Velitræ* and *Circæi*; and theſe not only mercenary Soldiers but Officers and Leaders: So that it plainly appears, that thoſe Nations and Towns have indeed revolted. §. 21. And for this reaſon the *Dictator* is deſirous to continue with his Troops in the Country of the *Volſci*; but the Diſturbances raiſed by *Manlius* call him back to the City. *Manlius* had lately reſcued an old *Centurion*, a brave Officer but inſolvent, out of the Hands of his Creditor who was leading him to Priſon, and he had paid the Debt. He had taken that occaſion to inveigh againſt the Pride and Uſury of the *Patricians*, and to exaggerate the Hardſhips of the People. *What ſignifies my having ſaved the Capitol*, ſaid he, *if more cruel Enemies than the* Gauls *are ſuffer'd to rob me of a brave and faithful Companion in Battel, and reduce him to Slavery?* The Party reliev'd had made ſuch warm Proteſtations of a blind Devotion to his Deliverer, as gave Umbrage; and *Manlius* had declared, that he would ſell a paternal Eſtate, which he poſſeſs'd near *Veii*, and apply it wholly to releaſe inſolvent Debtors. Nor was this all. He had accuſed the *Patricians* of having ſecreted thoſe Treaſures deſign'd for the *Gauls*, and which had been raiſed by

Year of ROME 369.

Manlius *aſpires at Tyrannick Power.*

37*th Military Tribuneſhip.*

Cornelius Coſſus *Dictator.*

Year of *ROME* publick Contribution: Nay, he had promis'd to ſhew the very Place where the Gold and Silver were hid. Such is the Situation of things when the *Dictator Coſſus* arrives. He immediately aſſembles the Senators, finds them well diſpoſed to ſuppreſs *Manlius*, exhorts them to continue firm, and then having order'd his Tribunal to be fix'd in that Part of the *Forum* where the *Comitia* were held, ſends a Summons to *Manlius* to appear before him. *Manlius* comes with his uſual Followers; and *Coſſus* being attended by the Senators, the Aſſembly looks like two Armies drawn up in *Battalia*. When Silence is made, the *Dictator* challenges *Manlius* to declare, as he had promiſed, the Perſons who have concealed the pretended Treaſures, and the Place where they are hid; otherwiſe he threatens to ſend him to Priſon as a Liar and Deceiver. *Manlius*, inſtead of anſwering directly, extolls his own Merit, and reproaches the *Patricians* with want of Regard to the Publick; and concludes with ſaying, That the Senators who have concealed the Treaſures are beſt qualified to diſcover the Place where they are hoarded up. But this being only an Evaſion of the Queſtion, the *Dictator* continues to preſs him either to perform his Promiſe to the People, or to confeſs that he has calumniated the Senate; and he replying, *Shall I then be ſilly enough to ſay what my Enemies would have me?* the *Dictator* immediately orders him to Priſon. And now we have a ſurpriſing Inſtance of the ready Submiſſion of the *Romans* in the preſence of a lawful Magiſtrate. The People, tho' ſeditiouſly devoted to *Manlius*, take no one Step to hinder the Execution of the Sentence. Not an angry Expreſſion is heard, nor a threatening Look ſeen, in the Aſſembly. Only *Manlius* turning towards the *Capitol*, cries out, *O* Jupiter, *ſupreme King of the Gods*; *O* Juno, *Queen of Heaven*; *Thou*, Minerva, *and all Ye Divinities, who are worſhip'd in the* Capitol, *will you ſuffer ſuch a Diſhonour to be thrown upon your Defender? Shall theſe Hands, which were victorious over the* Gauls, *be locked in Chains?* However theſe Exclamations produce no Diſturbance among the Multitude, nor do they expreſs their Concern till he is in Priſon. Then indeed they go into Mourning, neglect their Hair and Beards, crowd about the Priſon Doors, and lament his Misfortunes. In this Time of Affliction, *Coſſus* is honour'd with a Triumph; but the Malecontents are publickly heard to ſay during the Proceſſion, *It is not ſo much over the* Volſci, *as over the oppreſs'd* Manlius, *that the* Dictator *triumphs*. And the Senate therefore, in order to pacify the Multitude, decree of their own Motion to ſend a *Colony* of *Roman Citizens* to *Satricum*, and allot every Man two Acres and an half of arable Land. But this Expedient proves ineffectual. The Sedition gains ground; and as ſoon as the Partiſans of *Manlius* are, by the Expiration of *Coſſus*'s *Dictatorſhip*, freed from the Dread of an uncontroulable Magiſtrate, they no longer keep within any Bounds. They ſurround the Priſon Day and Night, and threaten to break it open; ſo that the Senate, to prevent ſuch an Act of Fury, are obliged to ſet the Priſoner at liberty by a Decree. §. 22. During theſe Seditions, Ambaſſadors arrive from the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, as alſo from the Cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ*, demanding Releaſement of the Priſoners taken in the laſt Action. The Ambaſſadors of the former are received (tho' their Demand is rejected) becauſe thoſe Nations had been only Allies of *Rome*; but the Deputies of the latter are order'd immediately to depart, and not appear before the People, becauſe thoſe Cities had been upon the Foot of *Roman Colonies*. The former enjoy'd their own Laws; the latter were ſubject to the Laws of *Rome*, and had therefore no Right to ſend Ambaſſadors. §. 23. When

370. new Magiſtrates come to be elected for the next Year, *Camillus* is choſen *Military Tribune* a fifth Time, and with him are joined *Ser. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Papirius*, and *T. Quinctius*. The Confidence of *Manlius*, and the Strength of his Faction, is now much increaſed by the Timorouſneſs of the Senate, and the Remiſſneſs of *Coſſus* in not puniſhing him as a former *Dictator* had done *Mœlius*. The Mutineers meet Day and Night at *Manlius*'s Houſe on the *Capitol*, and he there ſpeaks his Mind without reſerve. In a word, a Plot is formed to ſeize the Citadel, and declare him King. The Senators on the other hand aſſemble to deliberate on the beſt Method to avert the Blow which threatens the Republick. All, except the *Tribunes of the People* (who aſſiſt at the Aſſembly) are for aſſaſſinating *Manlius*. But as ſuch an Attempt muſt probably occaſion the ſhedding of much *Plebeian* Blood, two of thoſe *Tribunes*, *M. Mœnius* and *Q. Publilius*, propoſe it as more adviſable to take him off by Form of Law. They offer to proſecute him before the *Comitia* for attempting to uſurp Regal Power; and they engage, that when the People ſhall ſee their *Tribunes* become his Accuſers, they will immediately deſert him, and their Love of Liberty will prevail over every other Paſſion. This Advice is approv'd, and *Manlius* is ſummoned to his Trial before the *Comitia by Centuries*. Neither his own Brothers nor any of his Relations change their Dreſs and ſollicit the Judges for him, as was uſually done by the Friends of a Perſon accus'd; and the Proof of his Crime muſt be very clear, ſince nothing but the Circumſtance of the Place where he is tried hinders him from being immediately condemn'd.

Manlius *order'd to Priſon.*

Manlius *releas'd.*

38*th Military Tribuneſhip.*

demn'd. From the *Campus Martius* might be ſeen the *Capitol*, and while that is in view the People cannot reſolve to condemn him to Death. *Manlius* enumerates all his Services, his Exploits, and his military Rewards, and ſhews twenty three honourable Wounds; but eſpecially reminds them of his having ſaved that Citadel by his Bravery; and this laſt Conſideration has ſuch an effect, that they poſtpone his Sentence ſeveral times, and each time for three Market Days. *Camillus*, who has been the main Spring of the Proceedings againſt the Criminal, apprehending ſome miſchievous Conſequence from this Backwardneſs of the People to pronounce Judgment, removes the Aſſembly from the *Campus Martius* to a Place called the *Peteline Wood*, at the Foot of the Hill *Viminalis*, where the *Capitol* cannot be ſeen. And here the ambitious *Manlius*, being deprived of his beſt Advocate, is ſentenced by the People (tho' with ſome Reluctance) to be thrown headlong from the top of the *Capitol*. The Scene of his Glory is made the Place of his Puniſhment; and his Memory becomes odious to all, eſpecially in his own Family, who reſolve that no *Manlius* ſhall ever after bear the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. And as *Manlius*'s Houſe on the *Capitol* had been made uſe of to promote the late Troubles, a Law is paſs'd, forbidding *any Patrician for the future to live in the Citadel*. But how great is the Inconſtancy of the Multitude. *Manlius* is ſcarce dead, when his Loſs is regretted; and a Plague, which ſoon follows, is aſcribed to the Anger of *Jupiter* againſt his Murderers. Such is the Levity of the People. The Sea itſelf is not more inconſtant than their Friendſhip or their Hatred.

Year of ROME

Manlius *condemn'd to be thrown headlong from the Capitol.*

BOOK XIV.

§. 1. BUT neither the Crimes nor Puniſhment of *M. Manlius* bring any Diſcredit upon his Relations. His Brother *A. Manlius* is choſen one of the *Military Tribunes* at the very next Election; and with him are joined *L. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. The Plague ſtill rages, and to add to the Misfortune, *Rome* is not only threaten'd again by the *Volſci*, but her *Colonies* revolt; ſo that the Senate find it neceſſary to engage the People's Conſent to a War. And in order to this, they promiſe to divide the *Pomptin* Territory among them, name five Commiſſioners to make the Diſtribution of the Lands, and three others to lead a Colony to *Nepete*. This Deſign is not put in execution till nine Years after; however the *Tribes* unanimouſly agree, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of their *Tribunes*, that Troops ſhall be raiſed to act againſt the ſeveral Enemies of *Rome*. But while the Plague continues, the *Military Tribunes* dare not lead their Army into the Field. *Præneſte* follows the bad Example of *Velitræ*, *Circæi* and other Colonies, but the Republick is ſo low at preſent, that ſhe is obliged to ſuſpend her Reſentments. §. 2. But in the following *Military Tribuneſhip* of *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*, the two firſt march an Army towards *Velitræ*, and in the Neighbourhood of that Place defeat the *Velitrani*, tho' join'd by great Numbers from *Præneſte*. However the *Romans* don't think it adviſable to beſiege *Velitræ*, but rather to purſue the War with Vigour againſt the *Prænestini*, who had farther provok'd the Republick by joining the *Volſci*. §. 3. And now the Republick having much Work upon her Hands, turns her Eyes again upon the invincible *Camillus* to raiſe him a ſixth time to the *Military Tribuneſhip*. *Camillus* is apprehenſive of the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, and is willing to ſpend the reſt of his Days in Tranquillity. But he in vain endeavours to excuſe himſelf by urging his Age and Infirmities. The People declare, that they don't expect him to engage the Enemy either on Foot or on Horſeback. They only deſire him to aſſiſt the Army with his Counſel, and to make it invincible by commanding it. The Collegues appointed him are *A. Poſthumius*, *L. Poſthumius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius*. *Camillus*, without drawing Lots, is order'd to conduct the War againſt the *Volſci*; and it falls to *L. Furius*'s Lot to be join'd with him. The Troops conſiſting of four Legions are commanded to march towards *Satricum*, which the *Volſci* and *Prænestini* have lately taken, and where they have form'd their Camp. *Camillus* poſts himſelf within Reach of the Enemy, but is in no haſte to come to a Battle. He either waits for better Health, or to receive a Reinforcement of Troops. In the mean time the *Volſci* endeavour to provoke the *Romans* to a Battle. And the latter are impatient of the Inſult. Their Ardour for fighting is increaſed by the raſh Diſcourſes of young *Furius*, who imputes the prudent Delays of his Collegue *to his Age*, *which*, he ſays, *has chill'd his Blood*. He at length addreſſes himſelf to *Camillus*, and reproaches him that he is the only Perſon in the Army who is for delaying the Engagement, and urges him to comply with the Deſires of his Soldiers. *Camillus* anſwers with an Air of Loftineſs ſuitable to his paſt Succeſſes, but at the ſame time with his uſual Prudence;

39*th Military Tribuneſhip.* 371.

40*th Military Tribuneſhip.* 372.

41*ſt Military Tribuneſhip.* 373.

Year of *ROME* and in concluſion tells him, that if the Impetuoſity which hurries the *Romans* on to an Engagement is not to be reſtrained, he wiſhes them Succeſs, and ſhall aſſiſt them with his Counſel, but deſires to be excuſed from engaging in the foremoſt Ranks. While *Furius* draws up his Troops in Order of Battel, the old General prepares a *Corps de Reſerve* to aſſiſt his Collegue in caſe of Diſtreſs. And this Precaution proves of great Importance; for when *Furius* is routed and purſued, *Camillus* rallies the Fugitives, and repulſes the Enemy. The next Day *Camillus* commands in Chief, and places *Furius* at the Head of the Cavalry. The latter being ſenſible of his Fault, intreats his Troops to exert themſelves to recover his Reputation. When the Infantry are hard preſs'd, the Horſe diſmount, and come ſo opportunely to their Aſſiſtance, that the numerous Army of the *Volſci* are entirely defeated. §. 4. Among the Priſoners are found ſome of the Inhabitants of *Tuſculum*, a neighbouring City and in Alliance with *Rome*. Upon being examin'd, they declare that they had taken Arms with the Conſent of their Magiſtrates. This Account alarms the General, and he thinks it neceſſary to go in Perſon to *Rome* with the Priſoners, and lay the Matter before the Senate. During his Abſence, he leaves *Furius* to command the Troops. However it is generally thought both in the Army and City, that his chief Buſineſs at *Rome* is to accuſe his Collegue; and the Senate is ſurpris'd to hear him ſpeak of nothing but the Revolt of the *Tuſculani*; and yet more, when of all his Collegues he chooſes *Furius* to accompany him in the new Expedition againſt *Tuſculum*. This Conduct towards a Man who had perſonally affronted him, gains him great Eſteem. As for the *Tuſculani*, they diſown the Reſentment of the *Romans* by making no Reſiſtance. *Camillus* finds the Huſbandmen at Work in the Fields, as in Times of the profoundeſt Peace. The Magiſtrates of the City ſend him Proviſions and come out to meet him, and when he enters the Place, he finds the Shops and Schools open, the Markets full, and no Signs of War. The General is pleas'd and ſatisfy'd with theſe Tokens of Repentance, and adviſes the Senate of *Tuſculum* to ſend a Deputation to *Rome*, there to make their Submiſſions. Deputies are accordingly ſent, who, dreſs'd in Mourning and with their *Dictator* at their Head, addreſs the *Conſcript Fathers* in a ſuppliant manner. The Senate of *Rome* readily forgive the *Tuſculani*, and, to make them entirely *Ro-*

374. *man*, grant them ſoon after the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. §. 5. The following Adminiſtration of *L. Valerius*, *L. Menenius*, *C. Sergius*, *Sp. Papirius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, and *P. Valerius*, is diſturbed by domeſtick Seditions and a foreign War. The two *Cenſors* had begun to take an exact Account of the People, and of each Man's Circumſtances, when one of them dies; upon which the other, as uſual, lays down his Office, and the *Romans* proceed to a new Election. But the *Patricians*, who are afraid of a *Cenſus*, (becauſe it muſt of courſe diſcover their Riches and exceſſive Uſury, and the Oppreſſion which the poor Debtors labour under) pretend that there is ſome Defect in the Election, and thence take occaſion to declare publickly, that it is againſt the Will of the Gods that *Rome* ſhould have any *Cenſors* this Year. On the other hand, the *Tribunes of the People* uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to forward a new Election, and in their Harangues inveigh againſt the *Patricians*, and excite the People to Mutiny. And tho' the *Præneſtini* have enter'd the *Roman* Territory, and are encamped near the Gate *Collina*, the *Tribunes* will ſuffer no Levies to be made to oppoſe the Enemy. It becomes neceſſary therefore to create a *Dictator*. *Titus Quinctius* is nominated, and he appoints *A. Sempronius* to be his General of Horſe. This Remedy has its effect, the *Præneſtini* remove farther off, and Troops are raiſed in the City without oppoſition. §. 6. The *Præneſtini*, on a vain Conceit that the Banks of the *Allia* muſt always prove a fatal Place to the *Romans*, encamp there, and there are routed. The *Dictator* purſues them, gives them a ſecond Overthrow near *Præneſte*, and then beſieges the City, which capitulates. *Quinctius* returns to *Rome*, brings with him from *Præneſte* the Statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, (which is placed in the *Capitol* between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*) and as ſoon as he has triumph'd lays down his Office, which has

375. laſted but twenty five Days. §. 7. And now the Government of the Republick is divided between three *Patricians* and three *Plebeians*. The former are *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and *L. Julius*; the latter *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinius*, and *L. Antiſtius*. *Rome* ſtill feels the Effects of the Blow given her by the *Gauls*. Her Allies deſert her, and her *Colonies* declare againſt her and join the *Volſci*. The two *Manlii* are appointed to divide the Army, and march againſt the Confederates. They form two Camps, but not far from each other. By a Stratagem of a *Latin* Soldier, who (diſguis'd like a *Roman*) comes in great haſte to tell the *Roman* Generals that their Forragers are ſurrounded by the Enemy, the whole Army is drawn into an Ambuſh, where their deſperate Courage alone preſerves them from Deſtruction. And the *Volſci*, during the Action, detach a Part of their Troops, which ſurpriſe and plunder the two *Roman* Camps. This ill Succeſs and ill Conduct of the *Manlii* make the Senate deliberate whether a *Dictator* ſhall be nominated; but judging

42d Military Tribuneſhip.

Titus Quinctius *Dictator.*

43d Military Tribuneſhip.

judging by the Appearance of the Enemy that they will attempt nothing farther, it is only reſolved to recall the Army and its Commanders. During theſe Misfortunes abroad, *Rome* is free from all domeſtick Broils, which is owing to the Share the *Plebeians* have at this time in the Government. §. 8. But the next Year is not ſo peaceable, when *Sp. Furius*, *Q. Servilius*, *C. Licinius*, *P. Cloelius*, *M. Horatius*, and *L. Geganius*, all *Patricians*, are *Military Tribunes*. The Commons get two *Cenſors* choſen, who take an exact Account of the People and of their Effects, and conclude the *Cenſus* with a *Luſtrum*, the nineteenth from its Inſtitution. Nothing remains now but to put an end to the Diſputes between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, by relieving the poor debtors. But the *Cenſors* ſuſpend this Work on the News of a freſh Irruption of the *Volſci* into the *Roman* Territory. The *Tribunes of the People* however purſue their Point with more Warmth than ever, and oppoſe the making any Levies. So that the Senate is forced to make a Decree, that no Perſon ſhall be diſturbed for Debt during the Campaign. Then Troops are raiſed, and ample Revenge is taken on the *Volſci*. But the War is no ſooner at an end than the Creditors renew the Proſecution of their Debtors; and the latter can receive no Help from the *Tribunes of the People*, while Peace abroad continues.

Year of ROME 376.

44th Military Tribuneſhip.

§. 9. The following Year the Republick is govern'd by ſix *Patricians*, *L. Æmilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *P. Valerius*, *L. Quinctius*, *C. Veturius*, and *C. Quinctius*. And now the *Latins* and *Volſci* enter into a new Confederacy againſt the *Romans*. And it is ſurpriſing, that the *Tribunes of the People* neglect this opportunity of making good their Pretenſions againſt the *Patricians*; but the latter ſeem to have got a great Aſcendant over the Commons. Three Armies are raiſed, one to guard the City, another to be ready to march on the firſt Notice, and a third to take the Field under the Command of *Valerius* and *Æmilius*. They come up with the Enemy near *Satricum*, and give them an entire Overthrow. The Fugitives take Refuge in *Antium*, and there the *Volſci*, not thinking that City in a Condition to hold out a Siege, and being beſides weary of the War, are for coming to a Compoſition with the *Romans*. Upon this, the *Latins*, who are obſtinate againſt a Peace, ſeparate from them in a Rage, and vent their Fury firſt on *Satricum*, a City of the *Volſci*, which they reduce to Aſhes, ſparing only a Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*, whom the *Greeks* call'd *Leucothea*. Thence they fall upon the *Tuſculani* to puniſh them for having deſerted the *Latin* Confederacy and accepted the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. They ſurpriſe the Town, but the Inhabitants retire into the Citadel, which they hold out till they are reliev'd by that *Roman* Army, which was kept ready to march upon occaſion. The Town is ſtorm'd, and the *Latins* are all cut to pieces within the Walls of *Tuſculum*, not one eſcaping. §. 10. The Peace concluded with the *Antiates*, and the Defeat of the *Latins*, give the Republick an Interval of Tranquillity abroad. But the Miſery of the inſolvent Debtors at home is increaſed, and multitudes of the People are forced to become Slaves to their avaricious and mercileſs Creditors. Even the moſt conſiderable of the *Plebeians* fall into Contempt and loſe their Credit; ſo that they hardly dare ſtand Candidates for *Plebeian* Offices, much leſs aſpire at the *Military Tribuneſhip*. In a word, the *Patricians* ſeem to have ſecur'd to themſelves for ever all Power in the State, and the Commons to be humbled to the loweſt degree, when a trifling Accident proves the occaſion of the latter's ſhaking off the Oppreſſion of the Nobility, and of carrying their Pretenſions higher than ever.

Year of ROME 377.

45th Military Tribuneſhip.

Fabius Ambuſtus, an illuſtrious *Patrician*, but always popular, had two Daughters. He had married the elder to *Ser. Sulpicius*, a *Patrician*, now *Military Tribune*, and the younger to *Licinius Stolo*, a conſiderable Man in *Rome*, but of *Plebeian* Extraction. It happens that while the younger Siſter is paying a Viſit to the elder, *Sulpicius* comes home from the *Forum*, attended by a crowd of Clients, and by the Lictors, who with their *Faſces* knock at the Tribunes Door to give notice of his Return. The *Plebeian* Lady, not being uſed to this Noiſe, ſtarts at it and expreſſes ſome Fear, at which the other cannot forbear laughing. And this Laughing, how innocent ſoever, is conſtrued by the younger Siſter as an Inſult upon her on account of the ignoble Family into which ſhe had married. The imaginary Affront greatly provokes her, and her Envy is likewiſe raiſed by ſeeing ſuch a number of Courtiers attending her Brother-in-law, and earneſt to receive his Commands. In vain ſhe endeavours to conceal her Uneaſineſs from her Father, who tenderly loves her; he perceives it, and by degrees learns the Cauſe of it from herſelf. *You have made me marry*, ſays ſhe, *into a Family which is for ever excluded all Honours in* Rome. *What a vaſt Difference between my Siſter's Condition and mine!* The Father replies, *Don't be uneaſy, Child, you ſhall ſoon ſee as much State at your own Houſe as you have ſeen at your Siſter's.* And in the end he makes good his Promiſe. In order to compaſs his Deſigns, he enters into an Aſſociation with his Son-in-law *Licinius Stolo*, and one *L. Sextius*, another Commoner of great Merit and in the Flower of his Age. He preſſes theſe Men to make a bold Attempt to get one of their own Body

at

Year of at the Head of the Republick. He tells them, That this is the only means to reco-
ROME ver the *Plebeians* out of their Misery, and That the Pretence of relieving the Poor will give a Sanction to the Undertaking. The first Step which the three Associates agree to take is, to get *Licinius* and *Sextius*, if possible, chosen *Tribunes of the People* for the next Year. The two Candidates are admitted into the College, and their first Business is to draw up some Laws tending to lessen the Grandeur of the *Patricians*, and to promote the Interests of the People. The first relates to Debts. *Let the Interest already paid be reckon'd as a Discharge of so much of the Principal, and let the Remainder be paid at three different equal Payments.* The second forbids *any one to possess more than five hundred Acres of Land.* And the third imports, *That the* Military Tribuneship *shall be abolish'd, and two* Consuls *chosen in their stead, one of which shall always be a* Plebeian. The *Patricians*, after much Deliberation how to ward this Blow, can fix upon no other means but that of dividing the *Tribunes of the People*, and of engaging one Part of the College to oppose the Attempts of the other. Accordingly they gain over all the other eight. *Licinius* and *Sextius* assemble the Tribes several times, in order to get their Laws pass'd; but are always frustrated by their Collegues, who, as soon as the Laws begin to be read, never fail to cry out, *We protest against them.* The two *Tribunes*, provok'd at this continual Opposition, resolve to protest likewise in their Turns. *Very well*, says *Sextius* to his Collegues, *since you are so fond of the Words* WE PROTEST, *we too shall find a time to repeat them, and that to the Advantage of the People.* Accordingly when the Centuries are assembled for the Election of *Military Tribunes* for the next Year, *Sextius* and *Licinius* cry out, *We protest against it.* And these Words are so much regarded by the People, that the Republick falls into a kind of Anarchy. None but *Plebeian* Officers are appointed, that is, *Ædiles*, and *Tribunes of the People.* And as *Licinius* and *Sextius* are continued at the Head of the latter, *Fabius*'s Promise to his Daughter may be said to be perform'd from this
378. time. For four Years successively no superior Magistrates are chosen, nor any *Pa-*
379. *trician* admitted into a Share of the Government of the Republick. *Licinius* and
380. *Sextius* are constant in opposing the Election of *Military Tribunes*, and are supported
381. by the *Comitia*. During all this time, *Rome* by great good fortune is not threaten'd with any War from abroad.

382. But at length, when *Sextius* and *Licinius* are just elected *Tribunes of the People* a sixth time, the Inhabitants of *Velitræ* declare War against the Republick. And this obliges them to desist from their Opposition, and to suffer six *Military Tribunes* to be chosen in the *Comitia*. As the State of Affairs requires able Generals at the Helm, the Choice falls upon six *Patricians*, *L. Furius*, *P. Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *C. Valerius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*. As soon as a *Roman* Army appears in the Field, the *Veliterni*, who are sat down before *Tusculum*, raise the Siege; and *Velitræ* itself is soon invested by the *Romans*. But the Place is too strong to be taken before the present *Military Tribunes* are obliged to give place to their Successors. *46th Military Tribuneship.*

383. §. 12. And now unfortunately for the *Patricians*, *M. Fabius Ambustus* is chosen one of the new Governours. His five Collegues are *Q. Servilius*, *M. Cornelius*, *C. Veturius*, *Q. Quinctius*, and *A. Cornelius*. The two *Tribunes of the People*, *Licinius* and *Sextius*, having gain'd over three of their Collegues, and being aided and protected by *Fabius*, frequently assemble the People and press the passing of the three new Laws, and not only so, but propose a fourth Law, *That* Decemviri *shall be appointed instead of* Duumviri *to take care of the* Sybilline *Books and to interpret them; and That five of the ten shall be* Plebeians. However all these new Regulations are suspended during the Siege of *Velitræ*, which is carried on slowly. It is thought necessary to wait for the Return of the Army from before that Place, that the Soldiers may not be excluded from giving their Votes when such important Innovations *47th Military Tribuneship.*

384. are on foot. §. 13. In the mean time new Governours are elected, *L. Quinctius*, *Sp. Servilius*, *Ser. Cornelius*, *L. Papirius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Veturius*. And now the *Tribunes of the People* being all unanimous, the Cause of the *Patricians* seems desperate. The whole Year is spent in Disputes and Disturbances, and no *Military Tribunes* are chosen for the Year following. However the Republick does not fall *48th Military Tribuneship.*

385. into Anarchy. *Camillus* is nominated *Dictator.* But tho' the Authority of the *Tribunes of the People* ought to have ceased from the Day that he enter'd on his Office; they nevertheless continue to assemble the People *by Tribes*. One Day the Laws had been read to the People, and the first *Tribes* had already voted in favour of them, when the *Dictator* appears on a sudden attended by a crowd of *Patricians*, and erects his Tribunal in the middle of the *Forum* where the People are assembled. (It was much against his Will that he had accepted the *Dictatorship*, being sure either to disoblige the Commons if he succeeded, or to contribute to the Ruin of his own Party if he fail'd. But his Love for the Publick had made him overlook private Considerations.) A Dispute immediately arises among the *Tribunes of the People*. Some are for going on with the Affair of the four Laws; others are against it. At length Camillus *Dictator.*

Camillus addreſſes himſelf to the People; ſeems to enter into their Intereſts; and declares *That he is come to join the Proteſtors, and That he will never permit one part of the* Tribunes, *to deprive the other of their Right of Proteſting.* *Sextius* and *Licinius* laugh at this artful Speech, and purſue their Meaſures with Steadineſs. But when they are juſt going on to take the Suffrages of the People, *Camillus*, in a Rage at the Affront put upon him, ſends his *Lictors* to drive away the *Tribes* from their reſpective Places, and joins terrible Threatnings with his Orders. He declares, that if the Aſſembly does not immediately diſperſe, he will ſummon them to the *Campus Martius*; make them inliſt themſelves, and march into the Field. In anſwer to this, the *Tribunes* give him to underſtand, that aſſoon as his *Dictatorſhip* is expired, they will get him fined five hundred thouſand *Aſſes* of *Braſs*. *Camillus* is now grown old, and is afraid of expoſing himſelf to new Indignities. He therefore gives way to the Torrent, and reſolves to lay down his Office. He retires to his Houſe; feigns himſelf indiſpoſed, and ſoon after abdicates the *Dictatorſhip*, on pretence, that there had been ſome Defect in point of Form, with regard to the *Auſpices* at his Nomination. §. 14. An *Interregnum* enſues; and this ſeems to be a favourable Opportunity for *Licinius* and *Sextius* to get their Laws paſſed. But the People are zealous only for two of them; that which related to the eaſing of the Debtors, and that which allowed no Man to poſſeſs more than five hundred Acres of Land. The other two they perceive to be calculated only to ſerve the Ambition of their *Tribunes*, and are therefore willing to let them drop. But *Licinius* and *Sextius* declare, that they will never conſent to ſeparate the Laws; and theſe Diſputes oblige the Republick to nominate a new *Dictator*. *P. Manlius* is the Perſon choſen, a Man, whoſe hereditary Affection for the Commons, immediately appears, by his appointing one *Licinius Stolo*, a *Plebeian* (and a Relation of the *Tribune* of that Name) to be his General of Horſe. *Sextius* and *Licinius* think now to carry all before them, if they can get themſelves continued in the *Tribuneſhip*. In order thereto, they aſſemble the *Comitia* to chuſe new *Tribunes*; expoſtulate with them, not only on their neglect of their own Intereſt, but on their Ingratitude towards them, in deferring to paſs the four Laws; and laſtly declare, that they will accept of the *Tribuneſhip* no longer, if the People perſiſt in dividing the Laws. Theſe Diſcourſes both provoke and terrify the *Patricians*. *Appius Claudius*, Grandſon of the famous *Decemvir*, appears in the Aſſembly, and in a long Harangue, repreſents the Tyranny of the *Tribunes*, and the Unreaſonableneſs of their ambitious Deſigns; and exhorts the People earneſtly, for their own Sakes, to reject the four Laws. The *Comitia* nevertheleſs paſs the Law, prohibiting any Citizen to have more than five hundred Acres of Land; and *Sextius* and *Licinius* are choſen *Tribunes of the People* the tenth time. Thus the Year is ſpent, partly under the Adminiſtration of two *Dictators*, and partly in a ſhort *Interregnum*, wherein no *Curule* Magiſtrates are choſen. §. 15. But now the *Military Tribuneſhip* is revived; and *A. Cornelius*, *L. Veturius*, *M. Cornelius*, *P. Valerius*, *M. Geganius*, and *P. Manlius*, are all promoted to that Dignity. And during their Adminiſtration, it is probable, that *Licinius* and *Sextius* took Advantage of the Report ſpread of a ſecond Invaſion by the *Gauls*, to preſs the paſſing of the three remaining Laws. That which diſcharged the poor Debtors from paying Intereſt, was paſſed, before a General was named to march againſt the *Gauls*. The Approach of theſe dreadful Enemies, and the Deſertions at Home, oblige the Republick to appoint a *Dictator*; and *Camillus*, though fourſcore Years old, is raiſed a fifth time to that Office. He nominates *T. Quinctius* to be his General of Horſe. The *Dictator*, before he marches his Army into the Field, provides his Soldiers with proper defenſive Arms againſt the broad Swords of the *Gauls*. He orders them Helmets of Iron, well poliſhed, and adds a Rim of Braſs to their wooden Shields. He furniſhes them likewiſe with long Javelins, with which they may reach their Enemies at a Diſtance, and ſtab them, while they are ſlowly lifting up their heavy Swords. As ſoon as he comes near the Camp of the *Gauls*, which is on the Banks of the *Anio*, he poſts the ſmalleſt part of his Army on ſome Hills, and conceals the reſt in the Vallies, and behind Rocks. The poor Appearance of the *Roman* Troops, makes the *Gauls* ſo confident, that they neglect to fortify their Camp; and *Camillus* ſoon takes Advantage of their Security and Negligence, to fall upon them; and by the Help of the new Arms, with which he has provided his Men, obtains a complete Victory. (The *Gauls*, who eſcaped from the Battel, diſperſed themſelves chiefly in *Apulia*; and it is probable, that from thence they at this time began to ſpread themſelves into *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Greece*, and *Aſia Minor*.) §. 16. The *Dictator* leads his Army ſtrait to *Velitræ* (the Siege of which had been interrupted) and takes the City. He then returns to *Rome*, where the Honours of a Triumph are decreed him, by both Senate and People. But the Republick is in too great a Ferment, for the Senate to conſent to his immediate Abdication of the *Dictatorſhip*. On the other hand, the People, proud of their late Victory, are more earneſt than ever to

Year of ROME 385.

P. Manlius, *Dictator.*

386.

A Plebeian *made General of Horſe.*

49th Military Tribuneſhip.

Camillus, *Dictator, a fifth time.*

Year of ROME have a *Plebeian* raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*; and their *Tribunes*, *Sextius* and *Licinius*, are ſo warm in the Purſuits of their Ambition, that they loſe all Reſpect for the *Dictator*, and endeavour to frighten him into an Abdication. As he is one Day ſitting on his Tribunal in the *Forum*, *The Tribunes of the People* ſend an Officer to ſeize him, but the Officer is repulſed by the *Dictator*'s Guards, and by the *Patricians* about him, while the Populace, at the Foot of the Tribunal, cry out, *Carry him off*, *Carry him off*. *Camillus* takes Refuge in the Senate-Houſe; and there the Pretentions of the People, and of their *Tribunes*, are examined and conſidered. In the midſt of the univerſal Confuſion, the *Dictator* makes a Vow to build a Temple to *Concord*, in caſe he ſucceeds in quieting the Commotions. But the People are ſo furious and obſtinate, that the Senate are obliged to comply in ſome Meaſure, and to conſent, that one *Conſul* may be choſen out of the People. This is not granting what the *Tribunes* aimed at, but they are pacified, and the *Conſulſhip* is revived.

387. §. 17. The *Centuries* pitch upon *L. Æmilius Mamercinus* a *Patrician*, and *L. Sextius Lateranus* to be *Conſuls*. The latter is that *Tribune Sextius*, who now reaps the Fruit of his vigorous Purſuit of the Laws lately paſſed. But when his Election comes to be confirmed by the Senate, *The Conſcript Fathers* obſtinately oppoſe it; and the Differences between the *Patricians* and People come to ſuch a height, that the latter are ready to leave *Rome*, and make a new *Seceſſion*, when the *Dictator* propoſes an Expedient, to which both Parties agree. Hitherto the *Conſuls*, and the *Military Tribunes*, had been Generals of Armies, and Judges of Civil Affairs at the ſame time; and were therefore ſometimes called *Conſuls*, and ſometimes *Prætors*. *Camillus*'s Expedient is to ſeparate the *Prætorian* Functions from the *Conſular*, and to make them two diſtinct Offices. He propoſes therefore to the Senate, to conſent that a *Conſul* be choſen out of the *Plebeians*, on Condition that the *Prætors* be always *Patricians*. This Propoſal is accepted, and both Parties are ſatisfied; the *Plebeians* in being qualified to ſtand Candidates for the *Conſulſhip*, and the Nobility, in that none but *Patricians* can be admitted to be Judges in civil Cauſes. Tranquillity being thus eſtabliſhed, the *Romans*, in Gratitude to the Gods, order *The Great Games* to be celebrated. They uſed formerly to laſt but three Days, but now a fourth Day is added; and on this Account, their Name of *Ludi Magni*, or *Great Games*, is changed into *Ludi Maximi*, or *The Greateſt Games*. But the preſent *Ædiles* (for what Reaſon is unknown) refuſe to take upon them the Care of making Preparations for this Feſtival; upon which the young *Patricians* cry out, *That ſince the Matter in hand is the Worſhip of the Gods, they ſhall think it no Diſhonour to be choſen Ædiles*. Accordingly the *Dictator* propoſes to the People two *Patrician Ædileſhips*, which are agreed to; and upon this the Senate promiſe, in their Turn, to ratify all that has been done in the laſt *Comitia*, relating to the Election of Magiſtrates. Nothing remains, but to fix upon a Place where to build the Temple of *Concord*, which the *Dictator* had vowed; and it is agreed to erect it at the Foot of the *Capitol*, on an Eminence, whence it may be ſeen in the *Forum*. And now the great *Camillus*, full of Glory and of Years, lays down the *Dictatorſhip*, and is wholly bent on ſpending the ſmall Remainder of his Days, in the Tranquillity of a private Life. §. 18. Notwithſtanding ſome Alarms from the *Gauls*, and the *Hernici*, the Senate are unwilling to enter upon a War, under the Adminiſtration of a *Plebeian Conſul*, leſt the Glory he ſhould require, ſhould contribute to the Honour of his whole Party; and they therefore apply themſelves wholly to ſettle the Rights of the new Magiſtrates they had created. As the Great *Camillus* had been the Inſtitutor of the *Prætorſhip (the Functions of which are at large deſcribed)* the Republick chuſes his Son, *Sp. Furius Camillus*, to be the firſt *Prætor*. [*The Functions and Prerogatives of the* Curule Ædiles *are deſcribed.*] But theſe new Magiſtrates are ſcarce ſettled in their Office, before *The Tribunes of the People* take Umbrage at them, and envy the *Patricians* the ſole Honour of the *Curule Ædileſhip* The Senate therefore firſt agree, That the *Curule Ædiles* ſhall be choſen out of the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* alternately, every two Years; and afterwards, That the People

388. ſhall have full Liberty to chuſe them out of either Body. §. 19. Theſe Eſtabliſhments being made, *Rome* enjoys a profound Peace, under the new *Conſuls*, *L. Genucius* a *Plebeian*, and *Q. Servilius Ahala* a *Patrician*. But now a Plague rages on a ſudden, which carries off one of the *Cenſors*, three *Tribunes of the People*, one *Curule Ædile*, and which is the moſt fatal Stroke of all, the Great *Camillus*. [*His Character is given at large.*]

89*th Conſulſhip.* *A* Plebeian *choſen* Conſul.

PRÆTORS.

Ludi Maximi.

CURULE ÆDILES.

90*th Conſulſhip.*

Year of *ROME*

BOOK XV.

§. 1. NOTWITHSTANDING ſo many Victories obtained, ſo many Towns taken, and ſo many *Colonies* planted, the Juriſdiction of the *Romans* was not at the Death of *Camillus* extended above ſix or ſeven Leagues from their Capital. The eternal Jealouſies between the Nobility and People, continually checked the Progreſs of the Republick, and revived the Hopes of the conquered Nations. So that the *Romans* were almoſt uninterruptedly running in the ſame Round of Wars, with the ſame Enemies, whom they found it eaſy to ſubdue, but not poſſible to keep long in Subjection.

91ſt Conſulſhip. Such was the State of *Rome*, when *C. Sulpicius*, and *C. Licinius Stolo*, took Poſ- 389.
ſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*. The latter was that famous *Licinius*, Son-in-law to *Fabius*, who, jointly with his Collegue *Sextius*, had contrived the four Laws, and at the end of ten Years, during which he had been *Tribune of the People*, had obtained the Publication of them. And now the Promiſe *Fabius* had made to his younger Daughter was fulfilled; and ſhe had the Pleaſure of ſeeing the *Lictors* with their *Axes* and *Faſces* march before her *Plebeian* Husband.

But the Plague ſtill continues, and the *Romans* have Recourſe to their old Su-
*Vide *Firſt Vol.* p. 575. perſtition of the * *Lectiſternium*, to put a Stop to it. This Expiation proving in-
LUDI SCENICI. effectual, they hope to appeaſe the Gods, by inſtituting new Sports, called *Scenici* [*which gave Birth to theatrical Entertainments, and which are deſcribed at large, with an Account of the* † *Riſe and Progreſs of the* Roman Drama.] §. 2. *Rome* con- 390.
† Vide *p.* 84, 85, 86. tinues to be afflicted with the Plague a third Year, and during the new *Conſulſhip* of *L. Æmilius*, and *Cn. Genucius*; and all other Expiations failing, the *Romans* re-
92d Conſulſhip. vive an old Superſtition, which is ſaid to have ſucceeded in the like Caſe. They chuſe a *Dictator*, to drive a Nail into that Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which divides it from the Chapel of *Minerva*. (It was the Cuſtom every Year for the Senior *Conſul* to do this, on the *Ides* of *September*; and it was thus that the Years of *Rome*, ſince its Foundation, were marked and regiſtered.) Now it is to be preſumed, that when a Year had been diſtinguiſhed by any publick Calamities, it was ſuperſtitiouſly believed, that the *Auguries*, conſulted in the Conſecration of the *Conſuls*, had been inauſpicious: And therefore a *Dictator* was nominated, to prevent the ill Effects of the *Auguries* of the *Conſuls*, by more happy
L. Manlius Imperioſus, *Dictator.* *Auguries* of his own. Accordingly *L. Manlius Imperioſus* is now appointed *Dictator*, to perform the Ceremony of driving the Nail. The Plague, which had laſted three Years, ſoon after ceaſes: But the proud *Dictator* is uneaſy to have the whole Buſineſs of his Office confined to one religious Ceremony, and therefore commands Levies to be made, in order to march againſt the *Hernici*, and even uſes Violence to make the *Citizens* inliſt themſelves. The *Tribunes of the People* oppoſe this Deſign; repel Force with Force, and at length oblige the *Dictator* to abdicate.

93d Conſulſhip. §. 3. And the new *Conſuls*, *Q. Servilius*, and *L. Genucius*, are no ſooner choſen, 391.
than he is cited by the *Tribunes* to appear before the *Curiæ*. *Pomponius*, one of the College, is his Accuſer; and the three Crimes with which he charges him, are, *His having aſſumed the Surname of* Imperioſus: *His having uſed Violence and Cruelty to make the People inliſt themſelves:* And which is more inſiſted on, *his having baſely and barbarouſly treated his own Son, merely on Account of his natural Defects.* This Son was of ſlow Parts, and had an Impediment in his Speech; and for theſe Reaſons only, his Father confined him to the Country, and made him lead the Life of a Slave among the Cattle. *Manlius* had a Copy of his Accuſation given him, and twenty ſeven Days to prepare his Defence. All are highly exaſperated againſt ſo ſevere a *Dictator*, and ſo barbarous a Father, except the Son himſelf; whom filial Piety moves to take an extravagant Method to deliver his Father. He leaves the Place to which he is baniſhed, and never ſtops till he arrives at the Houſe of *Pomponius*, whom he finds in Bed. He deſires a private Conference with him, and as ſoon as they are alone, draws out a Knife, and threatens to ſtab the *Tribune*, if he does not ſwear to deſiſt from proſecuting his Father. *Pomponius* ſwears, and keeps his Oath; and the ſame Year young *Manlius* is promoted, by the Suffrages of the People, to one of the moſt important Poſts in the Army. Every *Roman Legion* was commanded by ſix *Legionary Tribunes*, and theſe Officers had been hitherto left to the Choice of the Generals. But this Year the People think fit to elect part of them in the *Comitia*. Of twenty four *Legionary Tribunes* appointed at this time, the People chooſe ſix, and *T. Manlius* is named the ſecond of the ſix. We ſhall ſoon ſee his Merit raiſe him above the Misfortunes of his Education. §. 4. But while the *Romans* are preparing for a War with the *Hernici* (the Conduct of which was fallen by Lot to *Genucius*) an unexpected Accident throws the City into a Conſternation.

Year of ſternation. ROME

The Earth opens of a ſudden in the middle of the *Forum*, and does not ſhut again. Upon this the *Augurs* are conſulted, who declare, *That the Gulph will always remain, till the beſt Thing in* Rome *be thrown into it; but that ſuch a Sacrifice will render the Republick immortal.* *M. Curtius*, a young *Patrician*, declares his Opinion, that a brave Man, completely armed, is the moſt valuable Thing, of which *Rome* is Miſtreſs, and offers himſelf to be the precious Victim the Gods demand. Accordingly he puts on his fineſt Armour, mounts a noble Horſe, magnificently equipped, and having firſt adored the celeſtial and infernal Gods, rides full Speed into the Gulph. (Some Hiſtorians relate, that the Earth immediately cloſed of itſelf; but the more judicious ſay, that a vaſt Quantity of Corn and Fruits was thrown into it; and it is probable, that it was afterwards filled up with Earth, and other Rubbiſh.) However, after *M. Curtius* has thus *devoted* himſelf, the *Romans* imagine they ſhall not fail of a Victory over the *Hernici*. But their Hopes are diſappointed. *Genucius*, the firſt *Plebeian Conſul* that had ever been at the Head of an Army, proves unſucceſsful. He falls into an Ambuſcade; his *Legions* are routed, and he himſelf killed. (The Hiſtorians leave it doubtful, whether he did not fall by the Hand of a *Roman.*) The *Patricians* rejoice at his Death, and grow more proud. They exclaim in all Places, that the Misfortunes of *Rome* are owing to the Violation of human and divine Rights, in the Conſecration of *Plebeian Conſuls*. And in order to wipe off the Diſgrace which *Rome* has received in the War, it is reſolved to create a *Dictator*. §. 5. *Appius Claudius*, the moſt formidable Enemy of the *Plebeian* Party, is named by the ſurviving *Conſul*, *Servilius*, to that Office, that he may repair the Loſſes occaſioned by the Miſmanagement of a *Plebeian* General. While *Appius* is raiſing Forces at *Rome*, *Servilius* commands the Fugitive Troops of *Genucius* in the Field, and makes a ſucceſsful Sally out of his Camp upon the Enemy, before they can attack it. The *Dictator*, upon his Arrival, harangues his Soldiers, and exhorts his new Army to imitate the Bravery of *Servilius*'s Troops. On the other hand, the *Hernici*, in order to preſerve the Advantage they have gained over *Genucius*, exhauſt their whole Country of Men; and among the Multitude of their Soldiers, chooſe out three thouſand two hundred, whom they divide into eight *Cohorts*, of four hundred each. This was the Flower of their Army; and to engage them to behave themſelves bravely, their Generals ſhew them Marks of Diſtinction; promiſe them double Pay, and except them from all laborious Offices. In the Battel, which is ſoon given, the *Roman Knights* attack theſe eight *Cohorts* with their uſual Impetuoſity, but cannot ſhake them. By order therefore of their General they diſmount, and place themſelves in the firſt Line of the Foot. The eight *Cohorts* make Head againſt them, ſo that the Flower of both Nations come now to a cloſe Engagement. The Victory is a long time doubtful; and it is only the good Fortune of the *Romans*, which ſeems to determine it in their Favour. However, they loſe a fourth Part of their Army, and a great Number of *Roman Knights*. *Appius* has no Triumph granted him, which can be imputed to nothing but the Unwillingneſs of the People, to do Honour to the moſt declared Enemy of the *Plebeian* Party. §. 6. And now, notwithſtanding the Misfortune of *Genucius*, and the Murmurs of the Nobility, the *Centuries* chooſe

392. another *Plebeian Conſul*. *Licinius Stolo* is elected a ſecond time; and with him is joined *C. Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*. Under theſe Generals the *Romans* advance into the Country of the *Hernici*, but find no Enemy in the Field. They take *Ferentinum*, and then march to *Tybur*, the Gates of which they find ſhut againſt them. The *Tyburtes* are in ſecret Intelligence with the *Gauls*; and the *Romans* being therefore apprehenſive of a dangerous War, create a *Dictator*, *Quinctius Pennus*, who appoints *Servius Cornelius* to be his General of Horſe. And while Preparations are making at *Rome* for the War, the *Gauls* advance as far as the Banks of the *Anio*. The *Roman* Army appears on the oppoſite ſide; and the two Camps are divided by a Bridge, which neither Party endeavours to break down, leſt it ſhould ſeem to argue Fear. This Bridge becomes the Scene of many Combats between the Champions of both Armies. And one Day a *Gaul*, of a gigantick Stature, challenges the braveſt Man of the *Roman* Troops to ſingle Fight. Young *Manlius*, who had formerly ſignalized his Piety to his Father in ſo remarkable a manner, is the only one who dares except the Challenge. He kills the *Gaul*, and gets the Name of *Torquatus*, from the *Torquis*, or *Collar*, which he took from his Adverſary. The *Gauls* are ſo diſcouraged, that they deſert their Camp the next

393. Night, and diſperſe themſelves in *Campania*. §. 7. As ſoon as the *Conſuls* for the new Year, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *C. Pœtelius Libo*, enter upon their Office, they are ordered to march, the firſt againſt the *Hernici*, the ſecond againſt the *Tyburtes*. *Rome* is at this time deſtitute of all Aſſiſtance from Abroad. The very *Latins*, formerly ſo attached to her, ſtand abſolutely neuter. In the mean time the *Gauls* venture to advance again to the very Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and block up the Gate *Collina*. To make Head againſt theſe dangerous Enemies, the Republick

The Earth opens in the Forum.

Curtius leaps into the Gulph.

Appius Claudius, Dictator.

94th Conſulſhip.

Quinctius Pennus, Dictator.

95th Conſulſhip.

nominates *Servilius Ahala*, *Dictator*, without recalling either of the *Consuls*. *Servilius* comes to an Engagement with the Enemy, under the very Walls of *Rome*, where the *Romans* fighting, within sight of their Fathers, Wives, and Children, are invincible. The defeated *Gauls* fly towards *Tybur*, and being favoured by the *Tyburtes*, who make a Sally to facilitate their Retreat, enter it, notwithstanding the Opposition of *Pœtelius*; who nevertheless obtains a Triumph, while his Collegue, *Fabius*, who had fought with Success against the *Hernici*, has only an *Ovation*. The *Dictator*, who had most deserved a Triumph, declines that Honour, and lays down his *Dictatorship*. §. 8. The *Tyburtes* had made a Jest of *Pœtelius*'s Triumph, and had threatened to be soon again at the Gates of *Rome*. This made the *Romans* sensible, that they were neither conquered, nor humbled. And the new *Consuls* therefore, *M. Popilius Lænas*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, expect to march strait into the Territory of *Tybur*, but are diverted from it by a sudden Sedition in the City, of the People against the Senate. *Popilius* is *Pontifex* to the Goddess *Carmenta*, as well as *Consul*, and is just offering a Sacrifice, when he receives the News of the Commotion. He runs in his Pontifical Robe to the Place where the People are assembled; and by his Influence, puts a Stop to the Sedition. And because the Robe he then wore was of Wool, called *Læna*, not *Lana*, he thence gets the Name of *Lænas*. But *Popilius* is very soon obliged to assume the Soldier. A handful of *Tyburtes*, out of a Bravado, and to make good their late Threatenings, come in the dead of the Night to the very Gates of *Rome*, and alarm the City. But the two *Consuls*, as soon as it is Day, march out at different Gates, and easily repulse these bold Enterprizers; whose Attempt serves only to re-establish Tranquillity in *Rome*, and totally extinguish the Sedition. And now the *Tarquinienses*, a People of *Hetruria*, enter the *Roman* Territory in Arms; but the *Romans* postpone their Revenge, till they have chosen new *Consuls*. §. 9. The Persons elected are *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *C. Plautius Proculus*. The latter marches against the *Hernici*, and totally subdues them. But *Fabius* is not so successful against the *Tarquinienses*, who, to shew their Contempt of the Republick, cut the Throats of three hundred and seven *Roman* Prisoners, after having treated them very ill. The Disadvantage *Fabius* has suffered, is followed by a new Alarm from the *Boii*, who appear on a sudden in the Plain of *Præneste*; and advance as far as *Pedum*. But the *Latins* at this time (for what Reason is uncertain) very seasonably renew their ancient Treaty of Alliance with *Rome*, and furnish her with the same *Quota* of Men as formerly. With this Reinforcement she is in a Condition to make Head against the *Boii*; but the two *Consuls* being employed, she names a *Dictator* to command the Troops, which are to oppose their Hostilities. *Sulpicius Peticus* is the Person nominated; and he, with the best *Legions* of the *Consular* Armies, and the *Latin* Auxiliaries, marches against the *Gauls*. Both Armies are very ardent to engage; but the *Dictator* restrains the Impetuosity of his Troops, thinking it better Policy not to run the Hazard of a Battel, since the *Gauls* must necessarily be distressed for want of Provisions, having prepared no Magazines, and being no longer supplied by the *Latins*. The Soldiers however do not enter into their General's Views, and universally murmur against him, as a timorous Commander of brave Men. They come in Crouds to the *Dictator*'s Quarters, and demand Access to him, having named *Sextius Tullius* (a Man of distinguished Courage, and who, for seven Years past, had been first Captain of the first *Corps* in the Army) to be their Speaker. *Sulpicius* is surprised to find himself surrounded by a Number of Mutineers, and especially to see *Sextius* at their Head, whom he had thought an unblameable Officer. *Sextius*, in the Name of the Army, reproaches him with the disadvantageous Opinion he seems to have entertained of the Valour of his Troops, and urges him to lead them on to fight. His Speech to the *Dictator* is followed by the Acclamations of the Multitude, who all desire Leave to arm, and march to Battel. *Sulpicius* is obliged to promise to comply with their Desires; but then, taking *Sextius* aside, he asks him, *What it is that has put him at the Head of a Faction?* The brave *Centurion* replies, That it is not any want of Respect to his General, or Ignorance of the martial Laws, but to prevent the Soldiers chusing an insolent Leader, who might do something injurious to the Dignity of the *Dictator*. He then advises *Sulpicius* to yield to the Desires of his Soldiers, who otherwise seem inclined to seize the first Opportunity of fighting, without asking Leave. The *Dictator* is by an Accident soon satisfied of the Truth of this, and therefore gives Notice that he will offer Battel the next Day. But being inferior to the *Gauls* in Number, he makes use of a Stratagem, which had never been practised before. He orders his Muleteers to put upon their Mules the Furniture of War Horses, to mount them, march silently up to the Hills, and hide themselves in the Woods, till they receive farther Orders. By this Stratagem, and a new Method in giving the first Attack, he gains a complete Victory.

Year of ROME 394.

96th Consulship.

Year of ROME 395.

97th Consulship.

Sulpicius Peticus, *Dictator.*

Year of *ROME*

And now the *Hernici* being ſubdued, the *Latins* reconciled, and the *Gauls* vanquiſhed and diſperſed, *Rome* is again almoſt upon as good a Foot as before it was taken by the *Senones*. For this Proſperity the Publick is chiefly indebted to *Sulpicius*, who having been honoured with a Triumph, and having made a Preſent of ſome of the Spoils to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, abdicates the *Dictatorſhip*; and the Government returns into the Hands of the two *Conſuls* for the Year.

Some *Roman Citizens* being at this time ſent into the *Pomptin* Territory, to ſtop the Incurſions of the *Veliterni*, and *Privernates*, form a new *Tribe* there, which, with the *Tribe Publicia*, or *Popilia*, lately eſtabliſhed, make the whole Number of the *Tribes*, twenty ſeven. Tribes *increas'd to* 27.

At this time likewiſe, the firſt Law is made againſt openly canvaſſing for Votes. It is occaſioned by the Ambition of the *Novi Homines*, or *upſtart Gentlemen*, who, not content with ſolliciting Suffrages in the *Forum Romanum*, go even to the Country Fairs, and other publick Meetings, to buy Voices.

396. §. 10. Under the following Adminiſtration of *C. Marcius Rutilus*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperioſus*, the Intereſt of Money, which before was arbitrary, is ſettled at one *per Cent*. But this Regulation is ſo diſpleaſing to the avaricious *Patricians*, that to revenge themſelves on the *Plebeians*, they cite the famous *Licinius Stolo* to anſwer for the Breach of one of the four Laws (which he himſelf had ſo zealouſly promoted) prohibiting any *Citizen* to poſſeſs more than five hundred Acres of Land. *Licinius* actually poſſeſſed a thouſand, but to cover his Breach of the Law, had put his Son in the nominal Poſſeſſion of one half of them. However, he is convicted of Fraud, and fined ten thouſand *Aſſes* of *Braſs*. *98th Conſulſhip.*

After theſe inteſtine Commotions are over, the *Conſul Marcius* is ordered to conduct an Army into the Territory of *Privernum*, to revenge the Cauſe of *Rome*, on the Inhabitants of that City. The *Romans* on this Occaſion ſhew, that they are not led to Victory ſo much by the Love of Glory, or of their Country, as by the Hopes of Plunder. The City ſurrenders; and *Marcius*, on his return to *Rome*, has the Honour of a Triumph.

But *Cn. Manlius*, the other *Conſul*, gains little Glory in his Expedition againſt the *Faliſci*, whom he had been ſent to puniſh for ſeveral Inſults on the Republick. Nothing is talked of in *Rome*, but his Attempt upon the Conſtitution. He had ventured to aſſemble the *Tribes* near *Sutri*, and had there made a Law in his Camp, *That the twentieth part of the Price of every Slave, thereafter ſold, ſhould be payed into the publick Treaſury*. The Senate had conſented to this Law, notwithſtanding the Irregularity of holding the *Comitia by Tribes* in the Camp. But *The Tribunes of the People* think this Step of the *Conſul*, of dangerous Conſequence to the publick Liberty; and therefore get a Law paſt, forbidding any Man to aſſemble the People in *Comitia*, any where but in *Rome*, upon Pain of Death. However, we are not told, that the Law relating to the twentieth part of the Price of Slaves was repealed.

397. §. 11. The *Conſuls* for the following Year, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas* (both a ſecond time) are no ſooner entered on their Office, than they chooſe their military Employments by Lot. *Popilius* commands the Army, which is to act againſt the *Tyburtes*; he finds them ſhut up within their Walls, and ravages their Lands, without Oppoſition. But *Fabius* has a more difficult War to manage againſt the united *Faliſci* and *Tarquinienſes*. They ſtir up all *Hetruria* againſt the Republick. The *Hetrurians* advance towards the *Roman* Territory, as far as the *Salt-pits*, on the Banks of the *Tyber*; and their Approach obliges the *Romans* to have recourſe to the uſual Remedy in great Emergencies. The *Conſul Popilius* is ordered to name a *Dictator*; and as he is a *Plebeian* himſelf, he pitches upon *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the *Plebeian Conſul* of the laſt Year, to raiſe him to that Dignity. The *Dictator* likewiſes chooſes a *Plebeian*, *C. Plautius Proculus*, to be his General of Horſe: So that the Government of the Republick is almoſt entirely in the Hands of Men of true Merit, choſen out of the People. The *Patricians* are ſtung with Jealouſy at theſe Promotions, and do all they can to hinder the *Dictator* from having the Neceſſaries for the War. On the other hand, the People haſten the Preparations for the Campaign, and the General marches out to meet the Enemy. He ſurpriſes their Camp; forces it, and takes eight thouſand Priſoners. Notwithſtanding ſo complete a Victory, the Senate oppoſe the Triumph of a *Plebeian Dictator*; but the People do him Juſtice, and he enters *Rome* triumphantly, the Day before the *Nones* of *May*. Marcius Rutilus, *a* Plebeian, *created* Dictator. *99th Conſulſhip.*

And now the time drawing nigh for electing new *Conſuls*; and *Fabius* not being at *Rome*, the Nobility pretend, That it is unlawful for any *Plebeian*, though a *Dictator*, to preſide in the *Comitia*; becauſe by the *Pontifical* Laws, the Election of chief Magiſtrates ſhould be conſecrated by *Auguries*; and *Auguries*, ſay they, belong of right only to *Patricians*. And for this time they prevail. The Republick has recourſe to an *Interregnum*; and which is very extraordinary, the *Plebeians* are in the very Year, in which they triumphed moſt, excluded a Share in the Government; Interregnum.

ment; and two *Patricians* are choſen *Conſuls* in the enſuing *Comitia*. *The Tribunes of the People* exclaim againſt the Election, as contrary to the Cuſtom practiſed for eleven Years paſt, during which time one of the *Conſuls* had always been a *Plebeian*. But the Preſident in the *Comitia* ſilences their Clamours, by citing a Law of the *Twelve Tables*, *That only the laſt Edict of the People ſhould be of Force, and render all preceding ones null*. And they infer, that the People, by chooſing two *Patricians*, had, in effect, aboliſhed the former Cuſtom. Year of ROME

100*th Conſulſhip.* §. 12. The new *Conſuls*, *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, after a ſlight Battel, take *Empulum* from the *Tyburtes*, but do nothing elſe remarkable Abroad, during their Adminiſtration. Their chief View is to keep the *Conſulſhip* in *Patrician* Hands; and when the time comes for new Elections, they declare, that they will never reſign their Dignity to any other than *Patricians*. This occaſions great Commotions and Tumults in the *Campus Martius*, inſomuch, that the greater Number of the People cry out, that a *Seceſſion* is neceſſary, and in reality quit the Aſſembly, leaving only the leaſt paſſionate behind them. Theſe give their Suffrages for two *Patricians*; and thus the Nobility carry their Point. 398.

101*ſt Conſulſhip.* §. 13. *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *T. Quinctius Pennus* the new *Conſuls*, both take the Field, the former againſt the *Tyburtes*, whom he totally ſubdues, the latter againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, on whom the *Romans* now revenge the Cruelty committed on the three hundred and ſeven *Roman* Soldiers formerly mentioned. *Quinctius* puts all the Priſoners he takes to the Sword, except three hundred and fifty eight, whom he ſends to *Rome*, where, by order of the Senate, they are firſt beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. Theſe Victories extend the Reputation of the *Romans*; inſomuch, that the *Samnites* ſend an Embaſſy to the Republick, court her Friendſhip, and conclude an Alliance with her (probably upon the ſame Foot as that with the *Latins* and *Hernici.)* 399.

102*d Conſulſhip.* §. 14. Though the People continue ſtill inclined to have one of the *Conſuls*, *Plebeian*, the Nobility, as their Creditors, have them ſo much under at this time, that they keep the *Conſulſhip* in their own Hands; and *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, both *Patricians*, are again promoted to that Dignity. And while the Republick is preparing to revenge her ſelf on the *Tarquinienſes*, ſhe receives Advice from the *Latins*, that the *Volſci* are upon the Point of entering the *Roman* Territory; and this obliges her to divide her Forces between the two *Conſuls*. *Sulpicius* marches into *Hetruria*, and *Valerius* againſt the *Volſci*. The latter is already encamped on the Confines of the Territory of *Tuſculum*, when he is recalled to *Rome* to nominate a *Dictator*. This was occaſioned by Letters from *Sulpicius*, which imported, that the *Cærites* were undoubtedly diſpoſed to take part with the *Tarquinienſes*. It is therefore judged neceſſary to raiſe a third Army, and to name a *Dictator*, to lead it againſt the *Cærites*. *T. Manlius Torquatus*, though he had never been *Conſul* (a neceſſary Step to riſe regularly to the *Dictatorſhip*) is nominated, and he appoints *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his General of Horſe. The Inhabitants of *Cære*, intimidated by the Preparations made againſt them, ſend an Embaſſy to implore the Clemency of the *Romans*. The Senate refer the Deputies to the People; who are moved to Compaſſion by the Repentance of the *Cærites*, and eſpecially when reminded that *Cære* had been formerly the Aſylum of the *Veſtals*, and the Receptacle of their Gods. A Truce is granted them for a hundred Years; and the *Dictator*, inſtead of marching againſt them, leads his Troops againſt the *Faliſci*. But finding no Enemies in the Field, he only lays their Country waſte, and then returns to *Rome*. All things are quiet in the City, till the time comes for new Elections. The *Dictator*, who is to preſide in the *Comitia*, intends to prevent any *Plebeian* being choſen to the *Conſulſhip*; but *The Tribunes of the People* perceiving his Deſign, oppoſe the aſſembling of the *Centuries*, till the Expiration of his *Dictatorſhip*, and of the *Conſuls* Year, both which end at the ſame time. An *Interregnum* enſues, and the two Parties are irreconcilable. The People ſeem inclined to a Revolt, and begin to make Complaints about their Debts, as well as of the Infraction of *The Licinian Law*, relating to Elections. This induces *The Conſcript Fathers* at length to let that Law take Place, and to permit one of the *Conſuls* to be choſen out of the *Plebeians*. 400.

T. Manlius Torquatus, *Dictator.*

103*d Conſulſhip.* §. 15. *P. Valerius Poplicola*, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, are elected; and their firſt Care is to unite the two Parties, by eaſing the Debtors. To this end, they chooſe out five Men of known Probity, to take an Account of all Debts, and diſcharge them. Theſe five are called *Bankers*, and they have the Command of the publick Treaſury, to enable them to perform their Commiſſion, which they do to the Satisfaction of all Parties. They advance Money to ſome of the Debtors, on Security, and ſo relieve them, without loſing any of the Money ſo advanced. And the reſt depoſite the Value of their Debts in their Creditors Hands, in Effects, which are valued by the *Bankers*. 401.

Rome is now in perfect Tranquillity at home; but is of a ſudden alarmed with a Report, that the twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria* are going to make War againſt her. The Republick, not to be wanting in Caution, immediately names *Julius Iülus*,

Year of ROME
Iülus, *Dictator*. But the Report proves groundleſs, having been (probably) raiſed by *Patricians*, only to get a Man at the Head of Affairs, who might prevent the *Licinian Law* from taking Place in the enſuing Elections. And indeed he employs all his Credit and Power to that end; but is ſo warmly oppoſed, that both he and the *Conſuls* go out of Office, before they can get the *Comitia* aſſembled. Julius Iülus, *Dictator*.

An *Interregnum* enſues, in which *C. Sulpicius Peticus* and *Fabius* govern by Turns. The Commons have more Complaiſance for theſe, than for the *Dictator*, and ſuffer two *Patricians* to be raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*. §. 16. *Sulpicius* himſelf is one of them, and *T. Quinctius Pennus* the other. The former marches againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, and the latter againſt the *Faliſci*. But theſe two Nations being tired out by the Calamities of War, ſubmit to the Republick, and obtain a Truce for forty Years. Interregnum. 104th Conſulſhip.

402.

And now the *Romans* thinking this Interval of Peace a proper Seaſon to elect new *Cenſors*, appoint a Day for it; and for the firſt time, a *Plebeian* ſtands Candidate for this important Office. *C. Marcius Rutilus* having been twice *Conſul*, and once *Dictator*, thinks he may well aſpire to any Office in the Republick; and accordingly he, with *Cn. Manlius* a *Patrician*, are choſen in the *Comitia*, to be the two *Cenſors*. Nor is this all. The Commons being willing to give a new Luſtre to an Office, to which a *Plebeian* has juſt been promoted, *Ovinius*, one of their *Tribunes*, propoſes to deprive the *Conſuls* of the Prerogative of filling up the Senate, and to lodge this Power in the *Cenſors*; and, which is very extraordinary, this important Change is made in the Republick, without cauſing any Diſturbance. [*The manner of making and of degrading a Senator is deſcribed.*] And now the *Cenſorſhip* being open to the *Plebeians*, the *Patricians* are afraid, leſt they ſhould get likewiſe into the *Conſulſhip*, by vertue of the *Licinian Law*. And the better therefore to ſecure that Dignity totally to the Nobility, the preſent *Conſuls* nominate a *Dictator*, to preſide at the next Election; imagining, that an abſolute Governor will be more reſpected in the *Comitia*, and have more Influence. The Perſon fixed upon is *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who has been thrice *Conſul*. §. 17. But notwithſtanding theſe Precautions, *M. Popilius Lænas*, a *Plebeian*, is now choſen *Conſul* a third time. And his Collegue, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, falling ſick ſoon after his Election, and when he ſhould take the Field, the Senate have the farther Mortification of ſeeing the *Plebeian Conſul* ſole General of the Troops. The Soldiers who have inliſted themſelves, are ſo numerous, that *Popilius*, by Order of the Senate, divides them into two Armies, and leaves one to guard the City, under the Command of *M. Valerius Poplicola* the preſent *Prætor*. And this is the firſt time that a *Prætor* is ſeen at the Head of an Army. The *Conſul*, with four *Legions*, and ſome Auxiliaries, marches againſt the *Gauls*, who, upon his firſt Appearance, offer him Battel. But *Popilius*, who knows their Temper, is willing to let their firſt Heat abate, before he engages; and therefore keeps within his Camp, which he fortifies. The *Gauls* think the *Romans* afraid, and therefore attack them, while they are buſy in raiſing their Works; but the latter having the Advantage of being poſted on an Eminence, repulſe their Enemies, and make a conſiderable Slaughter of them. In the beginning of a ſecond Attack, *Popilius*, expoſing himſelf ſo much, is wounded, with a Javelin, and carried out of the Field to have his Wound dreſſed. This Accident ſuſpends the Ardor of the *Romans*; but as ſoon as their General appears again, they renew the Charge, drive the *Gauls* into the Plain, and there drawing up in the Form of a Wedge, they penetrate into the main Body of the Enemy, and totally diſperſe them. The *Conſul* does not think proper to purſue the Fugitives, but having plundered their Camp, leads back to *Rome* his victorious Army, enriched with Spoil. §. 18. *Popilius* had deſerved a Triumph, and it is decreed him: But he not being cured of his Wound, and *Cornelius Scipio* continuing ſtill ſick, they name *L. Furius Camillus* (Son of the Great *Camillus*) *Dictator*, to preſide at the Election of new *Conſuls*. The *Dictator* prevails to have himſelf elected one of them; and *Appius Claudius*, ſurnamed *Craſſus*, another *Patrician*, is appointed his Collegue. And now the *Senones*, who had fled for Refuge to the Hills of *Alba*, come down again, and ſpread themſelves upon the Sea Coaſt in the Country of the *Latins*. At the ſame time, ſome *Greeks* (from what Part is uncertain) make a Deſcent on the very ſame Coaſt, where the *Gauls* are committing Rapine, *i.e.* from the Mouth of the *Tyber* to *Antium*. The latter, jealous of their Booty, force theſe new Invaders back to their Ships. But as the *Gauls* continue ſtill in *Latium*, and the *Greeks* are ſtill hovering about the Coaſt, the *Romans* are at a Loſs for two Generals to act againſt theſe two Parties of Robbers; for *Appius*, one of the *Conſuls*, is juſt dead. It ſeems neceſſary to nominate a *Dictator*, to act in concert with the ſurviving *Conſul*, but then they are unwilling to offer *Camillus* ſuch an Affront, as to make any Man his Superior. They remember his perſonal Merit, his Experience, and that he had been *Dictator* the laſt Year; and his very Name of *Camillus* being a good Omen in a War with the *Gauls*, all theſe

A Plebeian *choſen* Cenſor.

The Power of naming the Senators given to the Cenſors.

403.

105th Conſulſhip.

The Command of an Army given to a Prætor.

404.

106th Conſulſhip.

Conſiderations make them accept of him as ſole Governor of the Republick; ſo that he wants little more, than a greater Number of *Lictors* to commence a regular *Dictator*. §. 19. His firſt Care is to raiſe two Armies. The *Latins* are ſummoned to furniſh their Contingent of Auxiliaries: But they refuſe to be commanded by a *Roman* General; and in a national Diet, reſolve to ſhake off the diſhonourable Yoke. However, the *Conſul* finds Troops enough in *Rome*. Ten *Legions* are raiſed, amounting to forty five thouſand Men. *Camillus* leaves two of theſe *Legions* to guard the City; gives four to *L. Pinarius* the *Prætor*, whom he ſends to defend the Sea Coaſt againſt the *Greeks*, and he himſelf encamps with the other four in the *Pomptin* Territory, a Country full of Marſhes and Rivers. For he has no Deſign of coming to a Battel; but only to harraſs the Enemy in their Poſts, intercept their Convoys, and, if poſſible, to ſtarve them. But while both Armies continue unactive, a fierce *Gaul* of a gigantick Stature, appears between the two Camps, defying the braveſt Man in the *Roman Legions* to ſingle Combat. *M. Valerius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, Grandſon to the famous *M. Valerius Voluſus*, accepts the Challenge, and is ſaid to have obtained the Victory by means of a Raven, which had perched upon his Helmet, ever ſince Day-break; and which, during the Fight, ſo blinded the Giant with his Wings, that it was eaſy for *Valerius* to ſtab him. The *Gauls* immediately croud round his Body, to hinder him from being ſtript of his Armour; and the *Romans* at the ſame time running to defend their Champion, this brings the two Armies to a Battel. The *Senones* are routed; and taking their Way through the Country of the *Volſci*, retire as far as to the Coaſts of the *Adriatick Sea*. After the Victory, *Camillus* rewards the brave *Valerius* with a Crown of Gold, and two Oxen: And he ever after bears the Name of *Corvus*. §. 20. And now, the time for the new Elections drawing on, the *Conſul* nominates *Manlius Torquatus*, *Dictator*, to preſide at them. *Manlius*, pleaſed with the Exploit of *Valerius*, ſo much reſembling his own former Victory over a gigantick *Gaul*, find Means to prevail with the People to chuſe him one of the *Conſuls*, though but twenty three Years of Age, and too young to have a Place in the Senate. With him is joined *Popilius Lænas*, now *Conſul* a fourth time. As for *Camillus*, he makes ſo good an Appearance on the Coaſt, that the *Greeks* dare not come aſhore; and at laſt wanting freſh Water, and other neceſſary Proviſions, they put out to Sea. §. 21. The *Romans* enjoy now an Interval of profound Peace. But their Happineſs (as had been almoſt always their Fate) is interrupted by a Plague. At this time Ambaſſadors arrive from *Carthage*, to renew and confirm a Treaty (with ſome little Alterations and Additions) made with *Rome* the firſt Year after the Expulſion of the Kings. [*The * Particulars of this Treaty are related with the Additions to it.*) It appears by the preſent Negociation, that *Carthage* was at this time Miſtreſs of the Seas, and that the two Republicks were jealous of each other, and Rivals for Power; though *Carthage* ſeems much the more conſiderable of the two, having all *Sardinia*, and a part of *Sicily* under her Dominion, beſides large Poſſeſſions on the Continent of *Africa*. §. 22. The *Conſuls* choſen for the new Year are *C. Plautius Hypſæus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who, though twice *Dictator*, had never been *Conſul* before. Nothing remarkable is done under their Adminiſtration, except reducing the Intereſt of Money from one *per Cent.* to one half *per Cent.* §. 23. When *Valerius Corvus*, and *C. Pœtelius Viſolus* are *Conſuls*, a new War breaks out with the *Volſci*. The City of *Satricum*, formerly belonging to them, had been deſtroyed by the *Latins*, above thirty Years ſince. The *Antiates*, a People of the *Volſci*, had within three Years paſt rebuilt and repeopled it; and had made it a Place of Rendezvous for their Confederates. They had likewiſe endeavoured to ſtir up all the *Latin Cantons* againſt *Rome*. *Corvus* marches againſt them upon the firſt News of their Motions, routs them, and takes *Satricum*, which he burns; ſparing only the Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*. He returns to *Rome*, and enters it in Triumph, with four thouſand Captives before his Chariot.

It is pretended, that the † *Secular Games* were now celebrated for the ſecond time; having been firſt inſtituted in the Year of *Rome* 297. §. 24. The *Romans* are no ſooner delivered from the *Volſci*, but they are attacked by the *Aurunci*, a petty Nation on the Confines of *Latium*, and on the Coaſt of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. And the Republick is ſtruck with more Terror than ſhe ought to be, by an Enemy ſo little formidable. She is now governed by two *Patrician Conſuls*, *M. Fabius Dorſo*, and *Sulpicius Camerinus*, whom the Senate force to nominate a *Dictator*. *L. Furius* is promoted to that Office; and the Fright is ſo great in *Rome*, that all the Courts of Juſtice are ſhut up, and the Levies are made with the utmoſt Rigour. When the *Dictator* comes in ſight of the Enemy, they appear only like a Company of Robbers; but he ſuſpects that they are aſſiſted by the Troops of a more conſiderable Nation, who lie concealed, and is confirmed in this Suſpicion, when he ſees that they offer him Battel. The *Aurunci* being ſo few in Number, muſt certainly, though beaten, have performed Wonders in the Action, to have forced

Year of *ROME*

405.

A Treaty of Navigation and Commerce made with Carthage.

* Vide p. 125, 126.

107*th Conſulſhip.*

406.

108*th Conſulſhip.*

407.

109*th Conſulſhip.*

† Vide *p.* 128, 129.

408.

110*th Conſulſhip.*

L. Furius, *Dictator.*

Year of ROME
409. forced the *Dictator* to have recourse to his Gods, and to vow a Temple to * *Juno Moneta*. On his return to *Rome* he builds this Temple on the *Capitol* in the same Place, where the House of the rebellious *Manlius* had stood; and in it were kept those mysterious Books, in which the Fate of *Rome* was pretended to be foretold. (Afterwards, the Temple of *Juno Moneta* became a publick Mint; and from thence the Medals, which were stamped for current Coin in Trade, took the Name of *Moneta*, or *Money*.) §. 25. The succeeding *Consuls*, *C. Marcius Rutilus*, and *T. Manlius Imperiosus* consecrate this new Temple; and immediately the *Romans* imagine, that the Goddess, agreable to her Name *Moneta*, admonishes them of the impending Wrath of the Gods, by sending large Hail-Stones, *&c.* They therefore nominate a *Dictator*, whose chief Business is to order the Solemnization of *Feriæ*, or Holidays; and they hope that he will have Credit enough to bring all *Latium* into the Observance of them. Accordingly, *Supplications* are appointed, the Temples opened, Victims slain, *&c.* and the *Romans* spend near a Year in taking Advantage of the pretended Admonitions of an imaginary Goddess, to preserve themselves from the fancied Threatnings of Heaven.

* Vide *p.* 130.

111*th* Consulship.

Q. Fabius Ambustus, *Dictator*.

BOOK XVI.

§. 1. THE *Dictator* of the preceding Year having brought the Government to an *Interregnum*, the President of it holds the *Comitia by Centuries*, for electing new *Consuls*. *M. Valerius Corvus* is chosen a third time, and *Cornelius Cossus Arvina* is appointed his Collegue. Under their Administration it is, that the *Romans* and *Samnites* first become Enemies; and a City scarce known to the *Romans*, sows those Seeds of Discord between them, which produces a lasting Hatred.

Interregnum.

410. 112*th* Consulship.

§. 2. The *Sidicini*, a People of *Ausonia*, who dwelt beyond the *Liris*, and whose chief City was *Teanum*, were in War with the *Samnites*, who unjustly attempted the Conquest of their Country. It was the Interest of the People of *Campania* to assist their Neighbours, the *Sidicini*, who had recourse to them for Assistance, and to stop the Progress of the *Samnites*. But the *Campanians* lived in a Climate, where the very Air they breathed inclined them to Effeminacy, and enervated their Courage. They were by no means a Match for the robust and rugged *Samnites*, who had been inured to War. A Battel is fought in the Plain between Mount *Tifata* and *Capua*, where they are routed, and forced to fly within their Walls for Refuge. In this Distress they send Ambassadors to *Rome* to implore the Protection of the Republick, to offer her an eternal Friendship and Alliance, and to put *Capua* into the Hands of the *Romans*. The Senate are inclined, both by Compassion and Interest, to accept the Proposal. But the Faith of former Treaties with the *Samnites*, prevails over all other Considerations. And the *Consul Valerius* therefore, in the Name of the *Conscript Fathers*, gives the *Capuan* Ambassadors this Answer. *The Senate of* Rome *think you worthy of their Protection. But we must have regard to our old Friendship with the* Samnites. *We will not therefore take Arms in your Favour; it will offend the Gods: But we will entreat our Friends, the* Samnites, *to put an end to their Hostilities*. The *Capuan* Deputies, had hitherto spoken only of an Alliance and Confederacy with the *Romans*. But now, not thinking the Answer they had received sufficient to build great Hopes on; they, pursuant to the Powers with which they had been invested, make this farther Declaration. *Since the* Romans *are scrupulous of openly attacking the* Samnites, *contrary to the Faith of their Treaties, let them at least not be afraid to defend their own Property against the Usurpation of their Enemies.* Capua *and* Campania *are theirs.* Romans, *we this Day subject them to you, and from this time therefore all our Losses will be yours.* This Donation, in due Form, by Ambassadors authorized to make it, makes new Impressions on the Minds of the Senators; and, in short, they send away Deputies, with Instructions to entreat the *Samnites* as Friends, to spare a Province which belongs to *Rome*; and in case of Refusal, to give them Notice, in the Name of the People and Senate of *Rome*, to quit the Country immediately. But the *Samnite* Magistrates are so far from being intimidated by the Majesty of the *Roman* Name, that in the very Presence of their Deputies, they order the Commanders of their Troops to go instantly and ravage *Campania*. This Insult fills both the People and Senate with Indignation; and the *Romans* apply themselves wholly to the making Preparations for a War. §. 3. But before entering upon Action, all the due Forms of demanding Satisfaction and proclaiming War by the *Feciales* are observed. And then, the two *Consuls* take the Field, each at the Head of an Army. It falls to *Valerius*'s Lot to command in *Campania*; and *Cornelius* is to enter the Country of the *Samnites*. *Valerius* posts his Troops on that Mount *Gaurus*, which lay be-

tween *Puteoli* and *Baiæ*; and being there advantageously situated, is in no haste to come to a Battel, but tries the *Samnites* in little Skirmishes. At length he assembles his Troops, exhorts them *not to be afraid of new Enemies, or of a new Way of Fighting*; bids them remember *their former Victories, and the General who commands them; that it is* Valerius, *who has thrice obtained the* Consulship, *not by Intrigue, or the Nobleness of his Birth (to which* Rome *has now no Regard) but by his Bravery alone*; reminds them, *that he is descended from the Great* Poplicola, *and has himself been always a true* Poplicola *in the true meaning of the Word*; *Go then* Romans, and adds, *fall upon the Enemy, and in return for my Affection to you, gain me the Honours of a Triumph.* When the two Armies are drawn up in *Battalia*, and face each other, their Numbers appear to be pretty equal. The Battel [*which* * *is at large described*] is fought with wonderful Resolution on both sides, and the Night puts an end to the Victory of the *Romans*. They had never fought with more fierce or more intrepid Enemies, and would not have known their Victory to have been complete, if the *Samnites* had not deserted their Camp in the Night, and abandoned it to the Conqueror. §. 4. But whilst *Valerius* is signalizing his Courage in *Campania*, his Collegue *Cornelius Cossus*, who had been advantageously posted near *Saticula*, on the Confines of *Samnium*, leaves his Camp (for what Reason is unknown) and marches his Troops through a mountainous Country into a Forest, all the Roads of which are narrow, and out of which there is but one Passage, and that through a deep Valley. It is not in his Power to alter his March, when he discovers, that both the Wood and the Valley are lined with *Samnites*, and that he is surrounded by the Enemy. In this Distress, *P. Decius Mus*, a *Legionary Tribune*, proposes to the *Consul*, as the only Resource in so great a Danger, to detach him with the two first Lines of a *Legion*, to take Possession of an Eminence, which the *Samnites* had neglected, and which commanded their Camp. *When you see me posted there*, adds he, *continue your March, without Fear, through the Valley*; *the Enemy will not dare to attack you, when exposed to our Darts.* The *Consul* approves of the Motion, and *Decius* puts his own Scheme successfully in execution. He is not discovered by the Enemy, till he has just gained the Eminence; and then the *Samnites* are in such a Surprise, that they can come to no Determination what to do, whether to attack the *Consul*, or *Decius*. In the mean time *Cornelius* takes Advantage of their Irresolution, and marches through the Valley, without Molestation. *Decius* expects every Moment to be insulted by the Enemy on his Rock; or at least, that they will shut up all the Avenues to it. But not perceiving that they come to surround him, he assembles his Soldiers, and exhorts them not to follow the Enemy's Example, but to form some Design with Expedition, and to execute it with Courage. He then changes his Clothes with a private Soldier, and orders his *Centurions* to do the same, and follow him. He takes a View of all the Avenues to the Hill, and places Centinels at them, with Orders to return silently to the main Body, at the second Watch of the Night. When all his Men are got together, he lays before them the Necessity of leaving the Place where they are, and puts it to the Vote, whether to stay for Day-light, or march off immediately, and force a Way through the Enemy, while they are asleep. The latter is universally approved. *Decius*, at the Head of his Troop, comes down from the Rock in great Silence, and has already got half through the Enemies Camp, when a *Roman* Soldier strikes his Foot against the Buckler of a *Samnite*; and the Noise gives the Alarm in that Quarter. The *Samnites* run to Arms, without knowing whether it be *Decius*, or the *Consul*, or some *Samnite* of the Camp, that had disturbed their Rest. In the midst of this Uncertainty, *Decius* orders his Men to give a great Shout, which so encreases the Consternation of the *Samnites*, that they are frozen with Fear; and the *Romans* easily make their Escape. When come near the *Consul*'s Camp, *Decius* commands a Halt. *You have deserved*, says he to his Men, *to enter the Camp in a more glorious manner, than in Silence and Darkness; rest your selves therefore here till the Light returns.* The next Morning *Decius* and his Troop enter the Camp, with the Acclamations of the Army, who call them their Preservers, and give Thanks to the Gods for their happy Return. But when the *Consul* (having summoned all his Soldiers to hear his Harangue) is beginning to make the Panegyrick of *Decius*, this brave *Tribune* advises him, *instead of losing time in Panegyricks, to march away immediately, and surprise the Camp of the Enemy, who, in all Probability, have sent out Detachments into the Wood, in quest of him.* This Advice is followed; the Entrenchments of the *Samnites* are surprised and taken, and thirty thousand of the Enemy, who being dispersed about the Hills and Woods, hasten back in Disorder to defend their Camp, are cut in pieces. By this Success the Glory of *Decius* is much augmented, and he is honoured with all the military Rewards which were ever given to a Subaltern. Besides a Crown of Gold, he receives from the General a Present of a thousand Oxen, and a white Bull, with gilded Horns. The Army likewise shew their Gratitude to *Decius*, their Deliverer, by

Year of ROME

* Vide *p.* 139.

Year of *ROME* by putting on his Head a Crown of *Gramen*. And laſtly, his own Detachment, which he had brought ſafely out of the Danger into which he had led them, beſtow a Mark of Diſtinction on their Leader, and crown him with a *Civic* Crown, or a Crown of Oak-Leaves, which was deemed the moſt honourable of all Rewards. Thus adorned with three Crowns, he offers up his white Bull in Sacrifice to *Mars*, and diſtributes his hundred Oxen among the Companions of his Danger, and Sharers of his Glory. §. 5. But the Campaign is not yet ended. The *Samnites* having recovered their Courage, and raiſed new Forces, appear before *Sueſſula*, a City ſituated between *Nola* and *Capua*. *Valerius* marches againſt them, and when he comes within reach of them, chuſes as narrow a Spot of Ground to encamp on, as he can well croud his Cavalry and Infantry into, and by this he deceives the Enemy. For they marching round his Camp, and finding it ſo little, imagine the *Romans* to be but weak in Number; and the *Samnite* Soldiers are for immediately forcing their Enemies Lines. But the Officers reſtrain their Impetuoſity; and believing that the *Romans* muſt ſoon want Proviſions, they judge it a wiſer part to continue ſtill in their Camp, and watch them. But they do not reflect that the *Romans* are in a Friend's Country, whoſe Intereſt it is to ſupport them. In ſhort, the *Samnites* themſelves are the firſt who want Neceſſaries, and are obliged to ſend out large Detachments to convoy Proviſions to their Camp. *Valerius* obſerving this, ſeizes the Moment when the greateſt part of the Enemy's Troops are diſperſed about the Country, attacks their Camp, forces it, makes great Slaughter there, and then with his Cavalry, chaſes the ſeveral Parties which are abroad foraging. In this Action two hundred and twenty Standards are taken from the *Samnites*.

Theſe Succeſſes of *Valerius* and *Cornelius* make the Republick reſpected Abroad. The *Faliſci* enter into a Treaty of Alliance with her, and that whole *Lucumony* of *Hetruria* becomes *Roman*. The *Latins*, who had ſtood neuter to ſee the Event of the War, commence Hoſtilities againſt the *Peligni*, a *Samnite* Nation, as it were to aſſiſt the *Romans*. And laſtly, the *Carthaginians* ſend a Compliment of Congratulation to the *Romans*, with a Preſent of a Crown of Gold of twenty Pounds weight, to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of Thankſgiving for their Victories.

By a *Cenſus* taken this Year, it appears, that the Number of *Romans*, able to
411. bear Arms, amounts to a hundred and ſixty thouſand. § 6. The *Conſuls* for the new Year are *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, now raiſed to that Dignity a fourth time, and *Q. Servilius Ahala*, a *Patrician*. The latter ſtays encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, while the former marches into *Campania*. But when *Marcius* arrives at *Capua*, he finds a great Alteration in the *Romans*, who had ſpent the Winter there. Diſcipline had been neglected; their Auſterity of Manners was changed into Effeminacy, and their Sobriety into Intemperance. The Charms of the Climate, and the Air, which they breathed in Idleneſs, had ſo far bewitched them, that they did not care to hear their own Country mentioned. They entered into a Plot among one another, to drive the Natives out of *Campania*, and ſeize it for themſelves. *Marcius* is informed of all this; and as he is a Man of great Experience and Prudence, he makes uſe of the gentleſt Methods to induce them to drop their Deſign. He indulges them in the Hopes that they may put their Scheme in execution the next Year, and by this means puts a Stop to the Sedition for the preſent. In the mean time he contrives, upon various Pretences, to ſend away the moſt factious at firſt, one by one, but afterwards whole *Cohorts*; yet ſo as no Soldier is diſmiſſed with Diſgrace. But at length the Troops obſerve the General's Conduct, and penetrate into his Intentions. They preſently imagine that their Companions have been tried and condemned at *Rome*, and that they muſt undergo the ſame Fate. In this Apprehenſion, the firſt Expedient that occurs to them, is Deſertion; and one *Cohort* is ſo bent upon it, that they ſtrait march away, and poſt themſelves near *Anxur*, in *Lautulæ*, which was the Name the *Romans* gave to the narrow Paſs which lay between the Sea, on one ſide, and high Mountains, on the other. To theſe Deſerters, all thoſe whom the *Conſul* had diſmiſſed, or who were oppreſſed by Debts, reſort; and by new Deſertions, the *Malecontents* increaſe to a moderate Army. But ſtill they are at a Loſs for a Leader; and to ſupply this want, they ſurpriſe by Night in his Bed one *T. Quinctius* (an eminent Soldier, who had retired from publick Life to his Farm) force him to go along with them, and to lead them as their General to *Rome*. §. 7. The City is ſo terrified at their Approach, that a *Dictator* is named. *Valerius Corvus* is the Man pitched upon, and he at the Head of an Army meets the Rebels eight Miles from *Rome*, in *The Appian Way*. The *Dictator* had always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a tender Love for his Soldiers; and theſe very Mutineers were a part of the victorious Army which he had commanded the laſt Year. He endeavours therefore to bring them back to their Duty by gentle Methods; and, advancing into the middle Space between the two Armies, makes a long Harangue † to the Rebels; expoſtulates with them on their

113*th* Conſulſhip.

Valerius Corvus, *Dictator.*

† Vide p. 149.

their Behaviour; and concludes, with addreſſing himſelf to *Quinctius*, as the Mouth and Interpreter of the whole Faction. *Make your Demands*, ſays he to him; *ask any Conditions, which are reaſonable, and they ſhall be granted you. But what ſay I? Would it not be better to grant you even unreaſonable Terms, than to ſpill your Blood?* At theſe Words, *Quinctius* (who had been forced to take on him the Part he was acting) turns to the Rebels, tells them, that he can be of no Service to their Cauſe, unleſs in obtaining for them an advantageous Peace; and adviſes them to put themſelves entirely into the Hands of the *Dictator* (who has a fatherly Affection for them) and to leave it to him to manage their Intereſts at *Rome*. *Quinctius*'s Motion is followed by a Shout of Approbation; and then the *Dictator* having given the Mutineers hopes of all reaſonable Conceſſions, returns to the City, and obtains from the Senate, an Act of Grace, which is afterwards confirmed by the People in *Comitia*. And in the ſame Aſſembly, and at the Requeſt of the Rebels, are paſſed ſome new military * Laws, which Revenge alone inſpires them to demand. Particularly, they inſiſt, that the Pay of the Cavalry be reduced: And this, becauſe not one ſingle Man of that *Corps* had joined them in their Revolt. (It is probable, that at this time likewiſe all Uſury was aboliſhed in *Rome*, and every *Roman* forbidden to lend Money upon Intereſt. Some Authors ſay, that two other Laws were alſo made at the Motion of *Genucius*, *The Tribune of the People*. 1. *That no Man ſhould have the ſame Office twice within ten Years, or poſſeſs two different Offices in the ſame Year*. 2. *That the two* Conſuls *might be both choſen out of the* Plebeians. But if theſe Articles were obtained at this time, it is evident, that the Rebel Army muſt have been exceedingly formidable.)

Year of ROME

* Vide *p.* 150.

Uſury prohibited.

Thus is Tranquillity re-eſtabliſhed in *Rome*; but the Republick, by ſuch Condeſcenſions to Rebels, loſes Credit among her Neighbours. §. 8. The *Privernates*, in the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Plautius Hypſæus*, and *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, revolt, but are eaſily ſubdued by the Troops, which *Plautius* marches againſt them. He takes *Privernum*, and places a ſtrong Garriſon in it. §. 9. On the other hand, *Æmilius* ſpreads Terror in the Provinces of the *Samnites*, who are ſo weakened, by the Overthrows given them by *Valerius* and *Cornelius*, that they ſuffer their Lands to be laid waſte, without Oppoſition; and at length ſue to the *Conſul* for a Peace. He refers their Deputies to the Senate, of whom they demand two things; *to be admitted into the Favour of the Republick, and to be allowed to make War on the* Sidicini. Both theſe Requeſts are granted, on the *Samnites* giving the *Roman* Troops a Year's Pay, and furniſhing them with three Months Proviſions.

1142h Conſulſhip.

412.

A Peace being thus ſettled with the *Romans*, the *Samnites* turn their Arms againſt the *Sidicini*; and theſe, in their Diſtreſs, have recourſe to the Republick for Protection, and make the ſame Surrendry of themſelves, as the People of *Campania* formerly did. But the *Conſcript Fathers* having given their Word ſo lately to the *Samnites*, refuſe the Donation, and leave the *Sidicini* expoſed to the Fury of their Enemies. (Perhaps indeed the Republick might not think her ſelf in a Condition to ſupport a War with *Samnium*, and reduce the *Latins* (who had juſt taken Arms againſt her) at the ſame time; and eſpecially ſince the ungrateful *Campanians* had joined the *Latins* in their Rebellion, to revenge the Indignities done the *Sidicini* by the Senate.)

The *Latins* form a great Army of the united *Campanians*, *Aurunci*, and *Sidicini*, and place one of their own Nation at the Head of it. However, theſe don't immediately enter the *Roman* Territory. They commit their firſt Hoſtilities in *Samnium*: But not being able to bring the *Samnites* to a Battel, they ſoon retire out of their Country. In the mean time the *Samnites* ſend a Deputation to *Rome*, to learn the real Diſpoſitions of the Senate towards them. The Deputies addreſs themſelves to the *Conſcript Fathers* in the following manner. *If the* Latins *and* Campanians *are ſubject to you, why don't you forbid them to moleſt us in a hoſtile manner? If they are Rebels, why don't you chaſtiſe them?* Theſe Queſtions puzzle the Senators, who are unwilling to own their Weakneſs; and therefore the *Conſul Plautius*, in their Name, gives an ambiguous Anſwer. *The* Campanians, ſays he, *are our Subjects, and we will therefore force them to deſiſt from troubling you: But as for the* Latins, *our Treaty of Alliance with them, does not oblige them not to enter into any War, without our Conſent; and therefore we can promiſe nothing in relation to them.* Thus the *Samnites* are left in a melancholy Uncertainty, with relation to the Intentions of the Republick. In the mean time the *Latins* and *Campanians* ſecretly combine together to fall upon the *Romans*, though, in Appearance, their Preparations are only againſt the *Samnites*. The Senate being fully informed of their Intentions, by ſome Friends to *Rome* among them, is for preventing the Enemy; and, in order thereto, for bringing on the Election of new *Conſuls* before the uſual time. But ſome religious Scruples, concerning the preſent *Conſuls* holding the *Comitia*, being thrown in the Way, the Government is firſt reduced to an *Interregnum*; and then the *Centuries*

Year of ROME 413. *Centuries* chooſe *Manlius Torquatus*, and *Decius Mus*, to be *Conſuls* for the next Year. 115th Conſulſhip.

§. 10. At this time, *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and Brother to *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander the Great*, comes into *Italy*, being invited hither by the *Tarentini* to aſſiſt them againſt the *Bruttii*. He hopes to find as plentiful a Harveſt of Glory in *Sicily*, *Italy* and *Africa*, as his Nephew would reap in *Perſia*, and the reſt of *Aſia*. But though he gains ſome ſlight Victories over the *Lucani* and *Bruttii*, at his firſt coming, he is forced to ſeek the Friendſhip of the more powerful Nations of *Italy*, and particularly of the *Romans*, who readily make an Alliance with him, it being of more Importance to them to ſuppreſs the Revolt of the *Latins*, than to protect the *Bruttii* from the *Greeks*. And the firſt Step the *Conſuls* take in order thereto, is to cite ten of the chief Leaders of the *Latins* to appear at *Rome*, and give an Account of the Preparations they are making againſt the *Samnites*. The *Latins* had choſen themſelves two *Prætors*, or Preſidents of their Diet (who were likewiſe to be the Managers of the War) *L. Annius*, and *L. Numicius*. Theſe two being eſpecially ſummoned by Name, aſſemble the Diet; acquaint them with it; point out the Heads upon which they preſume their Examination will turn, and aſk what Anſwer they ſhall make to the Senate. The Members of the Diet are divided in Opinion; upon which *Annius*, in a long † Harangue, exhorts them to ſhake off all Dependance upon *Rome*, and to have no Alliance with her, unleſs ſhe will conſent, that one of her *Conſuls*, and the half of her Senate, be for the future choſen out of the *Latins*. And he offers to go in Perſon to *Rome*, and make this Demand in the Preſence of the Senate and People, and even of *Jupiter Capitolinus* himſelf. This Motion is univerſally approved; and *Annius*, with nine more Envoys, appears before the *Conſcript Fathers*, aſſembled in the *Capitol*. *Manlius*, the *Conſul*, ſpeaks firſt; and, in the Name of the Senate, forbids the *Latins* to make War with the *Samnites*. *Annius*, with all the Pride of a Conqueror, rather than the becoming Confidence of an Ambaſſador, anſwers, *That the* Romans *have choſen an ill time to give their Orders in ſuch an abſolute manner, when the* Latins *are in nothing inferior to them*. And then, he makes the Demand, before mentioned. *Manlius* is ſo provoked at his Inſolence, that he declares, *That if the Senators ſhould be mad enough to receive this Propoſal, he would himſelf enter the Senate-houſe Sword in Hand, and kill every* Latin *he ſhould find there*. He then invokes the Gods to be Witneſſes of the Pride and Ingratitude of the *Latins*. Upon this *Annius*, no leſs tranſported with Rage, leaves the Temple, and retires with ſuch Precipitation, that he falls from the Top of the Steps to the Bottom, and for ſome time lies ſenſeleſs. *Manlius* coming out of the Aſſembly to diſmiſs the Ambaſſadors, and ſeeing *Annius* lying ſtretched on the Ground, cries out, *Happy Omen for the War we are going to begin! Can we any longer doubt whether there be a God, that governs the World; or whether we have Reaſon to dedicate this Temple to* Jupiter? *Why do we delay one Moment to take Arms, after ſo happy an Augury, ſo plain a Declaration of the Will of the Gods? I will hereafter lay the* Latin *Troops as low, as you ſee here one of their Commanders*. Theſe Words inſpire all preſent with an Ardour for fighting. The Senate inſtantly paſs a Decree for a War with the *Latins*; and the People ratify it in their *Comitia*. The *Conſuls* raiſe two Armies, conſiſting entirely of *Romans*; becauſe they are now going to engage with their old Allies, and their uſual Companions in Victory.

† Vide p. 156.

§. 11. *Manlius* and *Decius* march into *Campania*, and encamp near the Enemy, at the Foot of Mount *Veſuvius*; and there, the Night before the Battel, they are ſaid to have both dreamt the ſame Dream. A Man of a gigantick Stature, and majeſtick Look appears to them, and tells them, *That the Victory is decreed to that Army of the two, whoſe General ſhould devote himſelf to the* Dii Manes. As ſoon as it is Day, the Generals communicate their Dreams to each other; and the *Aruſpices*, being conſulted, pretend to make ſuch Diſcoveries in the Entrails of the Victims, as confirm the Dreams. Upon this it is agreed, in a Council of War, that *Manlius* ſhall command the right Wing, and *Decius* the left; and that he, whoſe Troops ſhall firſt give Way, ſhall ruſh into the midſt of the Enemy's Battalions, and devote himſelf to certain Death, to ſave his Country.

In the ſame Council of War it is determined, that the ancient ſtrict Diſcipline ſhall be obſerved; and that no Officer, or Soldier, ſhall dare to ſtrike a Stroke, without expreſs Orders, or out of his Rank. (This Precaution was neceſſary, at a time when the *Romans* were at War with the *Latins*, who obſerved the ſame way of fighting, and of marſhalling their Troops, and ſpoke the ſame Language. But it proves fatal to young *Manlius*, the *Conſul*'s Son. Being at the Head of a Detachment of Horſe, he accidentally meets an advanced Squadron of the Enemy, whoſe Commander challenges him to ſingle Combat. *Manlius* accepts the Challenge, kills his Adverſary, ſtrips him of his Armour, and, loaded with the glorious Spoils, comes ſtrait to his Father's Tent. *Sir*, ſays he, *I have followed your Example; I was challenged, like you, by a proud Enemy; and I here lay his Spoils at your*

your Feet. The *Conſul* turns his back upon his Son, orders the Troops to be aſſembled, and then, in their Preſence, makes him this Reply. *As you have been both victorious and diſobedient, you deſerve to be rewarded, and you deſerve to die. You ſhall be crowned as a Conqueror, and puniſhed as a Rebel,* &c. * When he has done ſpeaking, he firſt crowns his Son as a Victor, and then orders the *Lictors* to tie him to a Stake, and ſtrike off his Head. The Soldiers preſent are ſo moved at the Sight, that nothing but their Surpriſe hinders them from immediately revolting. §. 12. However, it is not to be imagined how tractable this Severity of *Manlius* makes his Army for the future, and how much it contributes to the Victory obtained a few Days after. [† *A Deſcription is here given of the Order of Battel, in which both the* Roman *and* Latin *Armies, in* Manlius's *time, uſed to be drawn up before an Engagement.*] §. 13. The Signal being given for the Battel, the two Armies engage; and the left Wing, which *Decius* commands, being hard preſſed by the *Latins*, loſes Ground. This Diſadvantage puts *Decius* in mind of his Agreement with his Collegue, and he prepares to make his *Devotement* to the *Dii Manes.* [‡ *The Ceremonies and Circumſtances of this Action are deſcribed at large.*] The Death of *Decius* gives new Courage to the *Romans*, who, by the excellent Conduct of *Manlius*, obtain a complete Victory. Not a fourth part of the *Latin* Army eſcapes. [*The Particulars of the* ‡ *Action are related.*] §. 14. The routed *Latins* retire for the moſt part to *Minturnæ*, where *Numicius* (who ſeems to have been the ſole General of their Army) exhorts and encourages them to try the Fortune of their Arms once more with the *Romans.* The Propoſal is approved, and *Numicius* marches towards *Capua*, without Delay. *Manlius* being informed of the Enemy's Motions, haſtens to meet them; gives them another Overthrow, and then enters *Latium* to lay it waſte. He meets with no Reſiſtance; the *Latin* Towns ſurrender at Diſcretion; as does *Privernum* in the Territory of the *Volſci.* *Campania* is likewiſe totally brought into Subjection to its former Maſters. And now, the *Conſul* makes it his whole Buſineſs to puniſh the Guilty, and reward the Deſerving. He diſpoſſeſſes the Inhabitants of *Capua*, *Latium*, and *Privernum*, of their Eſtates, and diſtributes them among his victorious Soldiers. However, the *Latins* and *Campanians* are not all deprived of their Eſtates, without Diſtinction. The *Laurentini* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian* Knights, to the Number of one thouſand ſix hundred, had not been concerned in the Revolt; and they are therefore continued in their Poſſeſſions and Privileges. Nay, the latter are made *Citizens* of *Rome*; but without Right of Suffrage: And an annual Penſion, to the Value of near forty Shillings, is aſſigned each of them for ever, out of the publick Revenues of *Campania.*

[*Manlius* had deſerved the Honours of a Triumph, and doubtleſs he obtained them: But he could not recover the Good-will of the *Roman* Youth, who bore him an eternal Hatred for his Severity. It is poſſible, that his Uneaſineſs at this might have an effect upon his Health; for he ſoon after fell ſick: And though his Preſence was wanted in the Field, to oppoſe ſome freſh Incurſions of the *Antiates*, he choſe rather to name a *Dictator*, than return to the War.] He nominates *L. Papirius Craſſus* to the *Dictatorſhip*, who keeps his Troops ſome Months in the Field at free Quarter, and then returns to *Rome* to preſide at the Election of new *Conſuls.* §. 15. It had been cuſtomary for ſome time paſt to chooſe one of the two *Conſuls* out of the *Plebeians.* Accordingly *Q. Publilius*, a *Plebeian*, is now joined with *Tib. Æmilius*, a *Patrician.* And the former proving ſucceſsful in an Expedition againſt a Body of *Latins*, who had got together near *Ferentinum*, obtains the Honours of a Triumph. *Æmilius*, jealous of his Collegue's Glory, demands the ſame Honours, though he has not finiſhed his Expedition againſt another Body of *Latins*, aſſembled near *Pedum.* But *The Conſcript Fathers* abſolutely refuſe him a Triumph, till he has taken that Place, either by Surrender or Aſſault. *Æmilius* highly reſents this Refuſal; nor did ever any *Tribune of the People* inveigh more bitterly againſt the Nobility, than the *Patrician Conſul* now does. The Subject of his ſeditious Harangues is the unequal Diſtribution the Senate had made of the Lands in *Latium*; and he begins to create a Diſturbance. The Senate, to put a Stop to it, order him to name a *Dictator*, under Pretence of carrying on the War with the *Latins.* *Æmilius*, to revenge himſelf on *The Conſcript Fathers*, nominates his *Plebeian* Collegue, *Publilius*, who appoints *Brutus Scæva* to be his General of Horſe. *Publilius* immediately ſeizes this favourable Opportunity to eſtabliſh the Rights of the People on a ſolid Foundation, and to make them equal to thoſe of the Nobility in every Particular. And this he does; Firſt, by reviving an old Law, *That the Decrees made by the People, at the Requeſt of their* Tribunes, *ſhould be obſerved by all the Subjects of the Republick in general.* Secondly, by ordering, *That for the future, the Senate ſhould conſent to the Laws before they were brought to the* Comitia; *and That the People ſhould put the laſt Hand to them by their Approbation:* Whereas before, the *Comitia* drew up the Laws, and the Senate had a Power of accepting or rejecting them. And Thirdly, by getting it enacted, *That*

Year of ROME

* Vide *p.* 160.

† Vide *p.* 161, 162.

‡ Vide *p.* 166.

Decius *devotes himſelf to the* Dii Manes.

‡ Vide *p.* 168.

11 6th Conſulſhip. 414.

Q. Publilius, *Dictator.*

The Plebeians *obtain new Privileges.*

Year of *ROME* 415. *one of the* Censors *should always for the future be a* Plebeian. §. 16. The Senate being much mortified at this downfall of the *Patricians*, resolve to revenge themselves on *Æmilius*; and knowing how tender he is of his Honour, attack him on that side. To shew the *Romans* how negligently he had conducted the War against the *Latins*, they order the new *Consuls*, *L. Furius Camillus*, Grandson of the Great *Camillus*, and *C. Mænius*, a *Plebeian*, to undertake the same Enterprise, and to lay Siege to *Pedum*. And that the Generals may not be foiled in the Attempt, they plentifully furnish them with Men, Ammunition, Arms, and proper Engines. Upon the Report of *Camillus*'s march to besiege *Pedum*, the Inhabitants of *Tybur*, *Prænesle*, *Aricia*, *Lavinium*, *Velitræ*, and *Antium*, hasten to relieve the Place. But these Troops are defeated; and *Camillus*, the same Day, takes the Town by Assault. The *Consuls* having finished the War, and totally subdued *Latium*, return to *Rome*, where they not only have the Honours of a Triumph, but, by order of the Republick, two *Equestrian* Statues are erected for them in the Place of Harangues. And now the great Affair in the Senate is to determine the Fate of the Conquered; whether utterly to exterminate them, or to admit them to the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*, and thereby increase the Number of the Subjects of *Rome*. *Camillus* moves for the latter; and the Senate in general are inclined to Clemency: But as some of the *Latin* Cities have been more criminal than others, they make a Distinction in their Treatment of them. *Lavinium*, *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, are made *Roman Municipia*; the Soldiers are incorporated in the *Legions*, and are no longer upon the Foot of Auxiliaries. *Tusculum* had had the same Privilege before, and it is now confirmed. But *Velitræ* is razed, and its Senate and Inhabitants banished to another City, beyond the *Tyber*; because it had rebelled, after it had been a *Roman Colony* a hundred and fifty Years. *Antium* is not destroyed; but its Fleet is partly burnt, and partly carried away. With the brass Beaks of these Vessels, the *Consul Mænius* adorns *The Tribune of Harangues*, and from thence it is ever after called *The Rostra*. The Inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Prænesle* are deprived of all their Lands, having formerly assisted the *Gauls*; and lastly, all the *Latins* in general are forbidden to assemble their Diets as usual, to marry out of their respective Cities, or to have common Markets and Fairs for Trade. The Cities of *Fundi* and *Formiæ* have the Right of *Citizenship* granted them, but not the Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia by Tribes*, or *Centuries*. They are thus rewarded, for having always allowed the *Romans* free Passage through their Lands. As for *Cumæ*, and *Suessula*, and the other Cities of *Campania*, they are put upon the same Foot as *Capua*, *i. e.* their Lands are all divided among the *Romans*. Thus a three Years War ends in the subduing of two fine Countries to the Republick; and the *Latins*, from being the Allies of *Rome*, become her Subjects.

11*7th Consulship.*

Rostra.

Latium *and* Campania *totally subdued.*

BOOK XVII.

§. 1. *ROME* had never been in a better Condition to attempt the Conquest of all *Italy*, than now; when the Equality, established between the two Orders of Men in the Republick, produced a perfect Tranquillity at home. Intestine Broils, and civil Contentions for Power, had often retarded her Conquests abroad. But now the *Plebeians* shared all the great Offices in the State, with the *Patricians*; the *Consulship*, *Quæstorship*, *Ædileship*, and *Censorship*. And tho' for the most part the Senators were chosen out of the Nobility, yet the People on the other hand, had their *Tribunes* and *Comitia*, with a Power to annul or confirm the Decrees of *The Conscript Fathers*; and this was so weighty a Prerogative, that the *Plebeian* Party might be said to have had the Advantage over the *Patrician*, had not the *Prætor*, who was the sole Judge in civil Causes, been chosen only out of the latter.

416. §. 2. And now, when *C. Sulpicius Longus*, and *P. Ælius Pætus* are *Consuls*, *Rome* has no Enemies. Her Neighbours seem all to respect and fear her; but at the same time quarrel among themselves. The *Sidicini* take Arms against the *Aurunci*, who had submitted to the *Romans*, in the *Consulship* of *T. Manlius*, and had continued faithful to the Republick amidst all the Confusions of the *Latin* War. The *Consuls* are ordered to raise an Army for the Defence of these faithful Allies, but are so indolent in the Matter, that they suffer the *Sidicini* to dispossess the *Aurunci* of their capital City, without moving to their Relief. This is such an Indignity, brought upon the Republick by her Governors, that to punish them for it, she obliges them to name a *Dictator*: But upon some pretended Defect in the Inauguration of this new Magistrate, the *Consuls* enter again upon their Office.

11*8th Consulship.*

Year of ROME

And now the People give the laſt Wound to the Power of the Nobility. The *Prætorſhip* is the only great Dignity, which the *Plebeians* do not ſhare with the *Patricians*. *Publilius* ſtands Candidate for that Office; and though the *Conſul Sulpicius* refuſes to admit his Name among thoſe of the other Candidates, yet upon a Hearing before the Senate, *The Conſcript Fathers* pronounce in his Favour. They judge it unreaſonable that a *Plebeian*, who has been *Conſul* and *Dictator*, ſhould be excluded the *Prætorſhip*. And thus the People being arrived at the height of their Deſires, all Pretences for Faction are entirely taken away. From this time the Republick makes it her Buſineſs to honour Merit only, without regard to the Condition of the Perſon in whom it is found. So that this may more properly, than any of the former, be called, *The Age of* Roman *Virtue*.

A Plebeian *choſen* Prætor.

119*th Conſulſhip.*

417. §. 3. The Republick had neglected the laſt Year to revenge the *Aurunci* on their Enemies, the *Sidicini*. But now the new *Conſuls*, *L. Papirius*, and *Cæſo Duilius*, are ordered to march an Army to the Aſſiſtance of her Allies. The *Auſones* had joined the *Sidicini*, but theſe united Forces are eaſily defeated; the near Neighbourhood of their Cities make them the more ready to fly and ſeek Shelter behind their Walls. So that the *Conſuls* return without reaping much Glory from the Campaign. § 4.

120*th Conſulſhip.*

418. But in the following *Conſulſhip* of *M. Valerius Corvus*, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, the former (to whom his Colleague, at the Requeſt of the Senate, had yielded the Command of the Army, without drawing Lots) lays Siege to *Calé*, the only City of the *Auſones*. He invents * *Covered Galleries*, and *Moveable Towers*, for the ſcreening of his Men, and the better carrying on of the Attacks; and at length takes the Place by Aſſault. After this, both *Conſuls* march againſt the *Sidicini*, having firſt nominated a *Dictator* to preſide at the enſuing Elections. And notwithſtanding that *Valerius* and *Attilius* uſe all Expedition to finiſh their Conqueſt before the Expiration of their Year, they are forced to leave the Completion of it to *T. Veturius Calvinus*, and *Sp. Poſtumius Albinus*, their Succeſſors. §. 5. As ſoon as theſe new *Conſuls* are named, they, to make themſelves acceptable to the Commons, ſollicite and obtain a Decree for ſettling a *Colony* of *Roman Citizens* at *Calé*, and dividing the Diſtrict of that City among them. And that the Diſtribution of the Lands may be made the more equally, the Senate chuſes out three Men of known Equity to conduct and ſettle the *Colony*, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred Men.

* Vide *p.* 190.

121*ſt Conſulſhip.*

419.

The *Romans* ſeem at this time to have made ſome Alterations in their Cuſtoms. Formerly the new *Conſuls* raiſed a new Army upon every Succeſſion: But now an Army, once raiſed, paſſed from one *Conſul* to his Succeſſor, at leaſt till the end of the War which had been begun. Accordingly, *Veturius* and *Poſtumius* put themſelves at the Head of the Troops which *Corvus* had commanded, and enter the Country of the *Sidicini*; who avoid a Battel, ſuffer their Territory to be laid waſte, and appear no more in the Field. Nevertheleſs, a Report is ſpread at *Rome*, after the return of the *Conſuls*, that the *Sidicini* have aſſembled a formidable Army, and are joined by the *Samnites*. Upon this the *Conſuls*, by order of the Senate, nominate a *Dictator*; but he ſoon abdicates, upon ſome pretended Defect in his Inauguration. Nay, Superſtition prevails ſo far at this time, that becauſe a Plague rages at *Rome*, and becauſe the College of *Augurs* declare, that all the *Auſpices* of the Year have been infected by the contagious Air, the chief Magiſtrates are all diſplaced, and the Republick falls into an *Interregnum*.

122*d Conſulſhip.*

420. [§. 6. Livy *ſays nothing of what happened in the Year* 420. *when* L. Papirius Curſor, *and* C. Pœtelius Libo Viſolus *were* Conſuls, *according to the* Faſti Capitolini. *It was probably a Year barren of Events.*]

123*d Conſulſhip.*

421. §. 7. In the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *A. Cornelius*, and *Cn. Domitius*, the Republick is alarmed by a Rumour, that thoſe terrible Enemies, the *Gauls*, are preparing for a War. A *Dictator* is immediately nominated; but while he is raiſing an Army, News comes that all is quiet among the *Gauls*, but that the *Samnites* are forming ill Deſigns againſt the *Roman* State. Theſe were indeed forming an Army, but it was to defend *Italy* againſt *Alexander* King of *Epirus*; who, under pretence of ſuccouring the *Tarentini*, then at War with the *Lucani* and *Bruttii*, had made a Deſcent at *Pæſtum*, and began to grow formidable to all the eaſtern Parts of *Italy*. [What ſuſpended the Progreſs of his Arms, is unknown; but after ſome ſmall Advantages obtained againſt the Enemies of the *Tarentini*; and after making a Treaty with the *Romans*, *Metapontini*, and *Pediculi*, he left *Italy*.] And now the *Romans* being freed from the Fear of the *Gauls* on one hand, and of the *Samnites* on the other, apply themſelves to works of Peace. The late Addition of ſo many new *Citizens*, makes it neceſſary to take a new *Cenſus*, and to increaſe the Number of the *Tribes*. To the twenty ſeven already in being, are added the *Mæcian* and the *Scaptian*; the firſt near *Lanuvium*, the ſecond between *Tybur* and *Prænеſte*.

124*th Conſulſhip.*

422. §. 8. But in the beginning of the following *Conſulſhip* of *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Valerius Potitus*, and while the Republick is enjoying perfect Tranquillity, a new kind of Monſters

ſpring

Year of *ROME* spring up in her Boſom, which ſhe had never heard of before. Some Women of Diſtinction, to the Number of a hundred and ſeventy, according to ſome, or three hundred and ſixty, according to others, form a Plot to poiſon their Husbands, and take the Opportunity of an epidemical Diſtemper to put their Deſign in execution. Their Wickedneſs is diſcovered to *Fabius*, the *Curule Ædile*, by a ſhe Slave of one of the Ladies; and two of the Priſoners, *Sergia* and *Cornelia*, are brought before the Aſſembly of the People, where they deny, that in the Medicines, which they have prepared, and which have been found with them, there are any poiſonous Ingredients. The Slave, to verify her Accuſation, propoſes, that the two Ladies ſhould take their own Potions, and the Experiment is ordered to be made. Upon this, *Cornelia* and *Sergia* deſire to confer with their Accomplices, which being granted, they all agree to drink their own Poiſon, and ſo deliver themſelves from a more lingering Death. The Republick aſcribe this unheard of Prodigy to a Spirit of Madneſs, ſent as a Puniſhment from the angry Gods; to appeaſe whom, they nominate a *Dictator*, to drive a Nail into the Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

423. §. 9. But this tranſient *Dictatorſhip* ſoon gives way to the *Conſulſhip* of *L. Papirius Craſſus*, and *L. Plautius Venno*; in the beginning of whoſe Adminiſtration, a Deputation comes from the *Poluſcani*, and the Inhabitants of *Fabrateria* (both in the Territory of the *Volſci*) to demand Protection againſt the *Samnites*. The *Romans* deſire the latter to put a Stop to their Hoſtilities. The *Samnites* comply, and the Republick immediately turns her Arms againſt the *Privernates*. Theſe Rebels, in Conjunction with the Inhabitants of *Fundi*, are headed by *Vitruvius Vaccus*, a *Roman Citizen*, who, through the Vanity of commanding an Army, had engaged ſome of his Countrymen to revolt: But he dares not keep the Field when the *Conſuls* appear. He flies for Refuge to *Privernum*. *Plautius*, with one part of the Army, enters the Territory of *Fundi*, the Senators of which City come out to meet him, and excuſe themſelves from having any Share in the Revolt. The *Conſul* writes to *Rome* in their Favour, and then marches to rejoin his Collegue, who has already blocked up *Privernum*. But while that Siege is carrying on, one of the *Conſuls* is called back to *Rome*, to preſide in the *Comitia* for electing new *Conſuls*. The *Romans* were the Terror of their Neighbours, but the *Gauls* in *Italy* were the Terror of the *Romans*. And the latter being alarmed at the News of the former's being in motion, think fit to bring on the Elections before the uſual time, in order to provide fit Generals for ſo important a War. Nevertheleſs, in the midſt of theſe Apprehenſions, they don't forget their Diverſions. They build ſumptuous Porticoes at the Entrance of the *Circus*, for a Shelter to the Horſes, which were before ſo expoſed to the Sun, that they were often fatigued before they began the Race. 125th Conſulſhip.

424. §. 10. But now the Siege of *Privernum*, and the Threatnings of the *Gauls*, engage all the Attention of the *Romans*. *L. Æmilius* and *C. Plautius* enter upon the *Conſulſhip* the very Day of their Election, and they draw Lots for their Commands. It falls to *Æmilius* to act againſt the *Gauls*, while his Collegue is to carry on the Siege of *Privernum*. How much the very Shadow of the *Gauls* terrified *Rome*, may be judged of by the extraordinary Preparations made at this time to oppoſe them. The Levies are made with the utmoſt Rigour. No Excuſe is allowed. The meaneſt Artificers, and thoſe of ſedentary Occupations, are all put into the Roll. But after all theſe, and many more Precautions, advice comes that the *Gauls* are quiet; ſo that *Æmilius* joins his Collegue before *Privernum*. The Town is taken; and the Rebel *Vitruvius* being made Priſoner, is condemned by the Senate to be firſt beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. *Æmilius* and *Plautius* both Triumph on account of the new Conqueſt; but the former, who had ſpent but little time before the Place, obtains the Surname of *Privernas*. [And it is here to be obſerved, that the *Romans* are ſometimes reproached with unjuſtly giving all the Glory of an Enterpriſe to the laſt General concerned in it, and who finiſhed it; notwithſtanding that the former Commanders had brought it to ſuch a Maturity, as to be paſt the Danger of a Miſcarriage. But it is not conſidered that this Conduct was founded on wiſe Policy. By giving all the Honour of a War to him who ended it, they excited all their Generals to do their utmoſt to put a ſpeedy Concluſion to their Expeditions.] 126th Conſulſhip.

§. 11. What now remains is to puniſh the *Privernates*. The Magiſtrates are treated as thoſe of *Velitræ* had been, and are baniſhed beyond the *Tyber*. But *Plautius* intercedes with the Senate for thoſe who have been taken in War. However, the Senators are divided in Opinion; and one of the Priſoners, by a haughty Anſwer, endangers all his fellow-Captives. Being aſked by one of the Senators (who is for putting them all to Death) what Puniſhment he and his Companions deſerved. *The Puniſhment*, replies the intrepid *Privernas*, *which is due to Men who are jealous of their Liberty, and think themſelves worthy of it*. This Anſwer exaſperates ſome of the Aſſembly, but the wiſer part cry out, *That a Nation, whoſe only Deſire is Liberty, and whoſe only Fear is that of loſing it, is worthy to become* Roman. So that a Decree is paſt in favour of

of the Priſoners; and *Privernum* is made a *Municipium*. §. 12. It was now cuſtomary for the *Romans*, either to ſend *Colonies* to the conquered Cities, or to give the Inhabitants the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*. For they had found, to their coſt, the ill Conſequences of that Independence, in which they had left the *Latins*, after they had ſubdued them. In purſuance of this new Policy, they, in the *Con-*
127th Conſulſhip. *ſulſhip* of *C. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula*, ſend a *Colony* of *Romans* to 425.
Fregellæ, a City in the Territory of the *Sidicini*, which the *Samnites*, who were the laſt in Poſſeſſion of it, had razed. The repairing and fortifying of this Place, and the planting a *Colony* in it, give Umbrage to the *Samnites*, and prove the Occaſion of that furious War, which ſoon breaks out between them and the Republick. In the mean time the Inhabitants of *Palæpolis* make Incurſions into the *Roman* Territory. (Theſe People were originally *Eubæans*, who came into *Italy*, and built *Cumæ*. From thence they ſpread themſelves farther; and a *Colony* of *Cumans* built *Naples*, or *Neapolis*, i. e. *The New City*. And finding in the Neighbourhood of *Naples* a Place ready built, they poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and called it *Palæpolis*, or *Palaiopolis*, i. e. *The Old City*.) §. 13. The News of this Irruption of the *Palæpolitani* is brought to *Rome*, juſt when Preparations are making for a new Election of *Conſuls*; but this Election is preceded by an Election of *Tribunes of the People*, in the *Comitia by Tribes*. And here, which may ſeem ſurpriſing, one *Q. Flavius*, a Man of an infamous Reputation, is choſen a *Tribune*. But the Caſe was this. He had been accuſed, not long before, of offering Violence to a Lady. *Valerius*, the *Curule Ædile*, was his chief Proſecutor; and the Evidence was ſo clear, that fourteen of the twenty nine *Tribes* had already voted him guilty. The Accuſed, in order to move the reſt of his Judges to favour him, makes vehement Proteſtations, and calls Heaven and Earth to witneſs his Innocence. Upon this *Valerius* cries out with a louder Voice, *What is it to me, whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou art deſtroyed?* The *Tribes* are ſo enraged at theſe Words, that they acquit the Criminal by a Majority of Suffrages. *Flavius* ſoon after this loſes his Mother; and it being then cuſtomary to offer Sacrifices in Honour to the Dead, he offers a great Number of Victims; and, in Gratitude to the People for their late Favour, diſtributes the Fleſh among them. They, in return, now chuſe him *Tribune*, though abſent. §. 14. In the enſuing *Comitia by Centuries*,
128th Conſulſhip. *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, are choſen *Conſuls*. *Publilius* marches 426.
towards *Palæpolis*; but finding that this Place would be difficult to be taken, while ſupplied with Men and Proviſions from *Naples*, he prudently comes and poſts himſelf in the narrow Tract of Ground between the two Cities. In the mean time *Cornelius*, who had poſted himſelf near *Capua*, to keep the *Campanians* in Awe (who are thought to be gained over by the *Samnites* to join them againſt *Rome*) receives undoubted Intelligence, that the *Samnites* openly ſollicite the *Roman Colonies* to revolt. Upon this, Ambaſſadors are ſent to *Samnium*, and there meet with a haughty Reception. The *Samnites* complain of the Proceedings of the Republick, and particularly of the rebuilding and fortifying of *Fregellæ*, which, they ſay, is a Wrong done to the *Samnite* Nation; and they both reproach and threaten the *Romans*. The Ambaſſadors, without loſing their Temper, propoſe to refer the Matter to the Arbitration of their common Allies. *Arbitrators*, cry the *Samnites*, *we will have none, but the Gods and our Swords! Battels will determine our Pretenſions better than Words and Judges.* Mars *ſhall put an end to our Diſputes in the Plains of* Campania. *Go*, Romans, *tell your* Conſuls, *we wait for them between* Capua *and* Sueſſula. The Ambaſſadors reply, *We ſhall not obſerve your Orders in the choice of a Field of Battel. Our Generals will lead us where they think fit, and we ſhall follow them.*

Such is the Situation of Affairs abroad, when the time comes for new Elections; and without recalling the *Conſuls*, the Senate order a *Dictator* to be named. *Cornelius* nominates *M. Claudius Marcellus*, a *Plebeian*; but the *Augurs* pretend, that the Nomination is invalid; and though the People murmur at that ambitious College, who, they ſuppoſe, make Religion the pretence, when their View is only to wound the *Plebeian* Intereſt, the Government falls into an *Interregnum*; and when the *Comitia* are held, *C. Pœtelius Libo*, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, are choſen *Con-*
129th Conſulſhip. *ſuls* for the enſuing Year. §. 15. Theſe go together to command the Army, 427.
which *Cornelius* had led into *Samnium*, and have the good Fortune to be joined by the People of *Lucania* and *Apulia*, two Nations, to which the *Romans* had been in a manner utterly Strangers. In the mean time *Publilius* continues the Blockade of *Palæpolis*, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. The City is much ſtraitened for want of Proviſions. But this is the leaſt of her Calamities. Four thouſand *Samnites*, and two thouſand of the Inhabitants of *Nola*, under pretence of defending *Palæpolis*, had forced themſelves into the Town, and they keep the *Palæpolitani* in a State of cruel Slavery. But at length the latter having long waited in vain for Relief from the *Tarentini*, whoſe Preſence they hoped would deliver them from the Op-

Year of ROME

preſſion of their Defenders, reſolve to put the Place into the Hands of the *Romans*. [*The* * *Stratagem of their two Governors*, Nymphius *and* Charilaus, *by which the Surrender of the Place was effected, is related at large.*] But notwithſtanding this Succeſs of the *Pro-Conſul*, great Difficulties are ſtarted againſt his having a Triumph. No *Pro-Conſul* hitherto had ever enjoyed that Honour; and the Senate were ſtill the leſs diſpoſed to favour him, becauſe he had been placed in that Poſt by the Suffrages of the People; whereas, the Senate had always named the *Pro-Conſuls* till this time. However, the People prevail; and his triumphal Proceſſion is in ſight of the *Conſuls* of the Year, who, though they have been victorious, have not the ſame Reward. §. 16. The taking of *Palæpolis* makes the *Tarentini* jealous of the *Romans*, and their Uneaſineſs is much increaſed by the Conduct of the *Lucanians*, and *Apulians*, who had gone over to the *Romans*, and declared for them againſt the *Samnites* Being very ready at Tricks and Artifices, they contrive one to deceive the *Lucanians*, and bring them off from the *Romans*. They bribe a Company of young *Lucanians*, of good Families, though of little Honour, to tear their Backs with Whips, and then to ſhew themſelves to the People; pretending, that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the *Conſuls*, to whoſe Camp Curioſity had led them. The *Lucani* were ſo ſtupid a People, that without examining into the Truth of ſo improbable a Fact, they demand a national Aſſembly, which being convened, it is there decreed, That War be declared with the *Romans*; That the ancient Alliances be renewed with the *Samnites*; and That an Embaſſy be ſent to the latter for that Purpoſe. The *Samnites* can ſcarce believe the Deputation real; and before they will hearken to the Ambaſſadors, demand Hoſtages, and inſiſt on the Towns of *Lucania* receiving *Samnite* Garriſons. All is granted, and when it is too late to repent, the Cheat is diſcovered. §. 17. *Tarentum* had now loſt its chief Support by the Death of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, who, deceived by an Oracle (which had told him, that the Waters of *Acheron* would be fatal to him, and had warned him to avoid the City of *Pandoſia*) left his own Country, in which were a City and River of thoſe Names, and met his Fate in *Italy*, where there happened to be another *Pandoſia*, and another *Acheron*. [*His* † *Expedition and unfortunate Death are related.*] §. 18. Whilſt the Affairs of the Republick are thus proſperous abroad, the poor *Citizens* at *Rome* have the good Fortune to ſhake off the only Yoke which lies heavy upon them. By one of the Laws of *The Twelve Tables*, Creditors were empowered to ſeize their inſolvent Debtors, and keep them in Irons. Theſe Wretches, till they had diſcharged their Debts by their Labour or otherwiſe, were in all reſpects Slaves, except in Name. They were called *Nexi*, i. e. *bound*, whereas the Slaves were called *Servi*. A young *Plebeian*, named *Publilius*, of extraordinary Beauty and of a good Family, had voluntarily made himſelf a Slave to *L. Papirius*, in order to pay his Father's Debts. *Papirius* conceives a deteſtable Paſſion for the young Man, and upon the latter's refuſing to comply, cauſes him to be whipt unmercifully. *Publilius* makes his Eſcape out of the Houſe; complains to the People of the cruel Uſage, and tells them the Occaſion of it. The Populace, in a Rage, oblige the *Conſuls* to aſſemble the Senate; and at the Intreaties of the *Citizens*, *The Conſcript Fathers* paſs a Decree, which is confirmed by the People in *Comitia*, *That for the future, no Perſon ſhall be put in Irons, and corrected at the Will of his Maſter, till the Fault be firſt proved; and That Creditors ſhall have a Right to attach the Goods only, and not to ſeize the Perſons of the Debtors.*

* Vide *p.* 210.

† Vide *p.* 213.

A Pro-Conſul triumphs.

A new Law relating to Debtors.

§. 19. In the mean time *Rome* is embarraſſed by the great Number of her Enemies. Beſides the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, the *Veſtini* had taken Part againſt her. Theſe were themſelves but an inconſiderable People upon the Coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea; but they had powerful Neighbours, who, in all Probability, would take Arms in their Defence, if the Republick ſhould attack them. This Conſideration makes the *Romans* demur: But at length Pride prevails over Prudence. It was not for the Honour of *Rome* to let her ſelf be inſulted, without revenging it. The two *Conſuls* therefore, *L. Furius Camillus*, and *P. Junius Brutus*, chuſe their Commands by Lot, and it falls to the former to conduct the War againſt the *Samnites*, and to the latter to act againſt the *Veſtini*. The firſt Step which *Brutus* takes, is to hinder the *Veſtini* from joining the *Samnites*, which he does, by encamping on the Frontiers between the two Nations. He ſoon after defeats them in Battel, and takes from them *Cutina* and *Cingilia*. §. 20. But now *Camillus*, who had made it his Buſineſs to keep the *Samnites* upon the defenſive in their own Country, falls ſick, and is obliged to return to *Rome*; and being there ordered to name a *Dictator*, he pitches upon *L. Papirius Curſor*, who appoints *Q. Fabius Rullianus* to be his General of Horſe. Theſe take Poſſeſſion of the Command of the Army in *Samnium*. But there having been ſomething obſcure in the *Auſpices* conſulted before their Departure from *Rome*, the Scruple lies heavy upon the *Dictator* when he comes to enter upon Action. To remove his Uneaſineſs he returns to the City, to renew

428. 130*th Conſulſhip.*

L. Papirius Curſor, *Dictator.*

renew the *Auſpices*, but firſt forbids *Fabius*, with whom he intruſts the Command of the Army in his Abſence, to come to a Battel with the Enemy. *Fabius* imagines, that it is Jealouſy alone which makes the *Dictator* tie up his Hands; and therefore being fond of Glory, and beloved of the Army, eſpecially the Cavalry, he reſolves to hazard an Action. He attacks the *Samnites*, whom he finds in leſs Diſorder then he had expected, and he is very near loſing the Day, when the *Roman* Cavalry give the Reins to their Horſes, and drive upon the Enemy with ſuch unexpected and mad Impetuoſity, that the latter are put into Confuſion, and entirely defeated. Twenty thouſand of them remain dead upon the Field of Battel. §. 21. This Victory makes the young Conqueror grow inſolent; and inſtead of lodging the Spoils of the Enemy in the *Quæſtor*'s Hands, to be ſold for the Advantage of the Publick, he cauſes them all to be burnt, that they may not do Honour to the *Dictator*, by being carried in his triumphal Proceſſion. Beſides this, he ſends the News of his Victory to the Senate, and not to the *Dictator*. An Inſtance of great Diſreſpect to the General, under whoſe *Auſpices* he had fought. Theſe Proceedings incenſe *Papirius*, who haſtens to the Camp to puniſh his diſobedient General of Horſe. *Fabius* having timely Notice of his coming, and of his Deſign, calls together the Troops, and makes an Harangue to them, wherein he inveighs againſt the *Dictator*, *Whoſe Reſentment*, he ſays, *not only threatens the Life of his General of Horſe, but the Lives of many of the other Officers, and even of the private Soldiers, who had helped to gain the Victory. That therefore it is the common Intereſt of the Army to protect him; and That to them he commits the Defence of his Life and Fortune.* The Soldiers applaud his Diſcourſe, and promiſe to defend him to the laſt Breath. But while theſe things are doing, *Papirius* arrives. He ſtrait aſſembles the Troops; ſends an Officer to ſummon his General of Horſe to appear before him; and when *Fabius* is come near the *Tribunal*, and Silence is made, he interrogates him concerning his Breach, not only of the common Laws of military Diſcipline, but of his expreſs Orders. *Fabius* has a bad Cauſe to defend, and his Anſwers are confuſed. He makes a Clamour, but all in vain. The *Lictors* ſeize him by the General's Orders, and ſtrip off his Clothes. His Body appears covered with the Wounds he had received in the Battel. This Sight affects the Soldiers. He cries out to them for Aſſiſtance, and either by their Help, or by Accident, eſcapes out of the Executioners Hands, and retires among the *Triarii*. The Army is in a great Commotion, and much enraged againſt the *Dictator*, who continues inflexible, notwithſtanding the Sollicitations of the Officers about him to mitigate his Reſentment againſt a young Man of great Hopes, and of a Family ſo juſtly honoured in *Rome*. The Soldiers are juſt ready to offer Violence to their General, when the Night puts an end to their Mutiny. *Fabius* prudently avoids a ſecond Trial, and eſcapes to *Rome*, there to preſent himſelf before leſs paſſionate Judges. As ſoon as he arrives, his Father (who had been thrice *Conſul*, and once *Dictator*) thinks it neceſſary to aſſemble the Senate without Delay, and obtain a favourable Decree for his Son, before the return of the *Dictator*. Young *Fabius* has already worked upon *The Conſcript Fathers*, and made them think *Papirius* both unjuſt and barbarous, when a great Noiſe is heard at the Door of the Temple where they are ſitting. It is *Papirius* himſelf, attended by his *Lictors*, who are diſperſing the Croud at the Entrance of the Sanctuary. Upon his Appearance the Scene is changed. He takes his Place; orders his *Lictors* to ſeize young *Fabius*, and is immediately obeyed. In vain do the oldeſt and moſt venerable Senators intercede for the Criminal. *Papirius* is inflexible; ſo that the Father of the young Man has no Remedy left, but to appeal to the People in *Comitia*, which he accordingly does; and though the thing be unprecedented, yet the *Dictator* forbears to diſpute the ſuperior Authority of the *Roman* People. When the *Comitia* are met, old *Fabius* and his Son aſcend the *Roſtra* with *Papirius*; but he ſternly orders them both to go down, the Son, as a Criminal, the Father, as not being in Office, and having therefore no Right to ſpeak from that Eminence. The *Fabii* obey, and immediately deſcend; but then the Father placing himſelf at the Foot of the *Roſtra*, breaks out into bitter Invectives againſt *Papirius* for his Barbarity; cites former Caſes, wherein ſuch Faults as his Son had been guilty of, were not ſo ſeverely puniſhed; and in ſhort ſays, all that can be ſaid in ſo bad a Cauſe. But *Papirius* has, on his ſide, the military Laws, which ought to be inviolable, the Dignity of his Office, which had been treated with Contempt, and the Immutability of the Decrees of a *Dictator*. Nor was there wanting on his ſide a late Precedent, in the Caſe of *Manlius*'s Son. In his Harangue, he reproaches the *Romans* with a Degeneracy from that heroic Love of their Country, which uſed to prevail over all private Conſiderations. He urges the ill Conſequences to the Republick, of admitting Appeals from a *Dictator* to the People; and concludes, with aſking the *Tribunes*, whether they are willing to anſwer thoſe Conſequences with their Heads. His Diſcourſe throws both the People and their *Tribunes* into great Perplexity. They compaſſionate

Year of *ROME*

An Appeal from the Dictator *to the People.*

Year of *ROME* onate the *Fabii*, but cannot condemn the Severity of *Papirius*, and are afraid of the Conſequence of ſo dangerous an Incroachment on a ſovereign Authority, as that of accepting Appeals from the Sentence of a *Dictator*. Inſtead therefore of taking upon them to judge in the Affair, they only become Interceſſors for the Criminal, and preſs the *Dictator* in the moſt earneſt manner to pardon his General of Horſe. The *Fabii* themſelves likewiſe fall proſtrate at his Feet, and become humble Suppliants. Upon this the *Dictator* orders Silence to be made, and then declares, that ſince military Diſcipline and the Authority of Generals are preſerved inviolate, he is ſatisfied; and that he readily pardons *Fabius* in Deference to the *Roman* People, and the Interceſſions of their *Tribunes*. Thus ended this Affair; and the *Romans* afterwards confeſſed, to the *Dictator*'s Honour, that his inflexible Steadineſs in the Caſe of *Fabius*, proved as conducive to the Support of military Diſcipline, as the Death of young *Manlius*, who was condemned by his own Father. §. 22. But while *Papirius* is in *Rome*, the *Samnites* take Advantage of his Abſence to inſult his Army; whoſe Commander, *M. Valerius* a Lieutenant General, is ſo apprehenſive of the Fate of young *Fabius*, that he dares not oppoſe the Hoſtilities of the Enemy. He ſuffers a Party of his Forragers to be cut in pieces, rather then ſtir out of his Camp to relieve them. This Accident helps to exaſperate the Troops yet more againſt the *Dictator*; who, when he comes to the Camp (with *L. Papirius*, a Relation of his own, whom he had appointed to command the Horſe in the room of *Fabius*) finds all his Men ſo ill affected to him, and ſo little diſpoſed to gain him any Honour, that he has no hopes of making any Progreſs with them in the War. However, as the Enemy offers him Battel, and he cannot in honour decline fighting, he poſts himſelf ſo advantageouſly, and draws up his Troops with ſo much dexterity, that it is not poſſible for them to be entirely defeated. When the Action is over (in which, though they had fought but faintly, they had not been beaten.) *Papirius* acts a part which ſurpriſes every Body. He was of a Temper which could comply and give way whenever it was proper. Not one Officer or Soldier who had behaved himſelf negligently in the Fight, is ſo much as reprimanded. He takes care of the Wounded like a Father, and not only lays aſide the Severity of a *Dictator*, but even the Diſtance of a General. He grows familiar, keeps Company with his Officers, and viſits the Sick; and all this, without the leaſt Appearance of Affectation: So that, in a Word, the Army, which had always held him in Eſteem, comes now to have a moſt tender Affection for him. §. 23. The People in the City being informed of this great Alteration in the Diſpoſitions of the Soldiers

429. towards their Commander, continue him in his Employment for ſix Months longer, and no *Conſuls* are choſen for the Year 429. *Papirius* having now regained the Affections of his Soldiers, thinks himſelf in a Condition to undertake any thing. Accordingly he over-runs *Samnium*, and reduces the *Samnites* ſo low, that they ſue for Peace; which he grants them on three preliminary Conditions. 1. That they clothe all his Troops. 2. That they give his Army a Year's Pay; and 3^dly, That they get the Treaty confirmed by the Senate. As ſoon as *Papirius* has triumphed for his late Victories, he holds the *Comitia by Centuries*, where *C. Sulpicius Longus*, and

430. *Q. Aulius Cerretanus*, are choſen *Conſuls*. §. 24. And now when *The Conſcript Fathers* come to conſider of the Peace, to be made with the *Samnites*, they diſapprove of the Terms offered by them, and therefore grant only a Truce for a Year, which the *Samnites* ſoon break. At the ſame time the *Apulians* revolt; and this obliges the Republick to divide her Forces, which are to act againſt theſe two Nations. But both *Samnites* and *Apulians* keep themſelves ſo cloſe in their fortified Places, that the *Conſuls* reap little Glory from the Campaign. [*The People at* Rome *are at this time ſtruck with a ſudden Pannick, for which no Cauſe can be aſſigned. At this time likewiſe an Animoſity is raiſed between the* Pollian *and* Papirian Tribes, *which laſted as long as the Republick itſelf.*

431. §. 25. The *Conſuls* for the following Year are that *Q. Fabius*, who obtained a Victory againſt the Orders of the *Dictator*, and *L. Fulvius Curvus*. They firſt march together againſt the *Samnites* (who had raiſed a formidable Army) and give them an entire Overthrow. [*The* † *Particulars of the Action are related at large.*] The *Samnites* impute ſo terrible a Defeat to the Anger of the Gods, whom they ſuppoſe offended with their Violation of their Oaths, and Breach of the Truce with the *Romans*. To appeaſe them, they reſolve to ſacrifice the chief Authors of that Breach; and one *Brutulus Papius*, a Man of Diſtinction, but of a turbulent Spirit, is univerſally pitched upon to be the Victim. A Decree is paſſed, That he ſhall be delivered up to the *Romans*; and That the Effects and Captives, taken within the time of the Truce, and, in ſhort, whatever their *Feciales* had demanded, ſhould be reſtored to them. *Brutulus* is put into the Hands of ſome *Samnite* Ambaſſadors, to be carried to *Rome*; but he kills himſelf before he gets there. However, they ſurrender his dead Body to the *Romans*, who, of the Spoil offered by way of Reſtitution, accept only a part, together with the Captives, but reject whatever cannot be claimed by any private *Roman* as his own. But

L. Papirius Curſor, *Dictator*.

131*ſt Conſulſhip*.

132*d Conſulſhip*.

† Vide *p.* 229, 230.

notwithſtanding this remarkable Act of Juſtice in the *Samnites*, they cannot obtain a Peace. And now *Q. Fabius* leads an Army againſt the *Apulians* without his Colleague (who in the mean time has a Triumph at *Rome* for the late Victory) reduces them, and has a double Title to a Triumph, with which he is honoured at his return from his Expedition. Year of *ROME*

One *A. Cornelius* was this Year choſen *Dictator*, but it was only to preſide at the *Games* in the Abſence of the *Conſuls*, and during the Sickneſs of the *Prætor*. However, *Livy* finding that at the time of the Defeat of the *Samnites*, the Government was in the Hands of a *Dictator*, aſcribes, by miſtake, that fine Action to him. The *Faſti Capitolini* rectify the Error.

BOOK XVIII.

§. 1. IT had been a conſtant Maxim with the *Romans* to pardon the Nations which ſubmitted, and to treat none with Rigour, but the proud and untractable. But their late Succeſſes make them now deviate from that noble Rule, and reject the Petition of the *Samnites*, whom they thereby put under a Neceſſity of continuing the War at all Hazards. And while the Republick is chooſing *Titus Veturius*, and *Sp. Poſtumius*, *Conſuls*, the *Samnites*, in their Diet, appoint one *Pontius*, an able General, to command their Troops. *Pontius* exhorts the Aſſembly not to fear a War with a People, who had received Reſtitution of Wrongs with Haughtineſs, and had refuſed Peace, when offered upon the moſt reaſonable Terms. The Gods, ſays he, are now no longer our Enemies, Juſtice accompanies our Arms, and we cannot fail of Succeſs. He then immediately takes the Field with his Troops, and encamps near *Caudium*, a little Town in *Samnium*, about which the Ground is very proper for Ambuſhes. When the *Conſuls* are come within a League of him, he cauſes a Report to be ſpread, that the *Samnite* Army is at a great Diſtance from *Caudium*, laying Siege to *Luceria* in *Apulia*. The better to deceive the *Romans*, he employs ten of his Soldiers, who dreſs themſelves like Shepherds, lead their Flocks into the Plain, and ſuffer themſelves to be taken Priſoners. Being brought before the *Conſuls*, they confirm the former Report. Upon this a Council of War is called, and it is reſolved to march to the Relief of *Luceria*; but a Queſtion ariſes, whether to go the fartheſt Way about, or a ſhorter, which is leſs ſafe; and the latter is choſen. The *Conſuls* lead their Troops through narrow Ways, almoſt impaſſable, till they come to the Place, called ſince, *The Caudian Forks*. It was a marſhy Meadow, ſhut in by Mountains, and ſo covered with Trees and Briers, as to be abſolutely inſurmountable. There was but one Way out, which was narrow and ſteep, and which the *Samnites* had taken care to ſtop up, and guard with Troops. The *Conſuls* give Orders to clear it, but that is found impracticable; and now it is that they begin to ſuſpect an Ambuſcade, and that the Enemy is not far off. To avoid being inveſted they inſtantly turn back, but the *Samnites* have already blocked up the Way by which they had entered. When the *Legions* find themſelves ſhut in, without a Poſſibility of eſcaping, their Conſternation is inexpreſſible. The Officers and Soldiers fix their Eyes on one another, to ſee if they can diſcover any glimmering of Hopes in their Companions Looks. The *Conſuls*, to put a good Face upon the Matter, order the Camp to be pitched, and fortified; and the Soldiers obey, though at the ſame time they ſneer at the Precaution. The Lieutenant Generals and *Legionary Tribunes* come to the *Conſul*'s Tent, and a Council is held; but the Caſe is ſuch, that there is no room for Advice. In the mean time the Night comes on, and the Soldiers, inſtead of taking any reſt, ſpend the Time in diſcourſing on their unhappy Situation. On the other hand, the *Samnites* cannot come to any Determination what to do with their Enemies, who are at their Mercy. At length it is univerſally agreed to conſult *Herennius*, the Father of *Pontius*, a wiſe old Man, whom they look upon as a kind of Oracle, A Courier is ſent to him, for his Advice, with a Letter, to which he gives this Anſwer. *I adviſe my Son to act a humane Part, and neither to kill or enſlave the* Romans, *but to open them a free Paſſage home.* *Pontius* is ſo ſurpriſed at this Advice, which he diſlikes, that he ſends the Courier a ſecond time, to know whether there has not been ſome Miſtake; and then he receives another Anſwer of a different kind. *Tell the Council from me*, ſays the old Man, *that I would not have them ſpare the Life of one ſingle* Roman. The ſeeming Contradiction in theſe two Anſwers makes the *Samnites* imagine, that there is ſome Myſtery in the Matter, and they preſs *Pontius* to ſend for his Father to the Camp, that he may explain himſelf. When the wiſe *Herennius* comes, he lets them know, that in good Policy, there is no Medium between treating the *Romans*, ſo as to make them their Friends, or deſtroying them abſolutely.

133*d* Conſulſhip. 432.

Caudian Forks.

Year of ROME

However, *Pontius* and his Officers chooſe a middle Way, which their fooliſh Vanity ſuggeſts. They are for ſparing the Lives of the *Romans*, but at the ſame time for treating them as conquered Enemies. Whilſt the *Samnites* are thus deliberating, the *Romans*, as the only Method they can take, ſend a Deputation to them, to deſire a Truce upon equitable Terms, and, in caſe of refuſal, to invite them to a Battel. *Pontius*, with an haughty Air, tells the Deputies, *That the* Samnites *have no Battels to fight; That the Victory is already gained; and That not a Man of them ſhall eſcape till they have been diſarmed, and have paſſed one by one* under the Yoke. *That, beſides this, he expects that they will quit* Samnium, *and withdraw their* Colonies *from all the Cities they have uſurped from the* Samnites. And he forbids them, *to appear any more in his Preſence, if the* Conſuls *don't except the Terms propoſed.* The Report of this Anſwer throws the *Legions* into the utmoſt Deſpair. The *Conſuls* are ſtruck dumb, and dare not declare themſelves for ſo ſhameful a Treaty. But *L. Lentulus*, a conſiderable Officer in the Army, and who had been at the Head of the Deputation to the *Samnites*, breaks Silence, and in a long Harangue, ſhews the Neceſſity of complying with the Conditions impoſed, if they would ſave their own Lives, or have any regard to the Preſervation of *Rome* itſelf. The *Conſuls* therefore ſignify to *Pontius*, that they conſent to lay down their Arms, and paſs *under the Yoke*; and upon this they obtain a Conference with him. As to a Treaty of Peace, they declare, *That they cannot determine any thing without the Approbation of the* Roman *People, and the Miniſtry of the* Feciales. *That their Power extends no farther than to make Promiſes, and a ſimple Contract, which they are ready to ſtrengthen, by giving Hoſtages.* The Stipulation is accepted, and the *Conſuls*, Lieutenant Generals, *Quæſtors*, and *Legionary Tribunes*, ſign the Convention; ſix hundred *Roman Knights* are to be given as Hoſtages; and the *Samnites* are to have Power to cut off their Heads, in caſe the Republick does not perform the *Conſuls* Promiſes.

§. 2. And now the fatal Day being come, for the *Roman* Army to paſs *under the Yoke*, the ſix hundred *Knights* march firſt out of the Camp unarmed, and with only one Garment on; and theſe are conducted to a Place of Safety. The *Conſuls* follow next, then the inferior Officers, and at laſt the Soldiers, one by one. The *Samnites* inſult them as they paſs; and if any *Roman* returns but a fierce Look, he is immediately knocked down, or killed.

The Roman *Army paſs* under the Yoke.

The *Romans* could have reached *Capua* the ſame Day; but partly out of Diſtruſt of that City, and partly out of Shame to be ſeen in ſo miſerable a Condition, they chuſe rather to lie on the Ground in the open Air, without Food or Refreſhment. The next Day the *Capuans* ſend Clothes, Horſes, and Arms to the *Conſuls*, and Refreſhment for the whole Army. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* are ſo overwhelmed with Shame, that they ſeem unaffected with this Hoſpitality. They keep their Eyes fixed on the Ground, and ſhun all Diſcourſe. The next Day they ſet out for *Rome*, accompanied to the Frontiers, by the choice of the young *Campanian* Nobility, but they ſtill obſerve the ſame Behaviour, and ſhew the ſame Dejection of Mind; which when it is reported to the Senate of *Capua* by the young Noblemen at their return, it begets, in many of them, a Contempt for the *Romans*. One of them however declares, that he judges differently of the dumb Confuſion of the *Romans*. *I perceive*, ſays he, *in this obſtinate Silence, the Marks of a Rage, which ferments without evaporating. Their Eyes, fixed upon the Ground, ſhew how much their Thoughts are bent on Revenge; and their refuſing to be comforted, is a Proof, that they will never forgive the Affront they have received. The* Romans *will have it always before their Eyes; but the* Samnites *will not always have* Caudian Forks *to ſhut them up in.*

In the mean time the People at *Rome*, without Orders from the Senate, and as it were by tacit Conſent, put on the deepeſt Mourning. No Invectives are ſpared againſt the Cowards (as they are termed) before their Arrival; but as ſoon as they appear, the publick Indignation is changed into Pity. Nevertheleſs, they do not enter the City till Night, and then every one ſteals home, and hides himſelf in his own Houſe: Even the *Conſuls* baniſh themſelves from Society, after they have performed one indiſpenſable Office, which is to name a *Dictator*. They pitch upon *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus*; but ſome Defect being found in the Nomination, *Æmilius Papus* is ſubſtituted in his room. However, the People are not yet ſatisfied. No Magiſtrate appointed by thoſe unfortunate *Conſuls* can pleaſe them. The Government falls into an *Interregnum*.

§. 3. And now the Republick caſts her Eyes on two great Men who have been for ſome time forgotten, *Papirius Curſor*, and

433. *Publilius Philo*. Theſe are choſen *Conſuls* in the *Comitia*, and they enter upon their Office the very Day of their Election. The firſt care of *Papirius* is to obtain a Decree of the Senate, importing, that there had been no Defect in point of Religion in their Inauguration. The next thing is to aſſemble the Senators, to conſider of the Stipulation, made with the *Samnites*, by the late *Conſuls*. The *Conſcript Fathers* being met, *Poſtumius*, one of thoſe unfortunate Generals, is ordered to ſpeak firſt. He addreſſes himſelf to the Aſſembly, with great Modeſty and Hu-

134*th Conſulſhip.*

The Method taken by the Republick to free her self from observing the Treaty made by the Consuls *at the* Caudian Forks.

mility, owns the Treaty to be infamous, but declares, That the *Roman* People are not bound by it, since it was made without their Orders; and that the Republick is obliged in Justice to nothing more, than to deliver up into the Hands of the *Samnites* all those who had signed it. And he advises therefore, that the new *Consuls* raise a new Army, and lead it into the Field; but that before they enter upon Action, they surrender to the Mercy of the *Samnites*, his Collegue and him, with all the other Officers, who had been Parties to the Convention. The Senators are struck with Admiration at the Generosity of *Postumius*, and are universally melted with Compassion for so many worthy Men, his Companions in Misfortune. However, they all approve of the Proposal, except two *Tribunes of the People*, who, since their return from the *Caudian Forks*, had been raised to that Office. These contend, not only *That the Motion made by* Postumius *is unjust in itself, but by no means sufficient to discharge the Demands which the* Samnites *have upon* Rome: *And that as to themselves, their Office is sacred, and their Persons not subject to the Decrees of the Senate.* To the last of these Pleas *Postumius* replies, *That the Senate may defer delivering up the* Tribunes *till they are out of Office, and then cause them to be beaten with Rods in the* Forum, *by way of Amends to the* Samnites *for the Delay.* But as to the rest, he presses the immediate execution of what he had proposed, and offers such plausible * Arguments for it, that the Senate are charmed with his Discourse; and even the two *Tribunes* consent to follow the Fate of their Companions, and to that end abdicate their Office: The Republick, which till now has been sunk in an Abyss of Sorrow, is overjoyed to see her self delivered from a shameful Treaty, at the Expence only of a few Officers Lives, which she can easily spare. Nothing is talked of but the Generosity of *Postumius*, whose *Devotement* is compared to that of *Decius*; and the *Roman* Youth are so animated, that there needs no Orders to raise Troops. The new *Legions* are formed almost wholly of Voluntiers. As soon as the Army comes near the Enemy's Camp, Preparations are made for surrendring up the *Roman* Officers in due Form by a *Fecialis*. §. 4. *Cornelius Arvina* is the Person appointed for this Purpose; and as soon as the Prisoners are brought bound into *Pontius*'s Presence, he addresses himself to him in the following Words. *Since these Men undertook, without any Commission, to conclude a Treaty of Peace with you, and committed a Crime in so doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free our selves from any Share in the Punishment, which they alone have deserved.* Upon which *Postumius*, as if offended with what the *Fecialis* had said, gives him a hard Blow on the Thigh with his Knee, and looking sternly at him, says, *I am now a* Samnite, *and you an Ambassador of* Rome. *I have therefore by this Blow violated the Law of Nations, and you are thereby the better authorized to make War upon us.* But the *Samnite* General is not imposed upon by this premeditated Artifice. He lays before *Postumius* and the *Fecialis*, the Injustice and Baseness of their Proceeding. He tells them, that if the *Roman* People will preserve their Honour untainted, and maintain the Rules of Equity, they must either perform the Conditions of the Treaty, or send the *Roman* Army again into the *Caudian Forks*. And, as to *Postumius*'s Behaviour to the *Fecialis*, he thus concludes his Discourse. *Will you be able to impose on the Gods by these thin Disguises? Will they take* Postumius *for a* Samnite, *and consider the Blow he has given, as an Insult offered to the* Roman *People by a* Samnite? *Is it thus that you sport with Religion and Fidelity? Are such ludicrous Transactions becoming the Gravity of a* Consul, *and the Dignity of a great Nation? Pontius* has no sooner ended his Discourse, than he orders his *Lictors* to untie the *Roman* Officers, and leave them free to return. *You*, says he, *indeed have acquitted your selves of your personal Obligations, but can the* Roman *People persuade themselves, that they have discharged their Duty?* §. 5. But now the *Samnites* repent too late of their not having hearkened to the wise Counsels of old *Herennius*; and *Pontius* loses much of his Credit, while the *Romans* look upon the Liberty they have obtained of making War, as equal to Victory. However, many Cities in Alliance with *Rome* being disgusted at her late Proceedings, entertain Thoughts of deserting. The Inhabitants of *Satricum* particularly join with a Body of *Samnites*, surprise *Fregellæ*, a *Roman Colony*, and having by a Promise of Quarter engaged the Garrison to lay down their Arms, burn them afterwards alive. §. 6. *Capua* likewise at this time prepares for a Revolt, and the chief Heads of this great City, enter into a Plot to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. This, with some other Alarms, induce the Republick to name a *Dictator*, the *Consuls* being employed in the War. *C. Mænius* is chosen, and he appoints *M. Foslius* to be his General of Horse. The new *Dictator*'s Commission extends only to his making Enquiry into State Crimes, and punishing them. And the Terror which a Judge, without Appeal, spreads throughout *Campania* is so great, that the Heads of the Conspiracy of *Capua* kill themselves, to avoid Punishment. But now the *Dictator* thinks fit to stretch his Commission; and pretending, that all intriguing and canvassing for Offices, is a kind of *Treason against the State*, he cites many *Patricians* to appear before him on Ac-

* Vide *p.* 244.

C. Mænius, *Dictator.*

Year of ROME cuſatious of that kind. In vain they appeal to the *Tribunes of the People*; nothing can ſcreen them from an abſolute Power. However, as the *Dictator* is a *Plebeian*, and his Aim ſeems chiefly levelled at the Nobility, the whole Body of them exclaim againſt him, and threaten to proſecute him as a Criminal, as ſoon as his *Dictatorſhip* is expired. *Mænius* is terrified by theſe Menaces; and though innocent, yet fearing leſt his Reputation ſhould ſuffer, he aſſembles the People, and to convince them of his Innocence, abdicates the *Dictatorſhip*, that he may be brought to a Trial. The *Conſuls* are appointed to be his Judges, and they acquit him honourably. (It is probable that *Publilius*, who was a *Plebeian*, ſhewed ſome Warmth in the Defence of *Mænius*, and being thereupon defamed by the Nobility, took the ſame Step as the *Dictator* had done, and reſigned the *Conſulſhip*. He likewiſe was acquitted.) §. 7. But the Republick having now but one *Conſul*, it is thought neceſſary to create a *Dictator*. *Papirius* cannot nominate himſelf, but he pitches upon *Cornelius Lentulus*, a Man without Ambition, who chuſes *Papirius* to be his General of Horſe, and is governed by his Advice in all Caſes. The chief View of both the Commanders being to deliver the ſix hundred *Roman Knights*, given as Hoſtages, and who are Priſoners in *Luceria*, they divide their Forces. *Cornelius* halts near *Caudium*, with the ſame Troops which he had delivered by his Advice out of the *Caudian Forks*. *Pontius* is in doubt, for ſome time, whether he ſhall march to the Relief of *Luceria*, or hazard an Engagement. He determines for the latter, and draws up his Troops in order of Battel. Upon this the *Dictator* aſſembles his Soldiers, in order to harangue them. But the Soldiers are ſo eager to fight, that they give no Attention to him. They preſs their *Enſigns* to march faſter, and being ſpirited by Revenge to a Degree of Fury, they ruſh upon the Enemy's Swords, without obſerving their uſual Order, or waiting the Command of their General. Nothing can ſtand before them; the *Samnites* are routed; and their Camp is taken and pillaged. §. 8 On the other hand, *Papirius* having entered *Apulia*, and being aſſiſted by the People of *Arpi*, old Enemies of the *Samnites*, lays Siege to *Luceria*; but is ſo ſtraitened by the Difficulty of getting Proviſions, that the Arrival of the victorious Army at his Camp is very ſeaſonable. The *Samnites*, who have likewiſe an Army encamped near *Luceria*, finding that the Place cannot hold out long, reſolve to give the Beſiegers Battel. But when every thing is getting ready on both ſides for a general Action, Ambaſſadors arrive from *Tarentum*, to put a Stop to all Hoſtilities by their Mediation; and they threaten War againſt which ever Party ſhall perſiſt in carrying on the War. *Papirius* deſpiſes their Menaces; inſults them with Raillery, and prepares to attack the Enemy, who decline an Engagement, and refer themſelves to the Negotiation of the *Tarentini*. But the *Romans* being the more encouraged by this Timorouſneſs of the *Samnites*, force their Lines, and make ſo great a Slaughter of them, that the *Roman* Generals are forced to reſtrain the Fury of their Troops, in regard to the ſix hundred *Knights* in *Luceria*, whom the Beſieged might, perhaps, in Revenge and Deſpair, put to death. The Town is ſoon obliged to capitulate, and the Garriſon offers to releaſe the ſix hundred Hoſtages, on condition that the *Romans* will raiſe the Siege. But *Papirius* inſiſts on ſomething more, and will have them all paſs, unarmed, *under the Yoke*, and *Pontius* (who had thrown himſelf into the Town) at the Head of them. The Conditions are accepted; and thus the *Romans* retaliate the Ignominy they had undergone at the *Caudian Forks*. §. 9. *Cornelius* having laid down his *Dictatorſhip*, *Papirius Curſor*, and *Q. Aulius Cerretanus*, are choſen *Conſuls*. The latter gives the *Samnites* a Defeat in *Apulia*, and takes *Ferentum*; the former takes *Satricum*, and at his return to *Rome* has the Honours of a Triumph, which he did not enjoy the Year before, though a more glorious one, becauſe he had acted under the *Auſpices* of a ſuperior Magiſtrate. [*The Character* * *of* Papirius.] He appears no more in publick Buſineſs for ſome time. §. 10. The *Conſuls* who ſucceed him, are *L. Plautius Venno*, and *M. Foſlius Flaccinator*; and they reap the Fruits of *Papirius*'s Victories. Many of the *Samnite* Cities ſend Deputies to demand Peace; but theſe being referred to the People in *Comitia*, and the *Caudian Legions* making a part of thoſe Aſſemblies, the latter are too much exaſperated to let the *Samnites* obtain more than a two Years Truce. And now the Terror which is ſpread in *Apulia* by the *Roman* Army, which *Plautius* conducts thither, is ſo great, that the two Cities of *Teanum* and *Canuſium* ſurrender, to avoid being pillaged. *Capua* likewiſe being ſo divided by inteſtine Seditions, as to be no longer in a Condition to govern her ſelf, deſires the *Romans* to give her a Governor, and new Laws. And now it is that the *Romans* firſt turn *Campania* into a *Præfecture*, and ſend thither a *Præfect*. [*The* † *Difference between the* Roman Præfectures, Municipia, *and* Colonies.] To keep *Campania* ſteady and quiet, the *Romans* erect a new *Tribe* there, called the *Falernian Tribe*, from the Hill *Falernus*; another on the Borders of the *Uſens*, from whence it is called the *Uſentine Tribe*. The Number of Men in *Rome* fit to bear Arms appears, by a *Cenſus* this Year, to be two hundred and fifty thouſand. §. 11. This

434. 135th Conſulſhip.

435. 136th Conſulſhip.

* Vide p. 254.

† Vide p. 256.

Two new Tribes added to the twenty nine.

This happy Year is followed by another as proſperous, under the Adminiſtration of Year of
137*th Conſulſhip.* *Q. Æmilius Barbula*, and *Junius Brutus Bubulcus*. Several Towns are taken in *ROME*
Apulia; and *Antium* follows the Example of *Capua*, in aſking a Governor and 436.
Laws from *Rome*. But this City is not made a *Roman Præfecture*, nor does ſhe receive Laws from ſingle Perſons, ſent thither on purpoſe. This is left to the Care of the Patrons of the *Colony*. (It was then cuſtomary, not only for private Families, but likewiſe for Cities, and whole Provinces, to have their Patrons, who were often of the principal Nobility of *Rome*. The Patrons of the *Municipia* were generally of the Families of thoſe *Conſuls* who had conquered them; and the Protectors of the *Colonies*, were the Children of thoſe who had received the Commiſſion
138*th Conſulſhip.* to plant them.) §. 12. The ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *P. Nautius*, and *M. Popilius*, 437.
L. Æmilius, *Dictator.* are ſcarce entered upon their Office, when they are obliged to nominate a *Dictator*. *L. Æmilius* is the Perſon choſen. He inveſts *Saticula*, a City of *Campania*, in Alliance with the *Samnites*, and defeats the *Samnite* Army, who come to relieve it; but his *Dictatorſhip* expires before he can take the Place. §. 13. And now the *Romans* have got ſuch a Habit of ſuffering none but *Dictators* to command their
139*th Conſulſhip.* Armies, that though the famous *Papirius Curſor*, and *Publilius Philo* are choſen 438.
Conſuls, they name *Q. Fabius Maximus* (who had been formerly General of Horſe to *Papirius*) to be *Dictator*, and to carry on the Siege of *Saticula*. While he is making his Attacks, the *Samnites* come and inſult the *Roman* Camp, in which the *Dictator* had left his Cavalry, under the Command of *Aulius Cerretanus*, his General of Horſe. *Aulius*, without conſulting the *Dictator*, ſallies out with the *Roman Knights*, diſcovers the General of the *Samnite* Troops, ruſhes on him, and lays him dead the firſt Stroke with his Lance. But having penetrated too far into the Enemy's Squadrons, he cannot retire; and the *Samnites* give their General's Brother the Glory of revenging his Death. He diſmounts *Aulius*, and ſtabs him when fallen. However, the invincible *Roman Knights* diſmount, and recover his dead Body out of the Hands of the Enemy. The *Samnites* retire towards *Pliſtia*, and take that Place by Aſſault. In the mean time *Saticula* capitulates, and then the *Dictator* marches to beſiege *Sora*, on the Banks of the *Liris*. The *Samnites* follow him to defend it; upon which he faces about, flies to meet them, and finds them about the *Lautulæ*, near the *Pomptine* Marſhes. Night puts an end to the Battel fought there, the Succeſs of which is doubtful; and both Armies continue their March towards *Sora*. §. 14. But now the *Dictator* chuſes a new General of Horſe, *L. Fabius*, to ſucceed *Aulius*. He orders him to go to *Rome*, fetch thence ſome freſh Levies, conceal his March from the Enemy, and poſt his Men in inacceſſible Places, near the Town he is going to beſiege. This is no ſooner executed, than the *Dictator* pretends Fear, and keeps cloſe within his Entrenchments, in order thereby to draw all the *Samnite* Army about him. Then on a ſudden he hoiſts over his Tent the Red Standard (which was the Signal of Battel.) But before he engages, he firſt tells his Soldiers, that their Caſe is ſuch, that they muſt either conquer or periſh; That he has ordered Fire to be ſet to their Tents and Baggage, but that they may ſoon make up the Loſs, by the Plunder of the rebellious Cities. However, his private Orders are only to ſet Fire to thoſe Tents, which are next the Ramparts, and this is to be the Signal for the General of Horſe to move. Every thing is executed with wonderful Harmony, and by this Stratagem the *Samnites* are entirely defeated, and their Camp plundered; and the *Roman* Soldiers have the farther Joy of finding at their return to their Camp, that their Tents and Baggage are not burnt. §. 15. *Sora* is ſtill beſieged in Form, when the new *Conſuls*,
140*th Conſulſhip.* *M. Pœtelius Libo*, and *C. Sulpicius Longus*, enter upon Office. They march to con- 439.
tinue the Siege, and pitch their Camp ſo near the Place, that it almoſt touches the Walls. While they are deliberating upon the proper Place, where to make their Attacks, a Deſerter from the Town offers a Scheme, whereby he propoſes, with the help of ten choſen Men only, to put the Place into their Hands. The *Conſuls* approve of the Deſign, and in order to its being put in execution, remove their Camp ſome Miles from *Sora*. This throws the Garriſon into a kind of Security; and in the mean time the Deſerter, at the Head of the ten Soldiers, ſteals into the upper City, by a Way thought impracticable, places his Men in a narrow ſteep Path, where they may eaſily defend themſelves, and then runs into the Town, crying out, *To Arms, to Arms, the Enemy are in Poſſeſſion of the Eminences which command the Place*. A Fright ſeizes the Inhabitants; they ruſh out at the Gates, and the *Romans*, in the Morning, enter the Town, without Reſiſtance. Two hundred and twenty of the Priſoners (who had been the chief Authors of the Revolt, and of the Maſſacre of the *Roman Colony* there ſettled) are ſent to *Rome*, where they are firſt beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. §. 16. The Deſtruction of *Sora* is followed by the ſurpriſing of three Cities of the *Aurunci*, *Auſona*, *Minturna*, and *Veſcia*, the ſame Day. The *Romans* barbarouſly maſſacre all the Inhabitants. The rebellious *Luceria* is next taken by Aſſault, and a *Colony*

Year of of two thouſand five hundred Men ſent thither from *Rome* to ſecure it, for the
ROME future, againſt all Attempts. But notwithſtanding all theſe Examples, factious *Capua* is again diſpoſed to revolt, ſo that the Republick names a *Dictator*, *C. Mænius*, to go thither, and keep the *Capuans* in awe. In the mean time *Sulpicius* appears with his Army near *Caudium*, where the *Samnites* have drawn together a great Body of Troops, and are waiting for the deſired Inſurrection of the *Campanians*, to join them. The two Armies come to an Engagement, in which the *Samnites* loſe thirty thouſand Men; and then the Conqueror marches his Army to *Bovianum*. §. 17. But though they are thus vanquiſhed, they are not yet ſubdued. The *Ro-*
440. *mans* now chuſe *L. Papirius Curſor* (a fifth time) and *C. Junius Brutus* (a ſecond time) to be their *Conſuls*: But ſoon after, for what Reaſon is unknown, *C. Pœtelius Libo* is nominated *Dictator*, and to command the Troops. He repairs to the Camp near *Bovianum*, and ſoon after quits that Poſt to retake *Fregellæ* from the Enemy. Having done this, without fighting, he next appears before *Nola*: And thus the *Romans* are employed for two Years, in recovering the Cities, which the *Samnites* had drawn off from them by their Negotiations. §. 18. [*The Ad-*
441. *venture of the Muſicians, who at this time leave* Rome *all at once by Agreement.*] §. 19. While *M. Valerius Maximus*, one of the new *Conſuls*, is carrying on the War againſt the *Samnites*, and *P. Decius Mus* is lying ſick at *Rome*, News is brought thither, that the northern *Hetrurians* threaten the Republick. Upon this *Decius*, by order of the Senate, names a *Dictator*, and pitches upon *C. Sulpicius Longus*. But though great Preparations are made for the War, *Sulpicius* is not in haſte to begin Hoſtilities, and his Moderation has its Effect. The *Hetrurians* keep quiet within their own Bounds. §. 20. But now the Republick is diſturbed at home, by the Innovations of *Appius*, one of the *Cenſors*. He was an able *Civilian*, and an Oracle among the *Romans*, in all knotty Points of Law, but a Lover of Reformations, and one who took great Delight in overturning the moſt antient Inſtitutions, in interpreting the Laws, and in ſetting up for a Legiſlator. Hitherto, none but *Patricians*, or the moſt conſiderable of the Commons, had been admitted into the Senate; but *Appius* introduces there the *Libertini*, i. e. *the Sons of thoſe who had been Slaves, and had afterwards obtained their Liberty*. Having thus debaſed the Senate, he attacks the Prieſthood, which had always been confined to the Nobility. The oldeſt Prieſthood in *Rome* was that belonging to the *Ara Maxima*, which *Evander* erected to *Hercules*; and it had been given at that very time to an old Man of the *Aborigines*, named *Potitius*, and had continued ever ſince in his Family. The *Cenſor* prevails with the *Potitii*, to reſign this Prieſthood to the Slaves belonging to the Publick, and employed in the publick Works. But if *Appius* thus caſt a Blemiſh on the Senate and Prieſthood, he made his Country Amends, by the uſeful Works he undertook, with Succeſs. He made an Aqueduct ſeven Miles long, and thereby ſupplied *Rome* with Plenty of wholeſome Water. He likewiſe made that famous Road from *Rome* to *Capua*, which was called *The Appian Way*, and which laſted entire above eight hundred Years. §. 21. But notwithſtanding theſe magnificent Works, *Appius* is hated by the greateſt part of the Senators;
442. and in the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *C. Junius Brutus*, and *Q. Æmilius Barbula*, he receives a ſenſible Mortification. They complain to the People in *Comitia*, of his new Liſt of Senators, and get it cancelled, ſo that the Senate reſumes its former Luſtre. On the other hand, the People not only recover an old Privilege, but extend it farther than before. By a Law in the Year 393. the *Comitia* had been empowered to chuſe ſix out of the twenty four *Legionary Tribunes* in the *Conſular* Armies, conſiſting of four *Legions*. This Privilege had been, for ſome time paſt, uſurped from them by the *Conſuls* and *Dictators*. But now it is decreed, that the People ſhall, inſtead of ſix, name ſixteen of the twenty four *Tribunes*. At this time likewiſe, the *Roman* People, at the Motion of *Decius Mus*, one of their *Tribunes*, appoint two Men to take care of the naval Affairs of the Republick. §. 22. Whilſt the *Romans* are thus employed at *Rome*, their *Conſuls* prepare to lead two Armies into the Field. It falls to *Brutus*'s Lot to carry on the War in *Samnium*, and to *Æmilius* to march into *Hetruria*. The latter finds the Enemy ready to lay Siege to *Sutri*, a Town about thirty three Miles from *Rome*, and a ſort of Key to the *Roman* State, on that ſide. The *Hetrurians*, truſting to their Numbers, hazard a Battel, and are defeated by the *Conſul*, who obtains a Triumph at *Rome*. §. 23. Nor is *Junius Brutus* leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *Samnites*. He firſt takes *Cluvia* by Aſſault, and then *Bovianum*, the Spoils of which he gives to his Soldiers. §. 24. And now the *Samnites*, no longer daring to cope with a *Conſular* Army in the open Field, have recourſe to Artifice, and endeavour to draw their Enemies into new *Caudian Forks*. In reality, they allure the *Roman* Troops, by the hopes of Booty, into the Foreſt of *Avernus*, where they have poſted great Numbers of Men. But the *Romans*, upon the firſt Diſcovery of the Ambuſh, draw up in order with ſo much Expedition, and behave themſelves with ſo much Reſolution and Bravery,

141*ſt Conſulſhip.*

142*d Conſulſhip.*

Appius *the* Cenſor.

The Sons of Freed-men *admitted into the Senate.*

Aqua Appia.

Via Appia.

143*d Conſulſhip.*

The Sons of Freed-men *excluded the Senate.*

that twenty thouſand *Samnites* are left dead upon the Spot. §. 25. In the Year of
144*th Conſulſhip.* following *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Fabius*, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, the Tranquillity and *ROME* 443.
perfect Concord at home, to which ſo much Proſperity abroad is owing, is very near being deſtroyed by the Ambition and Obſtinacy of the *Cenſor Appius*. In the Year 322, a Law had been paſſed, enacting, that no *Cenſor* ſhould continue in his Office longer than eighteen Months: But *Appius* refuſes to comply with this Regulation, depending on the Favour of the People, who were pleaſed with his Aqueduct, and new Road. And indeed, of all the *Tribunes of the People*, *Sempronius Sophus* alone ventures to oppoſe this dangerous Infraction of the Laws. He cites *Appius* to appear before the *Comitia*, and there puts ſuch Queſtions to him, as it is impoſſible for him to anſwer with any Plauſibleneſs of Reaſon; and when he has done, he orders the Officers of Juſtice to carry him to Priſon. *Appius* appeals to the whole Body of the *Tribunes*, of which, ſeven are againſt him; but three take him under their Protection. And as no Perſon can be condemned at their *Tribunal*, unleſs they are all unanimous, he, by this means, eſcapes, and keeps the *Cenſorſhip* three Years longer, contrary to the Inclination of the People, and the Intereſt of the Republick. §. 26. But this inteſtine Diſturbance does not ſtop the Progreſs of the *Roman* Arms. *Fabius* marches againſt the *Hetrurians*, and defeats them near *Sutri*. The Fugitives take Refuge in the *Ciminian* Foreſt, a Foreſt ſo thick and large, that, in all Probability, no one had ever paſſed through it ſince the Creation. *Fabius* is, however, for purſuing the Enemy into their hiding Places, but no Officer in the Army, except himſelf, is of that Opinion. They are afraid of finding *Caudian Forks* in *Hetruria*; and therefore ſeeing their General obſtinate, they ſend Complaints of his Raſhneſs to *Rome*. In the mean time he employs one *Cæſo Fabius*, his near Relation, to examine the Foreſt, and the Places about it. *Cæſo* diſguiſes himſelf and Servant in the Habit of Shepherds; paſſes through the Foreſt into *Hetruria*; informs himſelf of the Nature and Government of the Country, and even penetrates as far as *Umbria*, where he diſcovers himſelf to the Senate of *Camerinum*, to be a *Roman*, and obtains a Promiſe from them to furniſh the *Roman* Army with thirty Days Proviſions, in caſe it comes into that Country. Upon the Report made by this Diſcoverer, the General enters the Foreſt with his Troops, and before Sun-riſing, gains the Hill *Ciminus* (from which the Foreſt took its Name.) Thence he with Pleaſure ſurveys the fertile Plains of *Hetruria*, and promiſes himſelf much Spoil, and many important Conqueſts. On his return to the Camp he finds two *Tribunes of the People*, attended by fifty Deputies, who had been ſent by both Senate and People, to forbid his entering the Foreſt.

Whilſt *Fabius* continued on the Hill *Ciminus*, he had ſent Detachments into *Hetruria* to fetch off Booty. This had alarmed all the Country, and even the People on the Confines of *Umbria*; ſo that prodigious Numbers of each Nation take the Field, and come to *Sutrium*. To deceive the Enemy, *Fabius* pretends Fear, and keeps cloſe within his Entrenchments. At the ſame time he tells his Men, that the *Hetrurians* are not ſo good Soldiers as the *Samnites*, whom they have ſo often vanquiſhed; and by ſome dark Words, he makes them believe, he has a ſecret Correſpondence in the Enemy's Camp, and is ſure of Victory. In the Night he draws up his Army in Battalia, within the Entrenchments of the Camp, orders the Wall to be levelled, and the Ditch to be filled up on one ſide, and then marches out, and ſurpriſes the Enemy aſleep. It is affirmed, that the *Hetrurians* had ſixty thouſand Men killed and taken Priſoners. The chief *Lucumonies*, after this Overthrow, ſend Deputies to *Rome*, to demand a Suſpenſion of Arms, which is granted for thirty Years. §. 27. But the *Roman* Arms have not the ſame Succeſs againſt the *Samnites*. For though *Marcius*, the *Conſul*, gains at firſt ſome Advantages over them, the *Roman* Fleet, under the Command of *P. Cornelius*, meets with Misfortunes. This was the firſt Fleet the Republick had ever ſent to Sea. The Admiral
The firſt Roman Fleet. makes a Deſcent at *Pompeium*, beyond Cape *Palinurus*, and his Troops, meeting with no Oppoſition at firſt, are by the eager deſire of Booty, carried as far as *Nuceria*; ſo that the Inhabitants of the Country have time to aſſemble together, and intercept the *Romans* in their return. Few of them eſcape to their Ships. This News, with a falſe Report that *Fabius* had met with *Caudian Forks* in the *Ciminian* Foreſt, revives the Courage of the *Samnites*, and they give *Marcius* Battel, the Succeſs of which is doubtful. However, the *Conſul* being dangerouſly wounded in the Action, the Republick judges it neceſſary to name a *Dictator*, and caſts her Eyes again on *Papirius Curſor*. But the Difficulty is how to get him nominated. It is uncertain at *Rome*, whether *Marcius* be alive; and beſides this, the *Samnites* have ſtopped up all the Ways to his Camp: And as for *Fabius*, it is much doubted whether he will be prevailed upon to name his mortal Enemy to the *Dictatorſhip*, or whether *Papirius* will accept of that Dignity from him. To remove theſe Difficulties, the Senate paſs a Decree, commanding *Fabius* to nominate *Papirius* to the *Dictatorſhip*, and enjoining *Papirius* to accept it. When the Deputies from the

Year of *ROME* 444.

Senate come to the Camp of *Fabius*, and propoſe the Matter to him, he is ſtruck with Surpriſe and Confuſion, but keeps his Temper, and retires to his Tent, without coming to any Determination. But at length his Love for his Country gets the Aſcendant of his perſonal Reſentment againſt *Papirius*, and at Midnight (according to Cuſtom) he declares him *Dictator*. However, he ſhews by his Carriage the Struggle he has had to get the better of his Paſſions; for when the Deputies congratulate him on the Victory he has gained over himſelf, they cannot get one Word from him. §. 28. And now the Republick thinking *Papirius* able enough alone to govern the State, chuſe no *Conſuls* all the Year. *Fabius*, however, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, continues to command the Army in *Hetruria*, and carries the War into *Umbria*, where the *Umbri* are defeated, and appear no more in the Field. But in the mean time the *Hetrurians* aſſemble the moſt numerous Army they have ever had, on the Banks of a little Lake, called *Vadimonius*, near *Viterbo*. All the Soldiers of it (according to ſome Authors) make a Vow, never to return Home, till they have conquered. And this they ſuppoſe to be the meaning of the *Lex Sacra*, by which they were bound. Others ſay, that the Governors of the Nation had ordered all the Youth to repair to the Army, upon pain of having their Heads devoted to *Jupiter*; and that this was what was meant by their *Sacred Law*. Be that as it will, this extraordinary Engagement has ſuch an effect upon them, that during the Action, the *Romans* cannot imagine that they are contending with the ſame People, they have ſo often vanquiſhed. The firſt Line of the *Roman* Army is cut to pieces, and the ſecond repulſed; ſo that the *Pro-Conſul* is obliged to bring his *Triarii* to engage. But theſe being aſſiſted by the Cavalry, who diſmount, and place themſelves in the firſt Line, the *Hetrurian* Battalions are at length entirely broken and routed. §. 29. Nor is *Papirius* leſs ſucceſsful againſt the *Samnites*, who, to give their Soldiers more Pride and Spirit, furniſh them with finer Arms, and finer Habits, than uſual. They divide their Troops into two Bodies, one of which they clothe in Stuff of various Colours, and furniſh with gilt Bucklers. The other is adorned with ſilvered Bucklers, and clothed in white Habits. That the *Roman* Soldiers may not be ſurpriſed with this Novelty, their Officers inform them of it, and tell them, that the true Dreſs of a Soldier is a Sword and Courage. *Gold and Silver*, ſay they, *are of no uſe in Battels, but to encreaſe the Covetouſneſs of an Enemy, that is greedy of rich Spoils. True Glory conſiſts in martial Bravery, and not in an effeminate Dreſs. Thoſe who are pooreſt at the beginning of an Action, are often the richeſt at the end of it. Victory covers them with thoſe Ornaments, which they have deſpiſed.* *Papirius* commands the right Wing of the *Romans*, which faces the many-coloured Troops of the Enemy; and his General of Horſe, *Junius Brutus*, commands the left, which faces their white Battalions. [*The* † *Battel is deſcribed.*] *Papirius*, after the Victory, returns to *Rome*, and having triumphed, depoſites the fine Arms taken from the *Samnites*, with the *Bankers*, to adorn the *Roman Forum* with them: And hence ariſes the Cuſtom of adorning the *Forum* with Spoils, on thoſe Days, when the Gods are carried in Proceſſion through the Streets of *Rome*. (The Triumph of the *Pro-Conſul Fabius* had preceded that of the *Dictator*, and though leſs ſplendid, had been accompanied with more Applauſe, becauſe he had had no Sharer in his Glory; whereas, the other had been much indebted for his Succeſs, not only to his General of Horſe, but to his two Lieutenant Generals, *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*.

Papirius Curſor, *Dictator*.

Fabius *defeats the* Hetruri-ans, *who have bound themſelves by the* Lex Sacra.

† Vide *p.* 287, 288.

Papirius *defeats the* Samnites.

Papirius is now grown old. He appears no more in any publick Station; but for the future, leaves all the Glory of heroical Exploits to his Rival *Fabius*. Of theſe two it may be obſerved, that the former had more Prudence and Temper, the latter was more bold and enterpriſing. And if (as *Livy* contends) *Papirius* would have put a Stop to *Alexander*'s Progreſs, had that Hero come into *Italy*; on the other hand, had *Fabius* been a King, and commanded an Army abſolutely dependant on him, he would have been another *Alexander*. In ſhort, the one was born to be the Support and Defence of his Country, the other to be a rapid and indefatigable Conqueror.

BOOK

Year of *ROME*

BOOK XIX.

145*th Conſulſhip.* §. 1. THE *Dictatorſhip* of *Papirius* being expired, *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius Mus*, are choſen *Conſuls*. *Samnium* falls by Lot to the former, and *Hetruria* to the latter. *Fabius* takes *Nuceria* from the *Samnites*, and defeats them afterwards in a Battel; but his Victory is ſo inconſiderable, that it would not deſerve Notice in Hiſtory, were it not the Occaſion of raiſing up two new Enemies againſt the Republick, the *Marſi* and the *Peligni*, petty Nations in the Neighbourhood of *Samnium*. As for *Decius*, he makes ſuch Progreſs in his Province, that all *Hetruria* deſires an Alliance with *Rome*. But the Republick having formed the Deſign of conquering this Country, grants the *Hetrurians* only a Truce for one Year. In the mean time the *Umbri* take Arms, and confidently propoſe to march directly to *Rome*. This puts both the *Conſuls* in Motion. The prudent *Decius* marches his Army by the Road, which leads from *Rome* to *Umbria*, and encamping in the *Pupinian* Field, covers *Latium*. But the enterpriſing *Fabius*, as ſoon as he receives Orders from the Senate to quit *Samnium*, croſſes *Sabinia*, enters *Umbria*, and encamps in the very Heart of the Country near *Mevania*, on the Banks of the *Clitumnus*. The *Umbri* are terrified at his unexpected Appearance among them; yet nevertheleſs venture to give Battel. In the Action, the *Romans* hardly make uſe of their Swords; they beat down the Enemy with their Bucklers alone, ſo that little Blood is ſpilt; but the whole Army is made Priſoners, and the whole Nation ſoon after ſubmits. The time is now come for a new Election of *Conſuls*; and *Appius Claudius*, who has held the *Cenſorſhip* five Years, contrary to Law, ſtands Candi- 445.

146*th Conſulſhip.* date for the *Conſulate*, and obtains it. *L. Volumnius Flamma* is appointed his Colleague. 446.

§. 2. *Appius* not being qualified for the Command of Armies, the Senate oblige him to continue in *Rome*; and notwithſtanding his Oppoſition to it, ſend *Fabius* in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, and without any Aſſociate, to command the Troops in *Samnium*, where he obtains a conſiderable Victory over the Enemy near *Aliſæ*, or *Allifa*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*. In the mean time *Volumnius* is making War with the *Salentini* in the Extremity of *Italy*, with good Succeſs, and for the

147*th Conſulſhip.* firſt time ſpreads the Terror of the *Roman* Name in thoſe Parts. 447.

§. 3. *Appius*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year, is now choſen *Prætor*, and the two new *Conſuls* are *Q. Marcius Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius Arvina*. The former is ordered to march againſt a Body of *Hernici*, who have taken Arms on account of the ſevere Treatment, which ſome of their Countrymen (made Priſoners in the laſt Battel of the *Romans* with the *Samnites*) have ſuffered at *Rome*. The Rebels loſe three Camps in a few Days, and are forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

§. 4. This War being ended, *Marcius* haſtens to join his Collegue, who has ſuffered himſelf to be inveſted in narrow Paſſes by the *Samnites*. The Enemy, to prevent the uniting of the two Armies, give *Marcius* Battel, while his Troops are fatigued, and in ſome Diſorder: But *Cornelius* judging by the Shouts which he hears, and the Clouds of Duſt which he ſees, that his Collegue is engaged with the Enemy, he leaves his Entrenchments, takes the *Samnites* in Flank, breaks through them, and ſets fire to their Camp. The ſight of the Flames totally diſcourages them, ſo that they immediately diſperſe and fly, leaving thirty thouſand Men dead on the Spot. But this Action is no ſooner over, than the *Romans* are obliged to enter upon a new Engagement with a Body of Troops, which are coming to recruit the *Samnite* Army. The Succeſs of this Battel is the ſame with that of the preceding one; and the *Samnites* are reduced to ſue for Peace.

§. 5. Whilſt *Marcius* and *Cornelius* are yet in the Field, the time comes for electing new Magiſtrates; ſo that a *Dictator* is named to preſide in the *Comitia*. The *Conſuls* choſen there are *Poſtumius Megellus*, and *Tib. Minucius Augurinus*. At this time Deputies arrive from *Carthage*, with a Compliment and Preſents to the Republick; and ſome Hiſtorians ſay, that a third Treaty is now

148*th Conſulſhip.* made with the *Carthaginians*. 448.

§. 6. *Poſtumius* and *Megellus* are both ordered into *Samnium*, each at the Head of two *Legions*. The former comes to a Battel with the *Samnites*, the Succeſs of which is equal on both ſides; but he pretends to be worſted; retires the next Night to the Mountains, and there fortifies himſelf in an advantageous Place. The *Samnites* follow him, and encamp within two Miles of him. Upon this he finiſhes his Entrenchments with all Expedition; leaves a ſufficient Number of Troops to guard them, and marches out at Midnight with the reſt to join his Collegue, who is in ſight of another Body of *Samnites*, that wait for an Opportunity to engage. *Minucius*, by the Advice of *Poſtumius*, advances into the Plain, with only his two *Legions*, and offers the Enemy Battel. The Victory is long diſputed; but at length *Poſtumius* appears with his freſh Troops, and then the *Samnites* can hold out no longer. They loſe twenty one Colours.

Year of ROME

This Action over, the two *Conſuls* join their Forces, lead them to *Poſthumius's* Camp, and thence fall upon that Body of *Samnites* which is poſted near it. This proves a bloodier Battel than the former; *Minucius* is killed in it, and *Statius Gellius*, the *Samnite* General, is taken Priſoner. *Fulvius Pætinus* (who had had the beſt Share in the Victory) is allotted *Conſul* by the People to ſucceed *Minucius*; after which he takes ſeveral Cities from the Enemy, and is honoured with a Triumph at his return to *Rome*. §. 7. In the beginning of the Adminiſtration of the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Samnite* Nation ſend Deputies to *Rome*, to deſire a Renewal of the antient Confederacy with the Republick. But the *Romans*, before they grant this Requeſt, ſend *Sulpicius* with an Army into *Samnium*, to examine the Sincerity of the *Samnites*, and diſcover their real Sentiments. The *Conſul* is received every where with great Marks of Reſpect and Friendſhip; and upon his Report of the ſeeming Alteration in their Diſpoſitions, a new Alliance is made with them on the old Foot.

449. *149th Conſulſhip.*

The Æqui rebel.

And now the Republick prepares to puniſh the *Æqui*, who, after having been for a long time faithful Subjects, have lately followed the Example of the *Hernici*, and gone over to the *Samnites*. *Feciales* are firſt ſent to them to demand Satisfaction; but they receiving an haughty Anſwer, War is declared, and both the *Conſuls* are ordered to enter their Country. The long Subjection and Inaction of the *Æqui* have enervated their Courage, and untaught them military Diſcipline. There is no Order, nor Subordination among them, nor can they come to any Agreement what Meaſures to take. At length they all unanimouſly leave their Camp at Midnight, and every one takes the neareſt Road home. The *Romans* are ſurpriſed at the ſudden Diſappearance of the Enemy, and when they diſcover the Truth, reſolve to lay Siege to the Cities whither they have retreated. They take forty one Towns in fifty Days; and theſe rapid Conqueſts ſpread ſuch a Terror among the neighbouring Nations, that the *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Frentani*, and *Marrucini*, all ſend to deſire an Alliance with the Republick; and their Requeſt is granted. §. 8. The famous *Q. Fabius* being choſen *Cenſor* this Year, he makes it his Buſineſs to reform the Abuſes, introduced by the ambitious *Appius* into the State. *Appius*, to make himſelf Maſter in the Senate, had brought the Sons of *Freed-men* into it: And, in order to govern the Elections in the *Comitia*, he had incorporated ſome *Freed-men* (who were wholly devoted to him) into all the *Roman Tribes*. Theſe being cunning and intriguing Men, eaſily commanded the Votes of the reſpective *Tribes* to which they belonged. And thus he influenced the Aſſemblies to act according to his Humour, and occaſioned endleſs Broils. The Republick her ſelf had very ſoon rectified the firſt of theſe Diſorders, and reſtored the Senate to its former Luſtre. And now *Fabius*, to re-eſtabliſh Peace in *Rome*, and the Freedom of Elections, reincorporates into the four *City-Tribes*, thoſe *Freed-men*, who had been taken thence, and diſperſed among the *Country-Tribes*: So that for the future they can influence no more than four *Tribes*, and in theſe they are not the ſtrongeſt. A Reformation, ſo agreable to the Republick, that ſhe gives *Fabius*, on this account, the Surname of *Maximus*. The two *Cenſors* likewiſe, at this time, make an Ordinance, that the *Roman Knights* ſhall every Year, on the *Ides* of *July*, appear on Horſeback, dreſſed in Purple, and crowned with Olive, and march in Proceſſion from the Temple of *Mars* to the *Capitol*. After this pompous Cavalcade, the *Cenſors* were to review thoſe fine Troops, give them Inſtructions how to regulate their Conduct, and inform themſelves of the Quantity of Land which each poſſeſſed, and how long he had ſerved. (By this it appears, how great the Authority of the *Cenſors* was at *Rome*.) §. 9. But in ſpight of all the care of the *Cenſors*, the *Curule Ædileſhip* falls into the Hands of two very mean Perſons, the one a Native of *Prænesle*, the other *Cn. Flavius*, the Grandſon of a *Freed-man*, and whoſe firſt Profeſſion had been that of a Writing-Maſter. This latter, at the Inſtigation of *Appius*, whoſe Secretary he is, puts frequent Queſtions to the *Pontifices* concerning the Calendar, and the Rules by which they ſettled the Days for hearing Cauſes, *&c.* and having by Degrees got the Secret from them, he compoſes a Calendar, tranſcribes it, and fixes it up in the *Forum* for the uſe of the People; who being hereby freed from their Dependence on the *Pontifices*, in this reſpect, are ſo pleaſed with their Almanack-maker, that they raiſe him from one Step to another, till at length they make him *Curule Ædile*. §. 10. The Republick being now in Peace with the *Etrurians* and *Samnites*, is not very ſollicitous about chuſing ſuch *Conſuls* as are Men of Ability in War. *Servius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Genucius Aventinenſis*, are elected; and their Year is almoſt wholly ſpent in ſending *Colonies* to the conquered Cities. However, the publick Tranquillity is for a ſhort time interrupted by a Gang of Robbers in *Umbria*, who ravage the Country far and near. Their Retreat is a great Cave, with two Entrances; and the *Romans* having found them both, light great Fires at them, ſo that ſome of the Wretches (whoſe whole Number is two thouſand) are ſtifled with the Smoke, and the reſt throw themſelves into the

The Æqui rebel.

Fabius *reforms Abuſes introduced by* Appius, *the* Cenſor.

A new Regulation about the Roman Knights.

Flavius *compoſes a Calendar for the uſe of the People.*

450. *150th Conſulſhip.*

Flames.

Flames. §. 11. This trifling Expedition is followed by an inconſiderable War. Year of
151ſt *Conſulſhip.* In the beginning of the *Conſulſhip* of *M. Livius Denter*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, *ROME*
The *Æqui* take Umbrage at the *Colony* of ſix thouſand Men, which the Republick 451.
has lately ſent to *Alba*, and they lay ſiege to this Place. But *Junius Brutus*, whom the People name *Dictator* upon this Occaſion, marches againſt them, and by a ſpeedy Victory, puts an end to the War in eight Days time. After this he dedicates to *The Goddeſs of Health* a Temple, which he had vowed when he was *Conſul*, and built when he was *Cenſor*. And this is the firſt time that Hiſtory mentions the
The Art of Painting firſt practiſed in Rome *by* Fabius Pictor. Uſe of the Art of Painting in *Rome*. *C. Fabius* (afterwards *Conſul*) paints all the Walls of the new Temple in *Freſco*, and thence gets the Surname of *Pictor*. §. 12. At this time *Cleonymus*, the Son of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, comes with a great Fleet on the Coaſt of *Italy*, with Deſign to make a Settlement there, and he takes *Sybaris*, a City of *Lucania*. Being driven hence by the *Romans*, he makes a ſecond Deſcent in the Place where *Venice* now ſtands: But this Expedition proves as unfortunate as the former, and he returns to his own Country, after having loſt five Parts in ſix of his Fleet. §. 13. In the mean while the Republick names
Fabius Maximus, *Dictator.* *Fabius Maximus*, *Dictator*, to march againſt the *Marſi*, who have revolted, and he, 452.
by one ſingle Victory, quiets theſe Rebels. §. 14. *Fabius* is ſucceeded in the Government by another *Dictator*, *Valerius Corvus*. The Occaſion of this is a War
Valerius Corvus, *Dictator.* with the *Hetrurians*, wherein the *Romans* are engaged, by taking part in the civil Broils of that People. The *Dictator* is no ſooner come up with the Enemy, but upon ſome religious Scruple, relating to the Ceremony of his Inauguration he returns to *Rome*. In his Abſence, *Sempronius Sophus*, his General of Horſe, imprudently makes an Incurſion into the Country, falls into an Ambuſh, and loſes a great Number of Men, and ſome Colours. The News of this Defeat cauſes great Terror at *Rome*, and the *Dictator* haſtens away with new Levies to the Camp. At his Arrival, he finds things in a much better Condition than had been reported. *Sempronius* has changed his Poſt for a more ſafe and advantageous one. The *Manipuli*, who have loſt their Colours, are in great Shame and Diſgrace without the Camp, where they continue Day and Night without covering; and the whole Army deſire nothing ſo much as a Battel, that they may have their Revenge. *Valerius* ſeeing this good Diſpoſition of his Troops, leads them into the Fields of *Ruſſellæ*, one of the twelve chief Cities of *Hetruria*. The *Hetrurians*, fluſh'd with their Succeſs, follow him, and endeavour by a Stratagem to ſurpriſe *Fulvius*, one of the *Dictators* Lieutenant Generals, who, with a Detachment, has poſſeſſed himſelf of a Fort, at a good Diſtance from the *Roman* Camp. Their Artifice not ſucceeding, they beſiege *Fulvius* in form; and then the *Dictator* marching to his Relief, this brings on
* Vide *p.* 312. a general * Action, in which the *Hetrurians* are ſo totally defeated, that they ſoon after ſue for Peace. The *Roman* People and Senate grant them only a Truce for two Years. §. 15. And now the Republick is ſo much indebted to *Valerius Corvus*, that ſhe promotes him to the *Conſulſhip*, a fifth time, during his Abſence.
152*d Conſulſhip.* His Collegue is *Q. Apuleius Panſa*. During their Adminiſtration, the *Hetrurians* 453.
and *Samnites* continue quiet; and the Republick enjoys an Interval of Tranquillity abroad. But as it had ever been the Fate of *Rome* to be in Commotions at Home, when ſhe had no foreign Enemies, ſo now two *Tribunes of the People*, Brothers, of the Name of *Ogulnius*, endeavour to ſtir up the Commons againſt the *Patricians*. The only great Offices which the *Plebeians* do not ſhare with the Nobility at this time, are the Pontificate and the *Augurſhip*. *Numa* had appointed only four *Pontifices*, and that Number had never been increaſed. The *Augurs*, though but three in Number, at their firſt Inſtitution by *Romulus*, had been augmented to ſix. However, the *Augural* College conſiſted now but of four, probably, by the Death of
Plebeians *admitted into the* Pontificate, *and* Augurate. two. The *Ogulnii* preſent a Petition, to have four additional *Pontifices* choſen out of the *Plebeians*, and to have five *Plebeian Augurs* added to the four in being. The Matter is firſt debated before the *Curiæ*, where *Appius Claudius*, ſo famous for his Attempts to degrade the Nobility, becomes now, out of pure Caprice, their moſt zealous Defender. On the other hand, *P. Decius Mus*, who has been twice *Conſul*
† Vide *p.* 315. and once *Dictator*, † ſpeaks in behalf of the People. Afterwards the *Tribes* are ſummoned to determine the Affair; and there both Points are carried in favour of the People. §. 16. *Valerius* takes the Opportunity of the preſent Tranquillity
An Appeal to the People in criminal Cauſes. to revive an old Law, made by his Anceſtor, *Valerius Poplicola*, enacting, *That in criminal Cauſes, the Accuſed ſhall have a Right of appealing to the* Tribunal *of the People*. The *Patricians*, by their Intereſt and Power, had often hindered the execution of this Law; but it is now revived and expreſſed in ſtronger Terms than before. However, the only Puniſhment denounced againſt the Infringers of it, is, *That they ſhall be deemed guilty of an unjuſt and unreaſonable Action*. A Penalty, which would have been of little Influence in a more corrupt Age, but ſufficient at this time to reſtrain the *Romans*, who pique themſelves upon their Virtue, and are never choſen to great Employments, unleſs they have preſerved their Reputation pure

Year of ROME pure and untainted. §. 17. When the *Comitia* are held for electing new *Conſuls*, the famous *Q. Fabius*, finding that the People are inclined to raiſe him again to that Dignity, though he has not entered his Name among the Candidates; and conſidering that he ſhall gain little Glory in a time of Tranquillity, ſends to the Aſſembly, to deſire them to reſerve their Good-will for him to a more tempeſtuous Seaſon; and declares, that a civil Employment, at preſent, will be more agreable to him. Accordingly they promote him (with *Papirius Curſor*, the Son of his Rival) to the *Curule Ædileſhip*; and *M. Fulvius Pætinus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, are 454. elected *Conſuls*. *Fulvius* goes into *Umbria* to carry on the Siege of *Nequinum*, which *Apuleius*, one of the former *Conſuls*, had begun. It was ſituated on a Rock, and difficult of acceſs, ſo that the *Romans* would probably have lingered a long time before it, if two of the Inhabitants had not betrayed it to them. The two *Nequinians*, whoſe Lodging was near the Rampart, dug a Paſſage under Ground, as far as to the advanced Guard of the *Roman* Camp. Being carried before the *Conſul*, they propoſe to him to introduce a Body of *Romans* into the Town by the ſame Paſſage; and *Fabius*, after ſome Precautions, puts the Scheme in execution, and makes himſelf Maſter of the Place. §. 18. In this ſame *Conſulate* the *Hetrurians* break their Truce with *Rome*; but when they are preparing to enter the *Roman* Territory, an Irruption of the *Gauls* into their Country ſuſpends their Deſign. They chuſe rather to buy off theſe Invaders, than repel them by Force; and they farther bribe them to join with *Hetruria* againſt the *Romans*. The *Gauls* promiſe, but when their Promiſe is to be performed, they excuſe themſelves, unleſs the *Hetrurians* will aſſign them a part of their Country to ſettle in; and this is abſolutely refuſed. At this time the Inhabitants of *Picenum* ſend to ask an Alliance with the *Romans*, which is readily granted; and then the Republick diſpatches away an Army to puniſh the *Hetrurians*. It happens to be *Manlius*'s Lot to command it: But this unfortunate General loſing his Life by a Fall from his Horſe, the *Centuries* meet to chuſe him a Succeſſor, and (which had never happened before ſince the Birth of the Republick) all the Suffrages are given for *Valerius Corvus* a ſixth time. He is now in a very advanced Age, yet makes the Campaign with all the Vigour of a Man in the Bloom of Life. His very Preſence ſo terrifies the *Hetrurians*, that they dare not appear in the Field, but ſhut themſelves up in their fortified Towns. A ſort of Victory, which does *Valerius* more Honour than the moſt magnificent Triumph could do, and is the laſt of his Exploits. [In what Year he ended his Days is unknown, but it is certain that he lived to above a hundred. He was promoted one and twenty times to Offices, which gave him a Right to ſit in the *Curule* Chair; which can be ſaid of no *Roman* but himſelf. When the Republick ſeemed to forget him, he took Advantage of thoſe Intervals of Reſt to manure his paternal Eſtate, and wholly employed himſelf in Agriculture. He was not only a thorough Patriot, and perfect Pattern of that Zeal which Men owe their Country, but was likewiſe an excellent Father of a Family. Great in Peace, and great in War, *Valerius Corvus* outſhone the greateſt part of thoſe Heroes, who appeared in the moſt glorious and moſt virtuous Age of *Rome*.] §. 19. *Q. Fabius*, in his new Employment of *Ædile*, ſhews how uſeful Men of ſuperior Merit are in any Station whatſoever. There is at this time a Scarcity of Corn at *Rome*, and no Man ever ſhewed more Ardour to conquer an Enemy, than *Fabius* does to guard the People againſt Famine; ſo that the Poor owe their Lives to him. But now the Republick (whether by the Death of *Valerius*, or ſome other Accident, is uncertain) falls into an *Interregnum*. And when the *Comitia* are held for a new Election of Magiſtrates, *Appius Claudius* takes it into his Head to oppoſe the admitting of any *Plebeian* into the *Conſulſhip*: But all his Rhetorick proves ineffectual, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, a *Plebeian*, is made Collegue to *L. Cornelius Scipio*. §. 20. 455. During their Adminiſtration the *Hetrurians* break their Truce, and the *Samnites* their Alliance with *Rome*. *Scipio* marches againſt the former, and gives them Battel; the Succeſs of which is doubtful. However, the *Hetrurians*, after the Action, are ſeized with an unaccountable Terror, deſert their Camp in the Night, and return to their reſpective *Lucumonies*: And the *Conſul* pillages and lays waſte the whole Country. *This is* Livy's *Account*. But the *Faſti Capitolini* make it more probable, that this Expedition of the *Romans* into *Hetruria*, was under the Conduct of *Fulvius*, who afterwards marched againſt the *Samnites*, and gained an unqueſtionable Victory over them, near *Bovianum*. §. 21. Before the preſent *Conſulſhip* is expired, a Report is ſpread of vaſt Preparations, which are making by both *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, to attack the Republick once more. Upon this, her firſt care is to chuſe able Generals for the next Campaign; and all Eyes are immediately turned upon *Fabius*. But he (from what Motive is hard to gueſs) declines the Honour, and excuſes himſelf to the People, on pretence of his Age, and the Decay of his Strength and Vigour. And to ſhew that he is in earneſt, he orders the Law to be read, which forbids any Man to bear the Office of *Conſul* twice within ten

153d Conſulſhip.

Valerius Corvus *choſen* Conſul, *by the unanimous Suffrages of the* Centuries *a ſixth time.*

154th Conſulſhip.

Years. A Law made about forty Years before, but which had not been ſtrictly obſerved. The People being bent upon having *Fabius Conſul*, drown with their Noiſe the Voice of him appointed to read the Statute. And when *Fabius* remonſtrates againſt this Proceeding, the *Tribunes* threaten him to get the People to diſpenſe with the Law by a formal Act. So that, in ſhort, he is forced to comply; but at the ſame time he deſires that he may have a Collegue to his own Mind, and propoſes to the Aſſembly *Decius Mus*, who had been his Collegue in his laſt *Conſulſhip*, and with whom, he tells them, he had lived in perfect Concord and Harmony. The *Comitia* grant his Requeſt, and thoſe *Centuries* who have not yet voted, give their Voices unanimouſly for *Decius*. The reſt of the Year is ſpent in reſtraining the Avarice of thoſe, who, contrary to Law, poſſeſs more than five hundred Acres of Land. §. 22. While the two new *Conſuls*, *Fabius* and *Decius* are complimenting each other with the choice of the two Armies, which are to act, one againſt the *Hetrurians*, the other againſt the *Samnites*, an unexpected piece of News puts an end to the polite and friendly Contention. Deputies arrive at *Rome* from *Sutri*, *Nepete*, and *Falerii*, who all agree, that the *Hetrurians*, in their laſt Diet, have reſolved to deſire a Peace. Upon this, both the *Conſuls* march into *Samnium*, but enter it different Ways. *Fabius* takes the ſhorteſt Cut, by *Sora*; and being informed by his Scouts, that the *Samnites* have laid an Ambuſh for him on the Banks of the *Tifernus*, and are waiting for his coming into a deep Valley, that they may fall upon him from the Hills, he reſolves to attack the Enemy in their Ambuſcade. The *Samnites* finding that their Artifice is diſcovered, leave their Covert, and draw up in the Plain. The *Conſul* attacks them, but meets with ſo brave a Reſiſtance, that it gives him Uneaſineſs. He orders his Cavalry to give their Horſes the Reins, and to ruſh upon the Enemy with their uſual Impetuoſity; but this proves ineffectual. His next recourſe is to Stratagem. He orders *Scipio* to take the *Haſtati* of the firſt *Legion*, march ſilently round to the Top of a neighbouring Hill, and thence to fall on the Enemy in the Rear. And this Motion is made, without being perceived, either by the reſt of the Army, or by the *Samnites*. In the mean time, the latter proud of having repulſed the *Roman* Cavalry, puſh the firſt Line of the Infantry briſkly, and force them to retire through the Spaces in the ſecond Line, which conſiſts of the *Principes*. But when theſe begin likewiſe to loſe Ground, *Scipio* appears with his Detachment in the Rear of the *Samnites*. *Fabius*, to encourage his Men, makes them believe that it is the Army of his Collegue, *Decius*, come to his Aſſiſtance: And the ſame Perſuaſion prevailing among the Troops of the Enemy, they immediately disband and fly. The Slaughter is not great, but the *Romans* take twenty three Colours. *Decius*, whoſe Name had been of Service in this Action, had likewiſe, in another reſpect, contributed to the Victory, by having defeated the *Apulians*, who were to have joined the *Samnites*. After this, the two *Conſular* Armies continue five Months in *Samnium*, and make incredible Devaſtations, *Decius* changing his Camp forty five times, and *Fabius* his eighty ſix, for that Purpoſe. The Campaign being ended, and the time for holding the *Comitia* approaching, *Fabius* is recalled to preſide there. He finds, at his Arrival, that *Appius Claudius* has not only ſecured his own Election, but has formed a Scheme to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Conſulſhip*. The Method he had taken, was to engage the People to continue *Fabius* in his Office for the enſuing Year. Accordingly the firſt *Centuries*, conſiſting chiefly of the Nobility, vote for him; but *Fabius* is diſpleaſed at it, and, notwithſtanding all that the *Patricians* can urge to perſuade him, declares, that he will never give the Republick ſo pernicious a Precedent, as to ſuffer himſelf to be elected, contrary to Law, in the *Comitia*, where he himſelf preſides: So that *Volumnius Flamma* is choſen Collegue to *Appius*. §. 23. The *Patricians* are diſſatisfied with *Fabius*, and publickly impute his Refuſal of the *Conſulſhip*, to his fear of being ſurpaſſed in Eloquence and Conduct by the expert *Appius*. But the People put a better Conſtruction upon his Proceeding, and appoint him, with his Collegue *Decius*, to continue the War in *Samnium*, in quality of *Pro-Conſuls*. [*The* * *Characters of the* Conſuls *and* Pro-Conſuls *for this Year.*] *Fabius* ſpends the time of his *Pro-Conſulate* in quieting ſome Commotions in *Lucania*; but *Decius* puſhes the *Samnites* to the laſt Extremity, drives their Army even out of *Samnium*, and then lays Siege to their Towns. When he has taken and ſacked *Murgantia*, he perſuades his Soldiers to ſell their Booty for Money, that they may not be incumbered with it in their future Expeditions. After this, *Romulea* and *Ferentinum* are both taken by Aſſault; and to complete the Deſtruction of *Samnium*, a new Army of two *Legions*, and fifteen hundred Auxiliaries, advance thither under the Command of the *Conſul Volumnius*. The War with the *Hetrurians* had fallen by Lot to his Collegue *Appius*. §. 24. And indeed the Storm began to gather on that ſide. The *Samnites*, who had been driven out of their own Country by *Decius*, had taken Refuge in *Hetruria*, and there, in a Diet held at their Requeſt, had preſſed the *Hetrurians* to exert their utmoſt

Year of ROME

155th Conſulſhip. 456.

156th Conſulſhip. 457.

* Vide p. 326.

Year of ROME

Strength againſt the *Romans*, offering to fight under their Command, and to follow them even to the Foot of the *Capitol*. *Appius* marches againſt theſe Confederates, with an Army of twenty three thouſand Men; and his Expedition is ſuch, that the Enemy, who otherwiſe little dread his Abilities, are ſurpriſed at it. However, in ſeveral ſlight Actions he his worſted, for want of military Skill. In ſhort, Things come to that paſs, that the Soldiers have no Confidence in the *Conſul*, and the *Conſul* is diſtruſtful of his Soldiers. In this Extremity he is ſaid (for the thing is not certain) to have written to his Collegue to leave *Samnium*, and haſten to his Aſſiſtance. *Volumnius* comes with all Expedition, and the Troops of *Appius* are overjoyed at his Arrival. But *Appius* himſelf ſeems ſurpriſed at it, diſowns the Letter, and reproaches his Collegue with acting diſhonourably, in quitting the Province aſſigned him, in order to gain the Credit of giving Aſſiſtance to others who do not want it. *Volumnius*, upon this, is for returning again to *Samnium:* But the Officers of both Armies entreat him to have no Regard to the unaccountable Behaviour of *Appius*, but to conſider the Intereſt of the Republick, which requires his Preſence in *Hetruria*. *We are juſt ready to give Battel*, ſay they, *and ſhould Matters go ill with us, for want of your Aſſiſtance, will it be enquired whether* Appius *treated you with Arrogance or not? No, the* Roman *People will conſider only the ill Succeſs of the Battel, and impute it to your too haſty Reſentments*. After ſome Raillery between the two *Conſuls*, *Volumnius* addreſſes himſelf to the Troops. *If you would have me tarry here*, ſays he, *ſhew it by your Shouts*. Inſtantly the Army make a general Shout, which is heard in the Camp of the Enemy, who immediately take Arms, and offer Battel. *Volumnius*, without delay, marches out to meet them; but *Appius* heſitates, till he finds that his Army are diſpoſed to follow his Collegue, in Defiance of his Orders. And now an Emulation for Glory, and the Shame of being obſcured by a Rival, rouze him to ſuch a Degree, that he exerts himſelf beyond what could be expected. He gives his Orders like a good Commander, and fights with Intrepidity, having firſt made a Vow to *Bellona* to build her a Temple, in caſe he proves victorious. The united *Samnites* and *Hetrurians* are totally defeated, and their Camp taken and plundered. §. 25. This Victory puts an end to the Miſunderſtanding between the two *Conſuls*, and they agree to act jointly againſt *Hetruria:* But *Volumnius* is, by an unexpected Event, called back into his own Province. The *Samnites*, though ſo much exhauſted, had raiſed new Levies, ſpread themſelves over *Campania*, and ravaged it. This News obliges *Volumnius* to haſten to the Aſſiſtance of the *Campanians*. When he comes to the Foot of Mount *Maſſicus* in the Diſtrict of *Cale*, he is told, that the Intention of the Enemy is to march home, diſburthen themſelves of their Booty, and then return to make freſh Ravages. He marches after them, kills ſix thouſand of them, and recovers all the Spoil they had taken. This Victory quiets the Minds of the People at *Rome*, who had been much alarmed at this laſt Enterpriſe of the *Samnites:* And they now take into Conſideration the proper Means to ſecure *Campania* from the like Incurſions for the future. It is judged proper to ſettle two *Colonies*, one at the Mouth of the *Liris*, called the *Colony* of *Minturnæ*, the other at *Sinueſſa*. But the execution of this Deſign is, for the preſent, ſuſpended, on account of Matters of greater Importance, to which the Republick is now obliged to attend. Certain Advice is brought, that the *Hetrurians* have concluded a Treaty with the *Samnites*, *Umbri*, and *Gauls*; and that the Armies of the four Nations are already aſſembled in two Camps in *Hetruria*, where there is only *Appius* with his Troops to make Head againſt them. §. 26. The time for aſſembling the *Comitia* drawing on, *Volumnius* is recalled from *Samnium*, to preſide at the new Elections. Before the *Centuries* enter into the Voting-Place, he makes an Harangue to them, wherein he repreſents the Neceſſity of chuſing able Generals in ſo perilous a Seaſon. Upon this, all Eyes are immediately turned upon *Fabius*. But when the firſt *Centuries* have declared for him, and have given him *Volumnius* for his Collegue, he ſtarts Difficulties, as formerly, and excuſes himſelf on account of his Age. However, he at length ſubmits, provided he may have his faithful *Decius* for his Collegue. *Men of my Age*, ſays he, *cannot eaſily ſuit themſelves to the Ways of thoſe whom they don't know. I ſhall have leſs Difficulty in declaring my Sentiments, and communicating my Deſigns to a Friend, with whom I have been ſo long acquainted.* The Preference given to *Decius* was a kind of Affront to *Volumnius:* But this was an Age when Ambition and Delicacy, in point of Honour, gave Way to the publick Good. *Volumnius* approves of *Fabius*'s Requeſt, and makes a fine Encomium upon *Decius*; inſiſting much *on the great Advantages which would flow from the Harmony between two Generals in ſuch ſtrict Friendſhip*. And having his own Collegue, *Appius*, in his Thoughts, he concludes, with ſome ſatyrical Strokes on thoſe, *who make Glory conſiſt in talking prettily*.

Volumnius *the* Conſul *marches to the Relief of his Collegue* Appius, *who refuſes his Aſſiſtance.*

A Confederacy of the Hetrurians, Samnites, Umbri, *and* Gauls, *againſt* Rome.

In this Criſis of an approaching terrible War, the People being very ſuperſtitious, multiply their publick Acts of Devotion; and theſe give riſe to a Quarrel among the *Roman* Ladies. In the Ox-market was a Temple built to the Honour

A Quarrel among the Roman *Ladies.*

of *Patrician* Chaſtity; and none of the Wives of *Plebeians*, how illuſtrious ſoever their Huſbands might be, were ever admitted into it. However, *Aula Virginia*, being herſelf nobly deſcended, and being the Wife of the *Plebeian Conſul*, *Volumnius*, claims a Right of aſſiſting at the Ceremonies, with the *Patrician* Ladies; and when the latter oppoſe her Pretenſions, *What*, ſays ſhe, *is my Honour ſuſpected? Was I meanly born? Or have I married two Husbands?* (Second Marriages were at this time ſo great a Blemiſh on the *Roman* Women, that it excluded them the Temple of Chaſtity.) But all that *Virginia* can ſay is to no Purpoſe. She is excluded the Sanctuary. Upon this ſhe forms the Reſolution of having a Temple to the Honour of *Plebeian* Chaſtity; ſhe erects and conſecrates an Altar in a part of her own Houſe, and there aſſembles the *Plebeian* Women of the greateſt Diſtinction, obſerving the ſame Ceremonies that are practiſed in the other Temple. This Fervour continued for ſome time: But at length Women of little Merit and doubtful Characters being admitted into the Aſſembly, it ſunk into Diſgrace, and no more mention was made of *Plebeian* Chaſtity. §. 27. The time being come for *Fabius* and *Decius* to enter upon their *Conſulſhips*, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the latter will be induced by Gratitude, as well as by the Age and ſuperior Merit of his Collegue, to compliment him with the Command of the Army in *Hetruria*, without drawing Lots. But it is very difficult for a Man to avoid being carried away by the Stream of a Faction, in which he once engages. The *Patricians* make it a Point of Honour, not to ſuffer *Fabius* to yield that Command to any other Perſon; and on the other Hand, the *Plebeians* will not ſuffer *Fabius* to have it, unleſs it falls to him by Lot, leſt the *Patrician Conſuls* ſhould for the future claim a Right of chuſing their Provinces, without drawing Lots; and the pacifick *Decius* is as it were compelled to give way to the Tyranny of his Party. When the Affair is brought before the *Comitia*, *Fabius*, in † few Words, urges his Pretenſions, and then modeſtly ſubmits to the Determination of the People. *Decius*, on the other hand, declares, *That did the Queſtion relate only to the augmenting the Glory of* Fabius, *to whom the Republick, as well as he himſelf, is ſo much indebted, he ſhould never diſpute with him an Honour he has juſtly merited. But that, in the preſent Caſe, if he ſhould give up the Point to his Collegue, he muſt do it at the Expence of the* Conſular *Office*, &c. When *Decius* has ended his Diſcourſe, *Fabius* makes no other Reply than this. *I deſire*, Romans, *that before you determine the Diſpute, you will hear* Appius's *Letters read.* This ſaid, he leaves the Aſſembly. *Appius*, in his Letters, had painted the Danger, with which the Republick was threatened in very lively Colours; and this alone was ſufficient to induce the *Comitia* to have recourſe to the ſureſt Remedy. The People inſtantly and unanimouſly determine, that the Conduct of the War in *Hetruria* ſhall be committed to *Fabius*. And now all the Youth are earneſt to march under the Command of ſo able a General. But he, either to diſpel the publick Fears, by a ſhew of Confidence, or to prevent any Aſſociates being joined with him, declares, that he will carry no larger a Reinforcement to the Army, than four thouſand Foot and ſix hundred Horſe. With theſe he marches towards the Camp, which the fearful *Appius* is ſtill ſtrengthning with new Fortifications. Not far from it he meets a Detachment, ſent to cut Wood in a neighbouring Foreſt. *Where are you going, fellow Soldiers?* ſays *Fabius*. They anſwer, *To a Foreſt, to cut Wood, to fortify the Camp. What*, replies the General, *is it not already palliſaded? Doubtleſs it is*, return the Soldiers, *and we are ſurrounded by a double Ditch, and a double Rampart, yet we are ſtill afraid. If that be the Caſe*, adds *Fabius*, *return to the Place from whence you come; ſpare your ſelves the Trouble of cutting new Palliſades; and not only ſo, but as ſoon as you are got back to the Camp, level the firſt Entrenchment of it, for it looks like a Camp of Cowards.* The Detachment immediately put the *Conſul*'s Orders in execution, which throws *Appius* into a terrible Fright; and he does not recover himſelf, till the Workmen inform him, that what they are doing is by the Command of *Fabius*, who will ſoon be in the Camp. *Fabius* arrives the ſame Day; and the next, *Appius* ſets out for *Rome*, to take Poſſeſſion of the *Prætorſhip*, to which he has been choſen, as an Employment better ſuited to his Talents and Capacity, than the Command of an Army. §. 28. *Fabius* obſerves a quite different Conduct from that of his Predeceſſor. Inſtead of ſhutting up his Army within Entrenchments, he makes them take long marches, and often change their Poſts, and hereby he gives them an Air of Confidence. However, before the Seaſon permits the Army to enter upon Action, he returns to *Rome*, either of his own Motion, or becauſe recalled by the Senate. (Some Authors ſay, that *Appius* had made a dreadful Repreſentation of the Forces of the Enemy, and had urged the Neceſſity of ſending either *Decius* or *Volumnius* with a ſecond Army to his Aſſiſtance. And they add, that *Decius* had, upon this Occaſion, given his Opinion, *That* Fabius *ought to be left at full Liberty to determine concerning the Wants of his Army, and the Intereſt of the Republick*; and had moved, *that he might be ſent for to* Rome *to give his Judgment of the State of Affairs.*) When *Fabius* arrives

Year of ROME 458.

157*th Conſulſhip.*

Decius *diſputes with* Fabius *the Command in* Hetruria.

† Vide *p.* 338.

The People determine in favour of Fabius.

Year of *ROME* arrives, he gives ſuch an Account of Things, as neither to encreaſe the Apprehenſions of the Republick, nor to let her ſleep in Security. He deſires, that a ſecond General may be joined with him; but at the ſame time inſinuates, that he makes this Propoſal more out of Regard to the Fears of the Publick, than any Neceſſity. And when the ſecond General comes to be named, *I have not forgotten*, ſays he to the People aſſembled, *the good Underſtanding in which* Decius *and I formerly lived. In whom therefore can I more confide than in him? In him alone I ſhall have more Force than I want. But if my Collegue has other Views, and is unwilling to carry on the War in Conjunction with me, I am willing that* Volumnius *be ſent in his ſtead.* *Decius* immediately declares, that he is ready to go either to *Samnium* or *Hetruria*, as *Fabius* pleaſes; and this Declaration is received with univerſal Applauſe. The Republick is charmed with the frank and diſintereſted Behaviour of her Generals, and ſhe no longer doubts of Victory. But before the *Conſuls* leave *Rome*, they ſend away the *Pro-Conſul Volumnius* to *Samnium*; and in order to cover the City on the ſide of *Hetruria*, direct two Camps to be pitched, one on the Hill *Vaticanus*, the other in the Country of the *Faliſci*. §. 29. After theſe Regulations, *Fabius* and *Decius* ſet out for *Hetruria*, and upon the Road, receive the News of the total Defeat of a *Legion*, which *Fabius* had left under the Command of *Scipio*, near old *Cluſium*. They ſee the Cavalry of the *Gauls* returning from the Slaughter, with the Heads of the *Romans* fixed on the Tops of their Lances. However, the *Conſuls* are not diſcouraged by this Accident. Their Army conſiſts of four *Legions*, a good Number of *Roman* Horſe, a thouſand *Campanian* Horſe, and a Body of Auxiliaries. They divide it into two Parts, and encamp ſeparately, but not far from each other, in the Plain of *Sentinum*, about four Miles from the Enemy. It is ſaid, that the Army of the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, who encamped together, conſiſted of a hundred and forty three thouſand three hundred and thirty Foot, and forty ſix thouſand Horſe. What the Number was of the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* (who jointly made another Camp) is not told. It is agreed among theſe Confederates, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only ſhall engage the *Romans* in the Field, whilſt the *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* attack their two Camps. *Fabius* has notice by Deſerters of this Deſign; and in order to diſconcert it, and make a Diverſion, he ſends Directions to the *Pro-Prætors Fulvius* and *Poſtumius*, who are encamped near *Rome*, to march their two Armies into *Hetruria*, and ravage it. This Stratagem has the deſired Effect. The *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians* haſten to the Relief of the poor People, whoſe Houſes are plundered, and Lands laid waſte. And during their Abſence, the *Conſuls* bring the *Gauls* and *Samnites* to a Battel. *Decius* and his Troops being worſted in the beginning of the Action, he * *devotes* himſelf to the *Dii Manes* to ſave his Country; and his Death giving freſh Courage to the *Romans*, *Fabius* gains the Victory. Twenty five thouſand of the Enemy are killed, and eight thouſand taken Priſoners. The *Romans* loſe only eight thouſand two hundred Men. The *Conſul*'s firſt Care, after the Victory, is to perform the Promiſe he made in the Heat of the Battel, to burn the Spoils of the Enemy in honour to *Jupiter the Conqueror*. He then cauſes Search to be made for the Body of *Decius*, and ſpeaks his Funeral Oration. §. 30. In the mean time the *Pro-Prætors Fulvius* and *Poſtumius* gain great Advantages in *Hetruria*; and the *Pro-Conſul Volumnius* obtains a conſiderable Victory over the *Samnites*, at the Foot of Mount *Tifernum*. But notwithſtanding all theſe Loſſes, neither *Samnites* nor *Hetrurians* are yet brought into Subjection. The latter take Courage again, and aſſemble freſh Forces, as ſoon as *Fabius* has left their Country: So that he is obliged to lead his Army back again. A new Victory over them is the laſt of this Hero's Exploits.

* Vide *p.* 343, 344.

Decius devotes himſelf to the Dii Manes; and Fabius gains the Victory over the Confederates.

[*Fabius* had a Son, whoſe Surname was *Gurges*, or *The Gulph*. An Appellation given him on account of his exceſſive Intemperance in his Youth. This Man afterwards reformed, and became worthy of publick Offices. And then, to wipe off the Shame of his paſt Exceſſes he became rigid and ſevere, and endeavoured to correct the Licentiouſneſs of the *Roman* Ladies. The Severity of Manners of the firſt Ages of *Rome*, was now much relaxed. The Conqueſt of ſo many Countries abounding with Delights, had been the Occaſion of introducing Luxury and Incontinence. *Gurges*, being now *Curule Ædile*, brings a Complaint before the People againſt ſome Ladies of Diſtinction, on account of their Unfaithfulneſs to their Husbands: And Adultery is for the firſt time puniſhed by a pecuniary Fine. A moderate Puniſhment, if the Shame of the Criminals had not been perpetuated, by conſecrating the Money to the building of a Temple to *Decius*, near the Great *Circus*.]

FABIUS GURGES.

Adultery puniſhed by a pecuniary Fine.

§. 31. In the mean time the *Samnites* raiſe new Forces, and become the Aggreſſors. The *Pro-Conſul Volumnius*, and the *Prætor Appius*, each at the Head of an Army, march againſt them, and defeat them, in a pitched Battel, fought in the *Campi Stellates*, in *Campania*. The *Samnites* loſe ſixteen thouſand three hundred Men.

Rome

Rome had never before made War in ſo many Places at the ſame time with more Succeſs. But now in the midſt of her Rejoicings for ſuch ſignal Victories, her Pride and Degeneracy of Manners are puniſhed by a dreadful Plague. And as Superſtition always increaſes in Proportion, as Vice prevails, ſo never were Prodigies in ſuch great Plenty as this Year. The *Augurs* and *Sybilline* Books are conſulted upon imaginary Prognoſticks; and the preſent Joy is much damped by the Apprehenſion of impending Evils. Year of *ROME*

BOOK XX.

§. 1. THE Republick has now been forty Years in War with the *Samnites*, almoſt without Interruption. And though the latter have been always worſted, and have juſt loſt four Battels in the Space of one Year, yet they are not ſo far diſcouraged, as to loſe the Hopes of being able one Day to conquer. They make great Preparations to take the Field once more; inſomuch, that the Senate think it neceſſary to ſend both the new *Conſuls*, *L. Poſtumius Megellus*, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, againſt them. But *Poſtumius* falling ſick, *Attilius* is diſpatched away without him, to attack the Enemy, before they get out of *Samnium*. The two Armies meet juſt upon the Confines of *Campania*; and here the *Conſul* is no ſooner encamped, than the *Samnites* (who have been ſo often vanquiſhed) form the bold Deſign of forcing his Lines. By the help of a very thick Fog they approach the *Roman* Camp; ſurpriſe the advanced Guard; make themſelves Maſters of the *Decuman* Gate, and penetrate as far as to the *Quæſtor*'s Tent, where the military Cheſt is kept. The Alarm reaching to the General's Quarters, he awakes, puts himſelf at the Head of ſome *Manipuli*, and, in ſhort, repulſes the Enemy, but dares not purſue them, for fear of an Ambuſcade. But though this Enterpriſe of the *Samnites* is not ſucceſsful, yet the Courage they had ſhewn in the Attempt gives them new Confidence; and they keep the *Romans* ſo cloſely ſhut up, that they cannot enter *Samnium*, to live upon free Quarter there. §. 2. The diſadvantageous Situation of *Attilius*'s Army alarms the Senate and People at *Rome*, ſo that *Poſtumius*, though not perfectly recovered, thinks himſelf obliged to ſet out for *Samnium*, with the two *Legions* allotted him. Upon his Arrival, the *Samnites* being in no Condition to make Head againſt two *Conſular* Armies, decamp in haſte, and leave their Country open to be pillaged. *Poſtumius* applies himſelf to the beſieging of Towns, and takes *Milionia*, and *Triventum*; the latter without fighting. §. 3. But *Attilius* meets with more Difficulties and Danger in his Expeditions. Having received Intelligence that the *Samnites* are beſieging *Luceria*, a City of *Apulia*, he haſtens to its Relief, but finds the Enemy in his Way. The two Armies come to an Engagement, in which the *Romans* ſuffer moſt; and this Misfortune ſo mightily dejects them, that they paſs the Night in great Uneaſineſs, expecting every Moment to ſee the Enemy approach to force their Lines. But it happens, on the other hand, that the *Samnites* are as much terrified, and think only of returning Home. The Difficulty is, how to put their Deſign in execution, their Enemies being in the Way. At length they reſolve to go directly towards the *Roman* Camp; endeavour to march along by the ſide of it, and make the Plain. (This is the only Method they can take, becauſe the Ground where they are poſted is narrow and confined, and the *Romans* are between them and *Samnium*.) The *Conſul* imagining that the Enemy is coming to attack him, reſolves to go out and meet them, and gives Orders to his *Legions* to follow him: But though the Officers are ready to obey him, the Soldiers are ſo fatigued and intimidated, that he cannot, even by ſoft Words, prevail with them to ſtir. In the mean time the *Samnites* advance, and come ſo near, that they may be ſeen from the Rampart, loaded with Stakes and Faſcines. Upon this the *Conſul* expoſtulates with his Men once more; on the Diſgrace of ſuffering themſelves to be attacked in the Centre of their Camp; and all the Officers declaring themſelves of the ſame Opinion with the General, the Soldiers out of Shame comply, and leave their Camp, though very unwillingly. On the other hand the *Samnites* are in the utmoſt Deſpair, at this Motion of the *Romans*; and, in ſhort, two Coward-Armies are brought to an Engagement, entirely againſt their Inclinations. *Attilius*, by placing his Cavalry in the Rear of his Infantry, to hinder the latter from flying, obtains the Victory: But his Loſs in this and the former Action is ſo great, that he has hitherto gained but little Glory from the Campaign. However, he ſoon after repairs his Loſſes, in ſome meaſure, by a new Advantage over a Body of *Samnites*, who having made an Incurſion into the Country of the *Volſci*, and brought thence a conſiderable Booty, and many *Roman* Priſoners, are marching home in Diſorder. He falls upon them; recovers the Booty, and releaſes the Captives: After this returns to *Rome* to preſide at the new Elections.

158th Conſulſhip. *New War with the* Samnites. 459.

§. 4. In

Year of ROME 460.

§. 4. In the mean time *Poſtumius*, having taken *Milionia* and *Triventum*, and being weary of making War in a ruined Country, where little is to be got, marches into *Hetruria*, without any Orders from the Senate. There he defeats the *Hetrurians*, takes *Ruſſellæ* by Aſſault, and obliges three of the moſt conſiderable *Lucumonies* to demand a Peace. However, a Truce only for forty Years is granted them by the Senate, on their paying each five hundred thouſand Pounds of Braſs into the Treaſury of the Republick. *Poſtumius*, upon the Merit of theſe Exploits, ventures to demand a Triumph of the Senate, and when the *Conſcript Fathers* refuſe it him, on account of his Diſobedience in leaving the Province aſſigned him, without Orders, he tells them, *That he will obtain it in ſpight of them, from the People.* Accordingly he preſents his Requeſts to the *Comitia*; and though this Proceeding be irregular, and ſeven of the *Tribunes* oppoſe his Petition, nevertheleſs the People decree him a Triumph for his Victories over the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*.

War in Hetruria.

Poſtumius *obtains a Triumph by a Decree of the People.*

A new *Cenſus*, the thirtieth from its Inſtitution, being now taken of the People, the Number of *Roman Citizens*, fit to bear Arms, appears to be two hundred and ſeventy thouſand. A new Liſt of Senators is likewiſe made at this time by the *Cenſors*, and the Great *Q. Fabius Rullianus*, is in his old Age choſen *Prince of the Senate.*

§. 5. It is ſurpriſing that *Samnium* ſhould be again the Seat of the War: But thither it is that the two new *Conſuls Papirius Curſor* (Son of the famous Hero of that Name, who was *Conſul* five times) and *Sp. Carvilius* are ordered to march. *Attilius*, the late *Conſul*, is made *Prætor*; but *Poſtumius*, who had obtained a Triumph againſt the Will of the Senate, and *Tribunes of the People*, is cited, by one *Scantius*, a *Tribune*, to anſwer before the *Tribes*, for having left his Province without Orders. However, he evades a Trial, by getting *Carvilius* to appoint him one of his Lieutenant Generals.

159th Conſulſhip.

§. 6. In the mean time the *Samnites*, to make once more a vigorous Effort, publiſh a Law, requiring all, who are of an Age to bear Arms, to appear in the Field upon the firſt Summons of their General, on Pain of having their Heads devoted to *Jupiter*, in caſe of Diſobedience. (*i. e.* it ſhould be lawful for any one to kill them, wherever they ſhould be found.) Having by this means raiſed a numerous Army, the next thing is to inſpire the Troops with Courage. And in order thereto, they have recourſe to a bloody Superſtition. They erect a kind of Booth, two hundred Foot ſquare, covered on the Top, and ſo cloſe on all ſides, that nothing of what paſſes within can be ſeen by thoſe without. Here an Altar is raiſed, and many Victims ſlain; and then the principal Officer, and Flower of the Nobility, are introduced one by one into it by the General. An Oath of Secrecy is firſt adminiſtred to them; after which they are forced to pronounce the following Imprecation. *May all the Curſes of the Gods fall upon me and my Poſterity, if I do not follow wherever the Generals ſhall lead me to fight, if I ever turn my back, or if I do not kill thoſe whom I ſhall ſee attempt to fly.* Some of the firſt who are introduced into the Encloſure heſitate, to load themſelves and their Poſterity with ſuch Imprecations; but theſe being immediately ſtabbed, and their Bodies thrown among the Carcaſſes of the Victims, the reſt who follow are ſo terrified at this ſight, that they readily take the Oath. The Number of thoſe who thus engage themſelves is ſixteen thouſand, and theſe are thought ſufficient to inſpire the reſt of the Troops, amounting to twenty thouſand, with Emulation.

The Samnites *bind themſelves by extraordinary Engagements, either to conquer or die.*

§. 7. While theſe Things are doing, *Carvilius*, at the Head of the Army, which *Attilius* had left near *Interamna*, makes his Way towards *Samnium*; and his firſt Exploit is the taking of *Amiternum*, a City of *Sabinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. In the mean time *Papirius* haſtens the new Levies at *Rome*, and as ſoon as his *Legions* are complete, enters upon Action. He takes *Furconia*, and then joining his Collegue, they go together to ravage that part of the *Volſcian* Territory, which is under the Dominion of the *Samnites*. After this, *Carvilius* prepares to lay ſiege to *Cominium*; and *Papirius* marches towards *Aquilonia* (where the *Devoted Legion* had made their dreadful Vows and Imprecations) and encamps within ſight of the Enemy. *Papirius* having reſolved to give Battel, ſends a Letter to his Collegue to acquaint him with it, and deſires him to preſs the Siege of *Cominium* vigorouſly, that no Detachments may be ſent from thence to ſtrengthen the *Samnite* Army. Then calling his Troops together, he exhorts them *not to fear the Enemy, for the extraordinary Methods they have taken to make themſelves valiant*; tells them, *that Oaths, extorted by Fear and Violence, will never give true Courage*; puts them in mind of *his Father's Victory over a* Samnite *Army, which had made themſelves fine, as theſe have done, with proud Creſts to their Helmets, and magnificent Bucklers*; and, in a Word, he ſo animates his Soldiers, that they all call out to lead them to Battel. Nay, ſo univerſal is the Deſire of coming to an Engagement, that the *Augur* appointed to conſult the ſacred *Chickens*, makes a falſe Report of their Behaviour, and declare, that they fed greedily when they came out of their Cage, *&c.* The General is overjoyed at this happy *Augury*, and orders the Signal to be given for the Battel. But juſt, when he has aſſigned all his Officers their

proper Posts, and has made all the proper Dispositions to charge the Enemy, his Nephew, young *Papirius* (at the Instigation of the *Roman Knights*) comes to acquaint him, that the *Augur* had deceived him in his Report concerning the *Chickens*. *Courage, Nephew,* replies the General, *and behave your self like a brave Man. If the* Augur *has made a false Report, the Vengeance of the Gods will fall upon his Head alone.* He then commands that unfaithful Guardian of the *Sacred Chickens* to be placed at the Head of the first Line; and before the two Armies come to a close Engagement, the *Augur* is killed by an unknown Hand (probably by order of the *Consul.*) When the News is brought to *Papirius*, he pretends to consider it as a Stroke from Heaven, which assures him of the Victory, and cries out, *The Vengeance of the Gods has spent itself on one single Head, which deserved it; we have nothing more to fear from their Anger.* §. 8. [*The* † *Battel (which has a prodigious Resemblance, in its Circumstances to that which the Father of* Papirius *fought with the* Samnites) *is described at large.*] Twelve thousand of the *Samnites*, acording to *Orosius*, are slain; but according to *Livy* thirty thousand; and *Aquilonia*, whither the Fugitives have fled for Refuge, is taken. §. 9. While *Carvilius* was preparing to make a vigorous attack upon *Cominium*, according to the Agreement between him and his Collegue, he received a Letter from *Papirius*, with Notice, that the *Samnites* had sent away a large Detachment of their Army to relieve the Place. Upon this News he detached *Brutus Scæva* with the first *Legion*, and twenty *Cohorts* of Auxiliaries, to meet the *Samnite* Reinforcement, with Orders either to amuse them, or fight them, wherever he should find them. In the mean time, with the rest of his Army, he gives an Assault to the Town, and takes it by Storm. The Besieged, to the Number of fifteen thousand four hundred, surrender at Discretion. After this, the two *Consular* Armies join; and a Council of War being held, it is resolved to push the Advantages gained, to the utter Reduction of the *Samnites*, by taking the rest of their Cities. This Design is approved by the Senate and People of *Rome*; and *Carvilius* receives Orders to lay Siege to *Velia* in *Lucania*, near Cape *Palinurus*. *Papirius* is commanded to attempt the Conquest of *Sepinum*, a Town situated at the Foot of the *Appenines*, near the Head of the *Tamarus*. §. 10. The News of the great Success of the *Roman* Arms in *Samnium* is the more agreable at *Rome*, as an Account comes at the same time, that the *Hetrurians* are beginning to take Arms again. This Account is soon after confirmed by Deputies, sent from Cities in Alliance with the Republick. Nor is this all. The *Falisci*, who are the nearest Neighbours to *Rome* on the side of *Hetruria*, revolt, and join the *Hetrurians*. It is judged therefore necessary to recall one of the *Consuls* from *Samnium*. They are ordered to draw Lots for the Conduct of the new War, and it falls to *Carvilius*. §. 11. *Papirius*, after the Departure of his Collegue, takes *Sepinum* by Assault, and gives the Booty to the Soldiers. He then returns to *Rome* full of Glory in the Month of *February*, and is honoured with a Triumph (as *Carvilius* had been a Month before, when he passed through *Rome* to go to *Hetruria.*) The rich Spoils taken from the *Samnites* make his Procession very magnificent. He had brought away from the conquered Country two Million and thirty thousand Pounds weight of Brass, and thirteen hundred and thirty Pounds weight of Silver. But though these Riches swell the Pomp of the Victor's Triumph, he loses the Good-will of his Soldiers, by giving them into the publick Treasury. Nor are the People less discontented with him, when a Tax comes to be laid upon them to pay his Troops, which might have been satisfied by distributing among them a part of that Wealth. While *Papirius* is at *Rome*, he dedicates a Temple to the God *Quirinus*, which his Father had formerly vowed; and he adorns the Sanctuary with some of the splendid Spoils of the *Samnites*.

Year of *ROME*

† Vide *p.* 362.

The Samnites *defeated.*

A Sun-Dial made at Rome.

In this Year, a Sun-Dial, for the first time, is seen at *Rome.* The *Romans*, for a long time, marked only the rising and setting of the Sun. Afterwards they observed the Hour of Noon; but in a very gross manner. When the Sun shined between the *Rostra* and the House appointed for the Reception of Ambassadors, one of the *Consuls* Heralds used to proclaim with a loud Voice, that it was Mid-day. But now they could mark the several Hours of the Day; and the Water-Dial, invented soon after, enabled them to reckon the Hours of the Night.

§. 12. As soon as *Papirius* has triumphed, he leaves *Rome* again, to lead his Troops into the Country of the *Vestini*, which the *Samnites* still infest; and there he passes the rest of the Winter. In the mean time *Carvilius*, in *Hetruria*, takes *Trossulum* by Assault, and reduces the *Falisci* to sue for Peace. He grants them however no more than a Year's Truce, and for that he makes them pay dear. Then the *Consul* returns to *Rome*, carrying with him three hundred and eighty thousand *Asses* of Brass for the publick Treasury, without reckoning a considerable Sum, which he reserves, to build a Temple to *Fortune that Favours the Bold.* And, besides this, he has enough to give each of his Soldiers a hundred and two *Asses* of Brass; a small Present, but well received, and which the Remembrance of *Papirius*'s Con-

Year of *ROME* duct, makes ſtill more agreable. And by this means he becomes popular enough to prevail with the People to drop the Proſecution, which the *Tribune Scantius* had begun againſt *Poſtumius*, one of the *Conſuls* of the laſt Year. §. 13. In the mean time *Attilius*, the other *Conſul* of the laſt Year, now *Prætor*, makes a new Law relating to Guardianſhips. The *Twelve Tables* had not provided for thoſe Orphans, whoſe Fathers died inteſtate, and who had no near Relation to take upon him the Guardianſhip of them. But now the *Attilian Law* ordains, that the *Prætor*, and the *Tribunes of the People*, ſhall, by a Plurality of Voices, aſſign ſuch Orphans a Guardian. At the ſame time the *Curule Ædiles* make an Ordinance, That thoſe who have received Crowns, as the Rewards of their military Exploits, may wear them at the publick *Games*; and That Palm-Branches ſhall be put into the Hands of the Victors, in thoſe *Games*. §. 14. *Papirius* preſides at the Election of new *Conſuls*; and that his Glory may not be effaced by the Exploits of his Succeſſors, contrives to have the Choice fall upon two Men of ſmall Ability in War, *Fabius Gurges*, and *Junius Brutus Scæva*. (It is undoubted, that *Fabius*, the Father, oppoſed the Promotion of his Son; but it is very uncertain for what Reaſon; whether, as *Valerius Maximus* thinks, from a Republican Principle, and becauſe he thought it of pernicious Example, to have one Family loaded with ſo many Honours, he having himſelf been five times *Conſul*, and both his Father and Grandfather having been promoted to that Dignity; or whether on account of ſome domeſtick Quarrel; or whether becauſe he judged his Son unqualified for ſo high a Station.) And now *Rome* being viſited with a Plague, which makes terrible Havock; this, together with the Incapacity of the new *Conſuls*, encourages the *Faliſci* to break their Truce, and the *Samnites* to take Arms again, and ſpread themſelves over *Campania*. It falling to *Brutus*'s Lot to march into *Hetruria*, againſt the *Faliſci*, the Republick, to ſupply his Defects, appoints *Carvilius* to be his Lieutenant General; and by his Aſſiſtance, the *Conſul* makes a ſucceſsful Expedition. But, on the other hand, *Fabius Gurges* having all the Fire of the *Fabii*, without their uſual Prudence, raſhly, and without drawing up his Troops in order of Battel, engages with the *Samnites*, and loſes three thouſand Men, he himſelf eſcaping only by the Favour of the Night. §. 15. The Account of the ill Conduct of *Gurges* ſo exaſperates the People againſt him, that they recall him home, and cite him to appear before the *Comitia*. The Depoſitions againſt the Accuſed are very full, and he is juſt going to be condemned; but then the Zeal of old *Fabius* for the Honour of his Family is rouzed, and he undertakes his Son's Cauſe. Without excuſing the precipitate Conduct of the *Conſul*, he deſires the Aſſembly to pardon it, in Conſideration of the many Victories, which he himſelf had formerly obtained for the Republick. He repreſents to them, that his Son's Diſgrace had not been owing to a want of Bravery, but to youthful Imprudence, which Time and Experience might rectify. And laſtly, he offers to go and ſerve under his Son, and promiſes ſoon to repair the Loſs which the State had ſuffered by his Miſmanagement. This Offer is immediately accepted, and the People are appeaſed. The Father accompanies his Son into the Field, in quality of Lieutenant General. The two Armies come ſoon to an * Engagement, and the *Romans* obtain a complete Victory, by the excellent Conduct, and perſonal Bravery of old *Fabius*. *Pontius Herennius*, the *Samnite* General, is taken Priſoner. But the Joy at *Rome* for this Victory is much damped by the Plague, which ſtill continues to make dreadful Devaſtation. The *Sybilline* Books are conſulted, and there it is read, that to put a Stop to the Peſtilence, the God *Æſculapius*, adored under the Figure of a Serpent, muſt be brought to *Rome* from *Epidaurus*, a City of *Peloponeſus*; and accordingly an Embaſſy is ordered for this Purpoſe. And now the time for new Elections drawing on, and the *Conſuls* being both in the Field, a *Dictator* is named to hold the *Comitia*. But his Nomination being found defective, the Government falls into an *Interregnum*; and then *Poſtumius* (the very ſame Man who has ſo lately eſcaped a Condemnation) holding the Aſſembly, contrives to get himſelf elected one of the new *Conſuls*. With him is joined *Junius Brutus Bubulcus*. §. 16. *Poſtumius*, now the third time *Conſul*, and as proud in Office, as he had been ambitious in procuring to himſelf the *Conſular* Dignity againſt the Rules, diſdains to draw Lots with his *Plebeian* Collegue for their Provinces. He inſiſts upon having the Command of the Army in *Samnium*; and *Brutus* finding that his Collegue has a powerful Party in the Senate, conſents to command in *Hetruria*, without waiting for a Decree. §. 17. *A ſhort Account of* Æſculapius, *an eminent Phyſician, who ſettled at* Epidaurus, *and who, after his Death, was deified; and had a Temple built to his Honour. The manner in which the Prieſts of the Temple kept a tame Snake, which the common People worſhiped as the God. The* Roman *Ambaſſadors purchaſe this Snake, and convey him to* Rome; *and Fable ſays, that he choſe to reſide in the Iſland in the middle of the* Tyber; *where a Temple was built for him in the Shape of a Ship.* §. 18. *Fabius* (who

Attilian *Law concerning Orphans.*

461. *160th Conſulſhip. Old* Fabius *oppoſes the Promotion of his Son* Fabius Gurges *to the* Conſulate.

Old Fabius *ſerves under his Son.*

* Vide *p.* 371.

462. *161ſt Conſulſhip.*

Æſculapius *brought to* Rome *to put a Stop to the Plague.*

History ſays nothing of the Exploits of *Brutus* in *Hetruria*. But young

(who had been continued in the Command of the Army in *Samnium*, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*) being aſſiſted by his Father, (who governs and directs all his Motions, without letting him perceive it) has already reduced the Canton of the *Pentrini*, and is beſieging *Cominium*, when *Poſtumius* prepares to enter *Samnium* with a new *Conſular* Army. Before he leaves *Rome*, he employs a Detachment of his Troops to grub up a Foreſt in his own Eſtate; and he proceeds in the ſame Spirit of Tyranny when he comes into the Field. He ſends Orders to the *Pro-Conſul* to deſiſt from the Siege of *Cominium*, and to leave that Enterpriſe to his Conduct. Young *Fabius* had received his Commiſſion from the Senate; and the *Conſcript Fathers* ſupport his Pretenſions, and command the *Conſul* to bend his Forces another Way. But the proud *Poſtumius* bids the Meſſenger tell the Senators, *That it is their Duty to obey their* Conſul, *and not his to ſubmit to their Commands.* He then marches ſtrait towards *Cominium*, reſolving to give the *Fabii* Battel, if they don't yield to his Will. Old *Fabius* prevails with his Son, for the Sake of the publick Good, to give Way to the imperious *Conſul.* And now *Poſtumius* having a clear Stage, and being a Man of Courage and Expedition, ſoon makes himſelf Maſter of *Cominium*, and thence turns his Arms towards *Venuſia*, which he likewiſe takes in a ſhort time. In the Letter which he writes to the Senate to inform them of his Succeſs, he propoſes, that a *Colony* be ſent to the laſt mentioned Place: But though his Propoſal is approved, the *Conſcript Fathers* (who prefer Obedience to Valour) take occaſion from it to humble him. Inſtead of appointing him, agreably to Cuſtom, to be one of the Founders of the new *Colony* in the City he has conquered, they name three others, and allow him no Share in that Honour. Nor is this all. To mortify *Poſtumins* yet more, and to reward young *Fabius*, they decree the latter a Triumph. *Pontius Herennius*, that brave *Samnite* General, famous for the Defeat of the *Romans* in the *Caudian Forks*, follows the Chariot of his Conqueror. But the moſt ſurpriſing Sight of all is old *Fabius* on Horſeback in his Son's Train. He had formerly in his own Triumph carried this Son upon his Knees; and he is now overjoyed to mingle in the Croud, and make one of his Attendants. (*Pontius*, by an Inhumanity unworthy of *Romans*, is condemned to loſe his Head.) But now the Rage of *Poſtumius*, to ſee himſelf ſo ſlighted, and his Rival ſo honoured, is blown up to Fury. He not only declaims with Paſſion againſt both Senate and People, but invents a new kind of Revenge. He does not give the leaſt part of the Booty, brought from the two conquered Cities, into the publick Treaſury, but diſtributes it all among his Soldiers, and then disbands them, before his Succeſſor can arrive. §. 19. The two new *Conſuls* choſen, are *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M' Curius Dentatus*. And theſe are no ſooner entered upon Office, than *Poſtumius* is brought to a Trial before the *Comitia by Tribes*. His chief Accuſation turns upon his having employed his Soldiers in a ſlaviſh Work, for his own private Profit. This touches the People more than his Diſobedience to the Senate. He is condemned to pay a conſiderable Fine, and his Reputation continues for a long time blaſted.

Year of *ROME* 463.

Pontius Herennius, *the famous* Samnite *General, taken Priſoner, and put to Death.*

162*d Conſulſhip.*

Poſtumius *condemned for employing his Troops in ſlaviſh Work.*

Curius Dentatus *makes a Treaty with the* Samnites.

The Integrity of Curius.

The *Samnites* having loſt their brave General, and able Governor *Pontius*, are no longer in a Condition to oppoſe the Progreſs of the *Roman* Arms. *Curius Dentatus* lays waſte their Country; takes their Towns, and, in ſhort, obliges them to ſue for Peace. The Republick conſents to a Treaty of Alliance with them, for the fourth time, and leaves the Conditions of it to *Curius*. (This *Conſul* was remarkable for practiſing that Frugality, and for living without Affectation in that voluntary Poverty, which the Philoſophers proudly preached.) The *Samnite* Deputies find him ſitting upon a ſorry wooden Seat near a Fire, dreſſing his own Dinner, which conſiſts only of ſome Roots; and they offer him a Preſent of a conſiderable Sum of Money. *Curius* expreſſes his Indignation by a diſdainful Smile. *Without doubt*, ſays he, *my Indigence makes you hope that you may corrupt me: But you are miſtaken. I had rather be the Commander of rich Men, than be rich my ſelf. Take away that Metal, which Men make uſe of only to their Deſtruction. And go tell your Nation, that they will find it as hard to bribe me, as to conquer me.* A Treaty being concluded upon ſuch Conditions as *Curius* thinks fit to preſcribe, he returns to *Rome* to triumph. And never did the People expreſs more Joy than upon this Occaſion, being at length freed from the Care and Burthen of a dangerous War, which had laſted forty nine Years. The Conqueror, in the Diſtribution of the conquered Lands, among thoſe *Romans* who have none of their own, prevails to have no more than ſeven Acres allotted to each Man, and accepts no more himſelf, though a much larger Portion is offered him. (It was his Maxim, that to maintain *Roman* Frugality, no Man ſhould have more Land than was neceſſary for his Subſiſtence.)

It is uncertain what ſort of Government was in Uſe among the *Samnites*; but it is moſt probable that they were divided into Cantons, and annually aſſembled a Diet, where Reſolutions were taken for the common Good. In time of War they choſe a Head, who was inveſted with ſovereign Authority. It is ſaid, that the *Samnites* had

Year of *ROME* had one very ſingular Cuſtom, in relation to Marriages. Every Year, all the marriageable young Men and Women were aſſembled before certain Judges, who matched them according to their Merit.

§. 20. The Conqueſt of *Samnium* is followed by the Reduction of the *Sabines* to a State of Subjection, who had been almoſt ever ſince the Foundation of *Rome*, upon the Foot of Allies, and had been governed by their own Laws. They had feared that the Ruin of the *Samnites* would affect their own Liberty, and had therefore not only lent them Aſſiſtance, but had ravaged a part of the *Roman* Territory. *Curius* entirely ſubdues them: But the *Romans*, in regard to old Friendſhip, treat them gently, and admit them to *Roman Citizenſhip*, but without the right of Suffrage. And now the generous *Curius* has a ſecond Triumph decreed him the ſame Year: an Honour, which had never been granted to any of his Predeceſſors. However, notwithſtanding his great Virtues, there are not wanting thoſe who envy him, and who endeavour to caſt a Stain upon that Reputation of Diſintereſtedneſs, which he has ſo juſtly acquired. He is accuſed of having applied a part of the Booty taken from the Enemy to his private Uſe. The Accuſation being general, he is put to his Oath; and then he confeſſes, that he has reſerved a little wooden Oil-Veſſel, for making Libations to the Gods; but nothing more. He is believed upon his Word; and the Malice of his Accuſers, is changed into Admiration of his Virtue. Before he quits the *Conſulſhip*, he obliges the *Lucanians* to raiſe the Siege of *Thurium*, the Inhabitants of which had implored the Protection of the *Romans*.

The Sabines *admitted to* Roman Citizenſhip.

Curius accuſed and acquitted.

464. This Town was ſituated near the Gulph of *Tarentum*. §. 21. The ſame *Comitia* which chuſe *M. Valerius Corvinus*, and *Q. Cædicius Noctua*, to be *Conſuls* for the new Year, appoint *Curius Dentatus* to carry on the War in *Lucania*, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*. His Expedition thither proves ſucceſsful; and he thereby eſtabliſhes the *Roman* Dominion through almoſt the whole Extent of the Country, from the *Adriatick* to the *Tyrrhenian* and *Sicilian* Seas. The new *Conſuls* employ their Year altogether in works of Peace, and in ſending out *Colonies*. §. 22. And it being found that the *Prætor* alone is not ſufficient to preſerve good Order in the City in a time of Peace, when Malefactors always multiply; the People appoint three new Judges to try Delinquents, and pronounce Sentence without Appeal: But their Power of puniſhing extends only to pecuniary Fines. The People would not diveſt themſelves of the ſole Power of Life and Death. Theſe new Magiſtrates are choſen annually in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The Number of *Roman Citizens*, fit to bear Arms, appears by a *Cenſus* taken this Year, to be two hundred and ſeventy three thouſand. And now when all is quiet abroad, new Diſturbances are raiſed at home, and the poor Debtors begin again to murmur againſt the rich Uſurers.

163*d* Conſulſhip.

Three new Judges created, for trying Delinquents.

The Debtors murmur againſt the Uſurers.

§. 23. This Spark of Diſſention is blown up into a Flame in the *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Marcius Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius Arvina*. The Occaſion of it is this. *T. Veturius*, one of thoſe unfortunate *Conſuls*, who in the Year of *Rome* 432. had been

465. ſurpriſed in the *Caudian Forks*, dies inſolvent. His Son, a Youth of great Beauty, and virtuouſly educated, borrows a conſiderable Sum of *C. Plotius*, his Father's chief Creditor, to defray the Expence of his Father's Funeral. Being afterwards preſſed to pay, and having neither Money nor Credit, he is forced to ſubmit to Slavery, and to work for his Creditor, in order to diſcharge the Debt. *Plotius* conceives a deteſtable Paſſion for the young Man, and treats him unmercifully for his virtuous Reſiſtance. *Veturius*, one Day, when his Body is all bloody with Stripes, makes his Eſcape out of the Houſe, gets upon an Eminence, ſhews himſelf to the People, and publiſhes the Infamy of his Tyrant. The People lay hold of this Occaſion to decry the Uſurers, and to demand the Abolition of the Law, which ſubjects thoſe to Slavery who cannot pay. This Law had been repealed before, upon a like Occaſion in the Year 427. but the *Patricians* had revived it. As for

164*th* Conſulſhip.

466. *Plotius*, he is condemned to death. §. 24. In the following *Conſulſhip* of *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Nautius Rutilus*, the People keep no longer any Meaſures with the *Patricians*. They inſiſt upon the Abolition of the Law beforementioned, and finding the Rich obſtinate in oppoſing it, they make a *Seceſſion* upon the Hill *Janiculus*, on the other ſide the *Tyber*. The City being thus left deſtitute of Artificers, and Labourers, and no Proviſions being brought thither from the Provinces (for the Country-People have likewiſe their Complaints) the *Patricians* and rich *Citizens* are under a Neceſſity of making Conceſſions, and they name *Q. Hortenſius*, *Dictator*, to negotiate with the Separatiſts. The Terms of Reconciliation are the Revival and ſtrict Obſervation of two Laws, made in the Year 414. but to which the Nobility had paid no Regard. 1. *That the Decrees made by the* Tribes *ſhall be obſerved by the* Patricians *as well as* Plebeians. 2. *That Laws ſhall firſt paſs the Senate, and be brought afterwards to the* Comitia, *to be there approved or rejected, and not* vice verſa. The Complaint of the Country People was, *That they could not get their Cauſes heard by the Judges on Market-days, when they came to* Rome, *but were obliged to leave their Work, and return thither again.* This is rectified.

165*th* Conſulſhip.

Seceſſion *of the People on Mount* Janiculus.

Q. Hortenſius, *Dictator.*

The Terms of the Reconciliation between the People and the Patricians.

fied. But when these several Articles of Reconciliation are drawn up, and the Storm begins to be appeased, *Hortensius* dies of a sudden, before the Expiration of his *Dictatorship*. It being necessary therefore to create another *Dictator*, to complete what he had begun, the *Consuls* nominate the illustrious *Fabius*, who now in an extreme old Age is President of the Senate. He happily finishes the Accommodation; and this is the last publick Scene on which he appears. He dies soon after. The Republick had considered him in his Life-time as a Prodigy of *Roman* Valour, Prudence, and Virtue; and now when he is dead, the People contribute to the Expence of his Obsequies, with so much Emulation, that his Son, with the Victims offered at his Funeral, gives a publick Entertainment to the whole City. Year of ROME

Q. Fabius Rullianus, Dictator. He dies.

§. 25. *Fabius*, while *Dictator*, had resided in the *Comitia*, where *M. Valerius Potitus*, and *C. Ælius Pætus*, were chosen *Consuls*. Their Year proves barren of remarkable Events; but the Republick was never more happy than under their Administration. The People having gained the highest Pitch of their Desires, think only of enjoying the Sweets of Tranquillity. The Balance of Power leans now rather to their side; and the *Patricians* have no Advantage over them, but the great Riches they acquired, while they had the Ascendant, and that Respect which naturally is paid to Persons of high Birth. 467.

166th Consulship.

BOOK XXI.

§. 1. ROME is now in perfect Tranquillity, and in a flourishing Condition. The *Latins*, *Sabines*, *Hernici*, *Æqui*, *Marsi*, and *Campani*, are all brought into Subjection to her. The *Volsci* are utterly destroyed. The Terror of the *Roman* Arms reaches to *Apulia*, and keeps it in Awe. A part of *Lucania* on one hand, and on the other the *Umbri*, and the Inhabitants of *Picenum*, quite up to the Frontiers of the *Senones*, are all either obedient to the *Romans*, or awed by *Roman Colonies* near them. On the other side of the *Tyber*, a part of *Hetruria* is subdued, and that which is more distant, observes the Truce which has been granted it. *Samnium*, in all Appearance, is quieted; and the *Gauls*, both *Senones* and *Boii*, live in Peace with the Republick. Such is the State of *Rome*, when *C. Claudius Canina*, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, enter upon the *Consulship*. Nothing memorable happens during their Administration. 468.

167th Consulship.

§. 2. And the *Fasces* are transmitted to *C. Servilius Tucca*, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. In their Year the *Tarentini* (formerly a *Colony* of austere *Spartans*, but now sunk into Idleness and Vice) growing jealous of the Prosperity of the *Romans*, and fearing an Interruption in their Pleasures, as much as the Loss of their Liberty, employ all their *Grecian* Subtlety, to stir up both old and new Enemies against the Republick; and this, without appearing to be concerned. At the same time the *Senones* prepare to besiege *Aretium* in *Hetruria*, a City in Truce with the *Romans*. The latter, at the Request of the *Aretini*, raise an Army to defend them; but before any Act of Hostility, they send a Deputation to the *Senones*, to persuade them to desist from their Design. These proud *Gauls* kill the Ambassadors, and immediately bring their Troops before *Aretium*. The *Consul Lucius* comes to an Engagement with them, in which he himself is killed, with seven *Legionary Tribunes*, the best part of the *Roman Knights*, and thirteen thousand private Men. Upon the News of this Defeat, *Curius Dentatus* (probably *Prætor* at this time) is sent from *Rome* with new Forces to supply the *Consul*'s Place. But he, instead of eagerly hastening to take Vengeance on the Army of the *Gauls*, marches along the Confines of *Hetruria*, and enters the Country of the *Senones* with Fire and Sword, laying waste, and destroying all before him, so that in a little time he reduces it to a vast Desart, in which there scarce remain any Appearances of its having been inhabited or cultivated. 469.

168th Consulship.

War with the Gauls.

§. 3. But now in the beginning of the Administration of *Cornelius Dolabella* and *Cn. Domitius*, the Republick begins to feel the Effects of the secret Negotiations of the *Tarentini*. The *Boii*, *Senones*, *Hetrurians*, and *Samnites*, all declare against her at once. However, she is not discouraged. *Domitius* entirely defeats the *Senones* in *Hetruria*, who having left the Siege of *Aretium*, are advancing strait to *Rome*, to revenge the Devastation of their Country. After this, *Cornelius* comes to a pitched Battel with the united *Hetrurians* and *Boii*. The former are almost all slain, and those of the latter, who escape, being conquered a second time, sue for Peace. As for the *Senones*, they are so utterly destroyed, that there scarce remain any Footsteps of them in *Italy*. 470.

169th Consulship.

The Tarentini *secretly stir up Enemies against the Republick.*

The Senones *utterly destroyed.*

§. 4. In the following *Consulship* of *C. Fabricius* and *Q. Æmilius*, all *Italy*, through the secret Intrigues of the *Tarentini*, rises up in Arms against the *Robbers*, as the *Romans* are called. It falls to *Æmilius* to carry on the War in *Hetruria*, and to *Fabricius* to command in *Lucania*. 471.

170th Consulship.

§. 5. The latter marches to the Relief of *Thurium*, a City standing on the Gulph of *Tarentum*, and besieged by the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*,

Year of ROME

Bruttii, and *Samnites*. He defeats this confederate Army, but finds it a difficult Enterprise to force their Camp, and therefore is obliged to have recourse to a Stratagem. While the *Consul* seems to be in suspence, a young Man, full of Vigour, wearing Feathers in his Helmet, appears on a sudden in the midst of the *Legions*, exhorts them to decline no Danger for the Honour of their Country, and then seizing a Ladder, advances to the Rampart, through a Shower of Darts, plants his Ladder against it, and mounts the Wall. This bold Action intimidates the Confederates, and inspires the *Romans* with such Intrepidity, that they soon make themselves Masters of the Camp. Twenty five thousand of the Enemy, with their General *Statilius*, are slain. After the Victory, the *Consul* orders the young Man, who had first mounted the Rampart, to be sought for, in order to reward him; and he not being found, the credulous *Romans* imagine, that it was the God *Mars* himself, and return him thanks for his Assistance, by publick *Supplications*. §. 6. As for the *Tarentini*, the real Authors of this War, they had not yet appeared. An Accident at length discovers them. *Valerius*, one of the *Maritime Duumviri*, or Admirals of the *Roman* Fleet, comes by Accident with ten Ships to the Mouth of their Port, while they are at their Sports in the Theatre, which looks towards the Harbour. The sight of the *Roman* Squadron interrupts their Diversions; and imagining that their Plots are discovered, and that the *Romans* are come with hostile Intentions, they all, with one consent, fall upon the Fleet with the Fury of Madmen, sink one Ship, and take four, the other five escaping. All the Prisoners, fit to bear Arms, are put to the Sword, and the rest sold to the best Bidder. Upon the News of this unexpected Insult, the Republick sends a Deputation to *Tarentum* to demand Satisfaction. *Postumius Megellus*, who had been three times *Consul*, is at the Head of the Embassy, a Man venerable for his Age and personal Merit. He is admitted to an Audience in the Theatre, where he harangues the Assembly in *Greek*. It was not to be expected that he should speak this Language with the Exactness of a Native; however, the *Tarentini* burst out into loud Fits of Laughter, and hiss him, when he pronounces a Word amiss, or uses an improper Expression. Nor is this all. They rather drive him out of the Assembly, than dismiss him; and as he is walking off with an Air of Gravity and Dignity, a Buffoon, named *Philonides*, pisses upon his Robe. The mad and drunken Multitude applaud the Insolence, while *Postumius* replies, without any Emotion. *Laugh on now*, Tarentini, *laugh on. The time will come when you will weep.* Rome *will find means to wash my Robe clean in Blood.* §. 7. When the *Tarentini* come a little to themselves, and begin to reflect on the Enormity of their Conduct, never to be forgiven; and at the same time that their Neighbours in *Italy* are not able to defend them, they conclude it absolutely necessary to ask Succours of *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*. [* *A short Account is given of the Birth and Adventures of this Prince.*] §. 8. Without considering much the Consequences, they send an Embassy to sound him, and find him ready enough to undertake an Expedition into *Italy*. In the mean time they besiege *Thurium*, which is defended by a *Roman* Garrison, and take it. This melancholy News is brought to *Rome*, just as *L. Æmilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcius*, are entered upon the *Consulship*. They represent to the Senate, on one hand, the shameful Indignity offered to their Ambassador, which requires Vengeance, and on the other the Danger of engaging in a new War, when the Republick has already so many Enemies to contend with. The Question is debated in the Senate from Sun-rising to Sun-
472. set for several Days together. And when the *Conscript Fathers* come to vote, the Voices are equal. One half is for deferring the War with the *Tarentini*, till the neighbouring Provinces are subdued, the other for attacking them immediately. The Affair devolving thus upon the People, these determine for the latter Opinion; and accordingly *Æmilius*, who had been commanded to *Samnium*, is ordered to lay aside all other Expeditions, and march directly to *Tarentum*. The Approach of the *Romans*, makes the *Tarentini* carry on their Deliberations with a little more Seriousness than formerly; and when the *Consul* sends once again to demand Satisfaction, before he begins Hostilities, the oldest and richest declare for Peace; but the Populace, who have nothing to lose, insist upon a War; and what determines the Assembly, is a † Speech of one of the common Citizens, who revives the Proposal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. Upon this, the few wise Men of the Assembly withdraw, and never return to it more. One *Meton*, a Man of Sense, and who had escaped the general Corruption, knowing the Taste of his fellow Citizens, adapts himself to it, in order to bring them off from their fatal Resolution. He puts on a Masquerade-dress, takes a Flambeaux in his Hand, and being accompanied by a Woman playing on a Harp, enters the Theatre, and there dances in a grotesque manner. This silly Sight diverts the *Tarentini* from their most important Deliberations. They make a Ring, and call out to *Meton* and his Companion to entertain them with a Song and a Dance. The Song being a merry one, raises a loud Laugh: and then the wise Citizen assuming an Air of great Seriousness, says, *Courage*,

The united Lucani, Bruttii, and Samnites defeated.

The Tarentini *discover their Enmity to* Rome.

They insult a Roman *Ambassador.*

And then resolve to call over King Pyrrhus *to their Assistance.*

* Vide *p.* 421, 422, 423.

171*st Consulship.*

† Vide p. 424.

Tarentini,

Tarentini, *Laugh on now; when* Pyrrhus *comes, your Mirth and Joy will be at an end.* Year of *ROME*
Thoſe who are not totally beſotted, are pleaſed with the Inſinuation, but the greater part are enraged, and drive him out of the Aſſembly. As ſoon as the News comes to the *Roman* Camp, that a Deputation to *Pyrrhus* is decreed, *Æmilius* ſtrait begins Hoſtilities, burns and deſtroys all before him, and forces the *Tarentini*, in the Field, to take Refuge within their Walls. However, not to drive them to deſpair, and to induce them to lay aſide the Deſign of receiving *Pyrrhus*, he uſes ſome Moderation, and ſends back the Priſoners he has taken. Theſe highly extol the Generoſity of the *Conſul*; inſomuch, that many of the Inhabitants are brought over to the *Roman* Party; and they all in general begin to repent of their rejecting a Peace, and ſending for *Pyrrhus*. This is evident by their chuſing *Agis*, a Friend of the *Romans*, to be their General, and the Governor of the City.

Æmilius begins Hoſtilities againſt the Tarentini.

§. 9. In the mean time the *Tarentine* Ambaſſadors find the King of *Epirus* very ready to hearken to their Propoſal, his Head being turned with the Exploits of *Alexander the Great*, whom he thinks to imitate by mighty Conqueſts in the Weſt. He conſults with *Cyneas*, his chief Miniſter and Favourite, a Man eminent for Virtue, Eloquence, and Ability, both in War and in Council. He tells him all his pleaſing Dreams of Conqueſt: And when *Cyneas* aſks him what he will do next, after all his imaginary Victories, the King anſwers, *I will then take ſome Reſt, and enjoy the Pleaſures of Life with thee. Ah Sir*, replies the Philoſopher, *what hinders you from immediately enjoying that Happineſs, which you propoſe to purchaſe at the Expence of ſo much Danger?* Theſe Words make ſome Impreſſion upon *Pyrrhus*, but his Ambition prevails, and he covers it under the Appearance of Virtue. *It is hereditary in my Family*, ſays he, *to ſuccour the Diſtreſſed. We ought to make War, to relieve thoſe who are under Oppreſſion, as well as for our own Sakes.* To conceal his Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of *Tarentum*, as well as of the reſt of *Italy*, he artfully inſerts a Clauſe in the Treaty, *That when he has relieved* Tarentum, *he ſhall not be hindered from returning to* Epirus. And to ſecure the Fidelity of the *Tarentini*, he detains ſome of their Ambaſſadors, under pretence of wanting their Aſſiſtance.

Pyrrhus *conſults his favourite* Cyneas, *about his Expedition into* Italy.

§. 10. After theſe Precautions, he ſends away *Cyneas* with three thouſand Men to *Tarentum*. This eloquent Miniſter ſoon finds means to depoſe *Agis* from the Government, and to get Poſſeſſion of the Citadel. In the mean time *Æmilius* the *Conſul*, finding that nothing more can be done this Campaign, marches his Army into Winter Quarters in *Apulia*, and then returns himſelf to *Rome*, where his Collegue *Marcius* has a Triumph for his Conqueſts in *Hetruria*.

He ſends Cyneas *to* Tarentum.

§. 11. The *Conſuls* for the new Year are, *P. Valerius Lævinus*, and *Tib. Coruncanius*; the latter not a *Roman* by Birth, but raiſed to the *Conſulate* purely for his Merit. And it being neceſſary now for the Republick to have three Armies on Foot, *Æmilius* is continued in the Command of his own Troops, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, and is ordered to march againſt the *Salentini*, who have declared for *Tarentum*. The preſent Exigencies oblige the *Romans* to inliſt the *Proletarii*. Theſe were the vileſt of the People, and who were not thought capable of doing the State any Service, except that of peopling the City, and had hitherto never been ſuffered to ſerve in the Troops. A wiſe piece of *Roman* Policy, to make it an Ignominy to be excluded from ſerving their Country in Arms.

172*d Conſulſhip.* 473.

§. 12. *Pyrrhus* is now arrived at *Tarentum*, but with only two thouſand Men, a few Horſe, and two Elephants. (He had left *Epirus* with twenty two thouſand Foot, three thouſand Horſe, five hundred Slingers, and twenty Elephants, but a Storm had diſperſed his Fleet, and he himſelf had but narrowly eſcaped Shipwreck.) [*The* † *Character of* Pyrrhus.)

Pyrrhus *comes into* Italy.

† Vide *p.* 431, 432.

§. 13. While the King of *Epirus* is waiting for the Arrival of his ſcattered Forces, he obſerves the Diſpoſitions of the *Tarentini*, and how much their Hearts are bent to Pleaſures. To remedy this Miſchief, which muſt otherwiſe naturally end in the Ruin of themſelves and their Defenders, he ſhuts up the Theatre, forbids publick Feaſtings, Plays, and Maſquerades; and incorporates the beſt bodied Men of the People in his *Phalanxes*. The effeminate *Tarentini* groan under theſe wholſome Regulations; and they have better grounded Complaints againſt the King's Guards, who lodge where they pleaſe, and take all Liberties with their Wives and Daughters. The ſober and honeſt Part of the Inhabitants retire into the Country, while the reſt endeavour to caſe their Minds by Murmurs and loud Complaints. *Pyrrhus* has his Spies in the City, and privately diſpatches the moſt factious of the Malecontents, by Aſſaſſinations. To get rid of one *Ariſtarchus* a great Orator, and much in credit with the People, he ſends him to his Son, in *Epirus*, on ſome Buſineſs, which he pretends to be of great Importance. *Ariſtarchus* ſees through the Artifice; and the Maſter of the Veſſel, in which he is to ſail, being at his Devotion, he ſteers to *Rome*, inſtead of going to *Greece*. (What Advice he gave the *Romans* is uncertain: But *Fabricius* was diſpatched away to viſit the *Colonies* and Allies of the Republick.)

§. 14. An extraordinary Event gives the *Romans* much Uneaſineſs at this time, and brings great Diſcredit on the *Roman Colonies*. While *Pyrrhus* was coming

Year of ROME coming to *Tarentum*, and the *Carthaginians* infeſted all the Coaſts of the *Ionian* Sea, the Inhabitants of *Rhegium*, ſituated in the extreme part of *Italy*, near *Sicily*, had applied to the Republick for a *Roman* Garriſon to defend them from an Invaſion. A *Legion* had been raiſed in *Campania* for that Purpoſe, and put under the Command of one *Decius Jubellus*. The Garriſon, which had been uſed to a laborious Life, begin ſoon to envy the Inhabitants the Pleaſures and Eaſe in which they live, and are deſirous to change Conditions with them. In ſhort, they maſſacre all the chief Men of the Place at a Banquet, and then fall upon the reſt, whom they either put to the Sword, or drive out of the City. As for the Women, they oblige them to marry the Murderers of their Fathers and Huſbands. This News is brought to *Rome*, at a time when her Circumſtances will not allow her to take Vengeance on the perfidious *Legion*. §. 15. In the mean time the *Conſul Lævinus* is committing Hoſtilities in *Lucania*, a Province in Alliance with the *Tarentini*; and *Pyrrhus* therefore thinking it ſhameful to continue longer ſhut up in *Tarentum*, takes the Field, though he has not received any Reinforcements from the *Samnites* and *Meſſapians*. But firſt he writes the following Letter to *Lævinus*.

Pyrrhus writes to the Conſul Lævinus.

Pyrrhus *to* Lævinus *Health. I am informed that you command an Army which is to make War with the* Tarentini. *Diſband it without delay, and then come and lay your Pretenſions before me. After I have heard both Parties I will give Judgment, and I know how to make my Sentence be obeyed.* To this *Lævinus* anſwers; *Know*, Pyrrhus, *that we neither admit you as a Judge, nor fear you as an Enemy. Does it become you to take upon you to judge us, who have your ſelf injured us by landing in* Italy, *without our Conſent? We will have no Arbitrator but* Mars, *the Author of our Race, and the Protector of our Arms.* The *Romans* are encamped on the hither ſide of the River *Siris*, when *Pyrrhus* appears on the farther ſide of it. The King croſſes the River with *Megacles*, one of his Favourites, to take a View of the *Roman* Camp, and ſee what Appearance the Enemy make. On his return he changes his Reſolution of attacking them, and ſhuts himſelf up in his Entrenchments. But it being the Intereſt of the *Romans* to haſten a Battel, *Lævinus* firſt harangues his Troops, and then makes his Cavalry paſs the River, giving them orders to keep the *Epirots* in play, and cover his Infantry in their Paſſage. *Pyrrhus*, upon the firſt Notice of this Motion, haſtens with his Horſe to make Head againſt the *Roman* Squadrons, and this Battel between the Cavalry brings on a general * Action (*which is related at large.*) The *Epirots*, by means of their Elephants, which frighten the Horſes of the *Romans*, gain the Victory. But the King having loſt thirteen thouſand of his Men, declares, that ſuch another Victory would oblige him to return to *Epirus*. His firſt Care is to bury the Dead, with which the Plain is covered; and when, upon inſpecting the Bodies of the *Romans*, he finds that none of them have received diſhonourable Wounds, but have fallen with their Swords in their Hands, he cries out, *O that* Pyrrhus *had* Romans *for his Soldiers, or the* Romans Pyrrhus *for their Leader! Together we ſhould ſubdue the whole World.* The Priſoners he treats with all Humanity, and eſteems them for refuſing to inliſt themſelves in his Service. But now he immediately breaks like a Torrent into all the Countries, in Alliance with the *Romans*; many Cities ſurrender to him, and the Dominion of the Republick begins to totter. §. 16. *Lævinus* is forced to leave *Apulia*; but notwithſtanding his late Misfortune, he falls into no Diſgrace at *Rome*, nor do the Senate oblige him to name a *Dictator*. They diſtinguiſh between Generals conquered through their Imprudence, and one whom unexpected Accidents have forced to ſubmit to the Fortune of War. They recruit his Army with new Levies; and the *Conſul* ſhews, during the reſt of the Campaign, that true Merit can furniſh Expedients in Diſtreſs. *Pyrrhus* is poſted in *Campania*, and there he receives the Reinforcements, ſo long expected, from his Allies. His firſt View is to take *Capua* and *Naples*, before he beſieges *Rome*. But *Lævinus*, by throwing ſome Troops into the firſt of theſe Places; and by keeping with his Army in the Neighbourhood of the other, makes the King drop this Deſign; ſo that he marches ſtrait towards *Rome* by *The Latin Way*. He takes *Fregellæ*, and ſets down before *Præneſte*. But now the *Conſul Coruncanius* (having totally ſubdued *Hetruria*) croſſes the *Tyber* with his victorious Army, and comes to meet him; and *Lævinus* at the ſame time following the *Epirots* in the Rear, the King is obliged to return into *Campania*. There, to his great Surpriſe, he finds *Lævinus* with a more numerous Army, than that which he had vanquiſhed on the Banks of the *Siris*. The *Conſul* offers him Battel; which *Pyrrhus* being unwilling to refuſe, draws up his Army, and commands the Conductors of his Elephants to force them to make their hideous Noiſes, in order to frighten the *Roman Legions*. But theſe Noiſes are returned by ſo terrible and univerſal Shouts from the *Romans*, that the King himſelf is terrified at it, and declines a Battel, upon Pretence that the *Auguries* are not favourable. *Pyrrhus* returns to *Tarentum*, and the *Conſuls* to *Rome*, where *Coruncanius* has a Triumph for the complete Reduction of *Hetruria*; as alſo the *Pro-Conſul Æmilius*, for having vanquiſhed the *Salentini*. §. 17. While *Pyrrhus* continues quiet at *Tarentum*, he has time to reflect on the Bravery and Conduct of the *Romans*.

* Vide *p.* 444.

The Battel of Heraclea.

Hetruria *totally ſubdued.*

Pyrrhus *avoids a ſecond Battel.*

He concludes, that the War, in which he is engaged, muſt end in his Diſgrace and Ruin, if not terminated by an honourable Peace. He is overjoyed therefore to hear that an Embaſſy is coming to him from the Senate; and he pleaſes himſelf with the Imagination, that it is to aſk the Peace, which he himſelf ſo much deſires. Year of *ROME*

A Deputation ſent from Rome *to* Pyrrhus, *concerning an Exchange of Priſoners.*

But when the three Ambaſſadors, *Cornelius Dolabella*, *Fabricius*, and *Æmilius*, after a ſplendid Reception, are admitted to an Audience, they demand only, *A Releaſe of the* Roman *Priſoners, either by way of Exchange, or for ſuch a Ranſom* per *Head, as ſhall be agreed upon.* *Pyrrhus* is diſappointed, becauſe he had expected ſomething more. However, he conceals his Thoughts, and only anſwers, *That he will conſider of it, and let them know his Reſolution.* Accordingly he aſſembles his Council; and there *Cyneas* (who knows his Maſter's Inclination) propoſes not only the ſending back the Priſoners without Ranſom, but the diſpatching an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to treat with the Senate about a laſting Peace. This Advice is approved; and the King gives the Ambaſſadors an Anſwer ſuitable to it. §. 18. After this he

† Vide *p.* 448.

Pyrrhus puts the Virtue and Intrepidity of Fabricius *to a Trial.*

deſires a private † Conference with *Fabricius*, whoſe Virtue he firſt puts to the Teſt, by mighty Offers of Riches and Grandeur, and then makes Trial of his Intrepidity, by ſurpriſing him with the ſudden Appearance of a monſtrous Elephant, which lays his Trunk upon the Head of the Philoſophical Hero. The King, aſtoniſhed at the immoveable Conſtancy of *Fabricius*, who diſcovers no Fear, makes him ſtay and ſit with him at Table; where the Converſation turning upon the *Epicurean* Philoſophy, the *Roman* makes that celebrated Exclamation; *O that* Pyrrhus, *both for* Rome's *Sake and his own, had placed his Happineſs in the boaſted Indolence of* Epicurus! §. 19. Every thing which *Pyrrhus* hears and ſees of the *Romans*, increaſes his Earneſtneſs for Peace. He ſends for the three Ambaſſadors, releaſes to them two hundred of the Priſoners without Ranſom, and permits the reſt, on their Parole, to go to *Rome*, to celebrate the Feſtival of the *Saturnalia*. §. 20. In

He ſends Cyneas *to* Rome *to treat of a Peace.*

ſhort, he determines to ſend the famous *Cyneas* to *Rome*, with Inſtructions to bring the *Romans* to grant theſe three Articles. 1. *That the* Tarentini *be included in the Treaty of Peace.* 2. *That all the* Greek *Cities in* Italy *enjoy their Laws and Liberty.* 3. *That the Republick reſtore to the* Lucani, Samnites, *and* Bruttii, *all ſhe has conquered from them.* Upon theſe Conditions, *Pyrrhus* offers *to ceaſe all Hoſtilities againſt* Rome, *and to reſtore her Captives.* *Cyneas*, not only by his Eloquence, but by rich Preſents to the Senators, and the *Roman* Ladies, gains ſo great a Party, that when he makes his Propoſal to the Senate, and demands Leave for the King to come in Perſon to *Rome*, and ſign the Treaty, there ſeems a general Inclination among the *Conſcript Fathers* to accept the Terms offered. However, no Decree is paſſed at preſent. The Determination of the Affair is poſtponed to the next Day, on Pretence, that the Houſe is not full enough. In the mean time *Appius Claudius*, the famous Orator and *Civilian* (who, in his Youth, had done ſome Things by Humour and Caprice, but whoſe great Age and Infirmities have now extinguiſhed all his Paſſions, except his Love for his Country, which he ſtill retains, with a ſound

* Vide *p.* 455.

Underſtanding) dictates a * Speech, which he cauſes to be written down in his own Houſe. He gets it by heart, and then old and blind as he is, makes himſelf be conveyed to the Senate-houſe, where he pronounces it with his uſual Vivacity. His Style is bitter, but his Reaſonings ſolid; and he has no ſooner done ſpeaking, than the *Conſcript Fathers* are all unanimous, and paſs a Decree, which is in Sub-

Pyrrhus's *Propoſals are rejected by the Senate.*

ſtance this. *That the War with* Pyrrhus *be continued: That his Ambaſſador be ſent back this very Day: That the King of* Epirus *be not permitted to come to* Rome: *and That he be told that the Senate will enter into no Treaty with him till he has left* Italy. *Cyneus* leaves *Rome* the ſame Day, and returns to *Tarentum*; and when *Pyrrhus* aſks him his Opinion of the City and Senate, he anſwers, *Rome*, my Lord, *is a kind of Temple, where Gravity, Modeſty, and Decency reign. The Senate is a Conſiſtory of Kings, whoſe Appearance fills all Spectators with Awe and Reverence.* This Account greatly increaſes the King's Admiration of the *Romans*, and he makes all poſſible Preparation for the next Campaign. §. 21. In the mean time the Republick

173*d Conſulſhip.*

chuſes new *Conſuls*, *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *P. Decius Mus* (whoſe Father and Grandfather were both famous for their *Devotements*.) The two Generals join their Forces, and march together into *Apulia*, where they find *Pyrrhus* encamped near a little Town called *Aſculum*. There the *Conſuls* fortify themſelves in a Plain, at the Foot of the *Apennines*. The Plain is divided by a large deep Stream, which likewiſe ſeparates the two Camps. For ſome time the *Romans* and *Epirots* ſeem to ſtand in Awe of each other. The latter had entertained the fooliſh Belief, that the

474.

Pyrrhus *ſends a threatning Meſſage to* Decius *the* Conſul.

Decii tranſmitted from Father to Son, ſome unaccountable Art of Necromancy, by which they ſecured the Victory to their ſide, whenever they loſt their Lives in a Battel. *Pyrrhus* endeavours to deſtroy this dangerous Prepoſſeſſion; and not only ſo, but he ſends a Meſſage to *Decius*, *That if he attempts to devote himſelf, he ſhall find his Enemies upon their Guard, who will not kill him, but take him alive, and inflict the moſt cruel Puniſhment on him, as a Cheat, after the Battel.* To this Meſſage

Year of ROME

the *Conſuls* return the following Anſwer. Pyrrhus *is not formidable enough to reduce us to* Devotements. *Thoſe are our laſt Remedies in inevitable Dangers. To let him ſee how little we fear him, we offer him his Choice. Let him paſs the River himſelf unmoleſted, or ſuffer us to do ſo; and we will then try in the open Plain, which of us has need to make uſe of extraordinary Methods to gain the Victory.* The King, who cannot in honour decline the Challenge, chuſes to continue where he is, and to let the *Romans* croſs the Stream. §. 22. *The* * *Battel of* Aſculum (*in which it is doubtful which ſide gains the Advantage*) *is deſcribed. Pyrrhus*, after the Action, retires to *Tarentum*; and the *Conſul Sulpicius* (whoſe Collegue, *Decius*, is ſlain) puts his Troops into Winter Quarters in *Apulia*. §. 23. And now the Republick places at the Helm of her Government two Men, whoſe Merit gives her Confidence enough to depend upon her own Strength, and refuſe foreign Aſſiſtance, which is offered her. Theſe are *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*. The *Carthaginians* had ſent *Mago* with a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt *Pyrrhus*, who, they fear, will make a Deſcent upon *Sicily* (whither he is invited) after he has forced the Republick into a Peace. But when the *African* Admiral comes to *Rome* with his Offers of Service, the Senate tell him, that *They don't uſe to engage in any Wars, but ſuch as they are able to maintain with their own Forces.* However, they enter into a new Treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in which it is ſtipulated, that the *Romans* ſhall take Arms in Defence of the *Carthaginian* Republick, in caſe *Pyrrhus* attacks it. After this *Mago* ſails to *Tarentum*, where he has a Conference with the King of *Epirus*; and ſeeing into his Intentions of paſſing ſoon into *Sicily*, he, in order to prevent it, enters, with his Fleet, into the *Streights*, between that Iſland and *Italy*, under pretence of beſieging *Rhegium*. This obliges *Pyrrhus* to continue at *Tarentum*, and carry on the War for ſome time longer againſt the *Romans*. §. 24. When the Spring is ſufficiently advanced, the *Conſuls* march their Troops into the Territory of *Tarentum*; and *Pyrrhus* comes and encamps within ſight of them: But the high Opinion he has of *Fabricius*, makes him avoid a Battel. While the two Armies are watching each other, *Nicias*, the King's Phyſician, comes to the *Roman* Camp, and offers *Fabricius* to take off his Maſter by Poiſon. The virtuous *Conſul* is ſtruck with Horror at the Propoſal, conſults with his Collegue, and they jointly ſend a Letter to *Pyrrhus* to give him Notice of the Treaſon, without naming the Traitor. *Pyrrhus*, to ſhew his Gratitude for ſo noble an Act of Generoſity, immediately ſets all the *Roman* Priſoners free, without Ranſom. *Rome*, however, is too proud to accept the Favour, and, in exchange, returns an equal Number of *Samnite* and *Tarentine* Priſoners. And though the King ſends *Cyneas* once more to *Rome* to try the Force of his Eloquence and Preſents, the Senators are ſteady in their Reſolution to enter into no Treaty with him, till he has withdrawn his Troops out of *Italy*.

The King of *Epirus*'s ſole View is now upon the wealthy Iſland of *Sicily*, and thither he ſends his faithful *Cyneas*, to prepare the Way for him. But juſt at this time he receives Intelligence, that *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, King of *Macedon*, is dead, and that the *Macedonians* want a King to guard them againſt an Inundation of *Barbarians*. This News keeps him ſome time in ſuſpence; and he pleaſantly complains of Fortune, for oppreſſing him with too many Favours. *Macedon* had formerly belonged to him, and he wiſhed to be Maſter of it again. However, his Hatred to the *Carthaginians*, determines him for *Sicily*. He leaves *Milo* in *Tarentum*, with a ſtrong Garriſon, ſufficient to keep the Inhabitants in Subjection; and then ſets ſail with thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe, on board a Fleet of two hundred Ships. His Departure proves fatal to the Enemies of *Rome*. *Fabricius* falls upon the united *Bruttii*, *Lucani*, *Tarentini*, and *Samnites*, defeats them, drives them out of the Field, and lays their Country waſte.

475.

* Vide *p.* 458.

The Battel of Aſculum.

174*th Conſulſhip.*

Rome *refuſes Aſſiſtance from* Carthage.

Fabricius *gives* Pyrrhus *Notice of a Deſign to poiſon him.*

Pyrrhus *goes with his Army into* Sicily.

BOOK

Year of *ROME*

BOOK XXII.

§. 1. WHEN *Pyrrhus* arrived in *Sicily*, this Iſland was in a manner divided between three different Nations, whoſe Capitals were, *Meſſana*, on the ſide of *Italy*, *Lilybæum*, towards *Africa*, and *Syracuſe*, towards *Greece*. The *Mamertini*, from *Campania*, had, by Fraud, poſſeſſed themſelves of the firſt. The *Carthaginians* were Maſters of the ſecond: And the third was governed by two Tyrants, whom common Intereſt had united (after a civil War) to call in King *Pyrrhus* to aſſiſt them againſt the growing Power of the formidable *African* Republick.

Pyrrhus *makes Conqueſts in* Sicily.

Pyrrhus ſoon deprives the *Carthaginians* of all their Conqueſts in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*. Nor is he content with this; but having defeated the *Mamertini* in a pitched Battel, reduces them likewiſe to their City of *Meſſana* only. In ſhort, he depends ſo much on the Reduction of the whole Iſland, that he cauſes one of his younger Sons to be ſtiled King of *Sicily*, and the other King of *Italy*.

175th Conſulſhip. §. 2. In the mean time the *Centuries* at *Rome* proceed to the Choice of new *Conſuls*; and *Fabricius*, who preſides in the *Comitia*, has ſo great a Reputation for Virtue, that he is Maſter of the Elections. Every Body therefore is aſtoniſhed to ſee him vote for one *Cornelius Ruffinus*, becauſe the latter, though a good Soldier, is covetous and ſelf-intereſted to an Exceſs. Even the Candidate himſelf, when he comes to return him thanks for his Vote, cannot forbear expreſſing his Surpriſe, that the Preſident ſhould think him worthy of his Suffrage. But *Fabricius* frankly anſwers, *That he had rather ſee the* Roman *People plundered a little by a* Conſul, *than brought into Subjection to a formidable Enemy*. The Collegue given to *Ruffinus* is *C. Junius Brutus*; and they both turn their Forces againſt *Samnium*. The *Samnites* being too weak to ſuſtain the Attacks of two *Conſular* Armies, fly to their Mountains, and there entrench themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that it is no eaſy Matter to force them. The *Romans* however attempt it, and are puniſhed for their Raſhneſs. Many of them are killed, and a great Number taken Priſoners, and loaded with Irons. The *Conſuls* at length aſhamed of their Enterpriſe, throw the Blame on each other, and ſeparate. *Brutus* continues in *Samnium*, while *Ruffinus* enters the Territory of the *Lucani* and *Bruttii*. 476.

War in Samnium.

§. 3. Theſe Nations continue ſteady in their Adherence to *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentini*. The *Conſul* therefore not only lays their Country waſte with Fire and Sword, but forms a Deſign upon *Croton*, a great City belonging to the *Bruttii*, and ſituated on the Borders of the *Ionian* Sea, at a little Diſtance from Cape *Lacinium*. He finds this Place too ſtrong to be carried by Force; but he takes it by † Stratagem: And *Locri* ſurrenders ſoon after, the Inhabitants having maſſacred the Governor, left there by *Pyrrhus*, with all the Garriſon.

† Vide *p.* 477.

176th Conſulſhip. §. 4. In the new *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and *C. Genucius*, *Rome* is afflicted with a ſtrange ſort of a Plague, which chiefly affects Women with Child, and breeding Cattel. To put an end to this Calamity, an unfortunate Veſtal is buried alive; and a *Dictator* is created, to drive a Nail into the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. In the mean time the Sickneſs does not hinder the *Romans* from continuing the War. *Fabius*, by repeated Victories, reduces the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Bruttii* ſo low, that they can no longer ſubſiſt without *Pyrrhus*, and therefore ſend Ambaſſadors to him to entreat him to return, and put himſelf again at their Head. 477.

Pyrrhus *loſes Ground in* Sicily.

§. 5. But now the Face of *Pyrrhus*'s Affairs in *Sicily* is much changed. His Reſolution of going into *Africa* had much diſguſted the *Sicilians*, and the enormous Exactions and Extortions of his Miniſters and Courtiers, had made the *Sicilian* Cities ſurrender themſelves, partly to the *Carthaginians*, and partly to the *Mamertini*. The *African* Republick had ſent an Army into *Sicily*, to recover her former Conqueſts, and a Fleet to cruiſe round the Iſland, and hinder *Pyrrhus* from eſcaping out of it.

§. 6. This being the Situation of the King's Affairs, when the Ambaſſadors arrive, he is not a little pleaſed to have ſo honourable a Pretence to leave *Sicily*, where he is no longer ſafe. But the *Carthaginian* Fleet attack him in his Paſſage, ſink ſeventy of his Veſſels, and diſperſe all the reſt of his two hundred Sail, except twelve Ships, with which he eſcapes to *Italy*. He lands near *Rhegium*; and when he has there collected the ſcattered remains of his Forces, which had been driven on different Parts of the Coaſt, he marches towards *Tarentum*. The *Mamertini*, upon the firſt Report of his Departure from *Sicily*, had detached eighteen thouſand Men to *Rhegium*, to moleſt him after his landing; and theſe lying in Ambuſh in Woods and behind Rocks, attack him unexpectedly, and with Vigour. However, *Pyrrhus*, by his heroick Bravery, eſcapes this Danger.

He is attacked by the Carthaginian *Fleet in his return to* Italy.

§. 7. And then he keeps along the Sea Shore, in order to reach *Tarentum* that Way. It was neceſſary for him to paſs through the Country of the *Locri*, or *Locrenſes*, who

Year of *ROME* who had a little before maſſacred the Garriſon, he had left in *Locri* (and perhaps his youngeſt Son *Alexander*, whom he had likewiſe left there, as a Pledge of his Friendſhip to them.) He not only exerciſes all ſorts of Cruelties on this miſerable People, but plunders the Temple of *Proſerpine*, to ſupply the Wants of his Army. The great Treaſure, which he finds there, he ſends towards *Tarentum* by Sea. But the Ships are all daſhed againſt Rocks by a Tempeſt, and the Mariners loſt. *Pyrrhus* repents of his Sacrilege, cauſes all the Treaſure, which the Sea has thrown upon the Shore, to be gathered up, and carried back to the Place, from whence he had taken it; and not only ſo, but puts to Death the Flatterers who had counſelled him to rob the Temple. His Army, when he arrives at *Tarentum*, conſiſts only of about twenty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe. §. 8. Before *Pyrrhus* is in a Condition to renew the War, *Rome* changes her *Conſuls*; and the famous 478. *Curius Dentatus* is now raiſed (a ſecond time) to that Dignity, with *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. Their firſt Buſineſs is to raiſe two Armies; but the *Roman* Youth (whoſe Spirits are, doubtleſs, ſunk by the late Contagion) refuſe to inliſt themſelves. Upon this *Curius* aſſembles the *Tribes*, and puts all their Names into an Urn. The firſt drawn is the *Pollian Tribe*; and the firſt Man of this *Tribe*, whoſe Name is called upon, is an audacious young Fellow, who does not appear. He is preſently ſought for in the Croud, and being found, is commanded to enrol himſelf. Upon his Refuſal, the *Conſul* orders, *That both he and his Effects be ſold to the beſt Bidder*. This intimidates the reſt ſo much, that two conſiderable Armies are raiſed without farther Oppoſition. *Lentulus* leads his into *Lucania*, while *Curius* enters *Samnium*. *Pyrrhus*, to make Head againſt both, is obliged to divide his Forces. He marches himſelf againſt *Curius*, with the choice of his *Epirots*, and hopes to ſurpriſe him in his Camp near *Beneventum*. But the *Conſul* having Notice of his Approach, goes out of his Entrenchments with a Detachment to meet him, repulſes his Vanguard, and then engages him in a pitched Battel in the *Tauraſian Fields*. The Elephants, which had gained the Day for *Pyrrhus* at *Heraclea*, are now the Cauſe of his loſing the Victory. The *Romans*, by clapping lighted Torches under the Bellies of thoſe huge Beaſts, make them recoil upon the *Epirot* Battalions, and trample them under their Feet. The King loſes twenty thouſand Men in the Action. His Army had conſiſted of eighty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe. The *Conſular* Army was ſcarce twenty thouſand Men. §. 9. The Camp of *Pyrrhus* being taken, the *Romans* admire the Form of it ſo much, that they make it their Model for the future. In the mean time the King returns to *Tarentum*, with only a ſmall Number of Horſe. He reſolves to leave *Italy* as ſoon as poſſible, but conceals his Deſign, and endeavours to keep up the Spirits of his Allies, by giving them hopes of Succours from *Greece*. In reality, he ſends Letters thither to ſeveral Courts, demanding Men and Money; but for want of favourable Anſwers, forges ſuch as may pleaſe thoſe he would deceive. When he can conceal his Departure no longer, the Method he takes to ſave his Honour, at leaſt for ſome time, is to pretend to be on a ſudden in a great Paſſion at the Dilatorineſs of his Friends in ſending him Succours. *Then*, ſays he, *I muſt go my ſelf and fetch them hither*. He leaves a ſtrong Garriſon in *Tarentum*, under the Command of *Milo*, and then ſets ſail for *Epirus*, where he lands with ſcarce thirteen thouſand *Epirots*. §. 10. And now the triumphal Proceſſion of *Curius*, at *Rome*, for his Victory over *Pyrrhus*, draws all the Attention of the People. The *Romans* had never before ſeen ſo much Magnificence. Veſſels of Gold, made after the *Greek* manner, purple Carpets, Statues, Pictures of great Value, and, in ſhort, all the Fineries of the *Greek* Cities. And what raiſes their Admiration yet more, is the ſight of the Elephants, thoſe huge Animals, with Towers on their Backs. The Senate, to reward the Victor, empower him to poſſeſs fifty Acres of Land; but he declines this honourable Mark of Diſtinction; and of all the Spoils taken from the Enemy, reſerves only a little Veſſel of Beech for domeſtick Sacrifices. (After this he lived to a great Age, and made the Toils of a Huſbandman the innocent Pleaſures of his Life.) The Triumph of *Curius* is followed by that of his Collegue *Lentulus*, who had made a ſucceſsful Campaign in *Lucania*, and taken *Caudium* from the *Samnites*.

This happy *Conſulſhip* ends with a *Cenſus* and *Luſtrum*; and the Number of *Roman Citizens*, fit to bear Arms, appears to be two hundred ſeventy one thouſand two hundred and twenty four. The auſtere *Fabricius*, and his old Collegue in the *Conſulſhip*, *Æmilius Papus*, being *Cenſors* this Year, they make a new Liſt of Senators, and exclude all thoſe of the former Liſt, who live diſſolute Lives. Nay, *Cornelius Ruffinus*, who has been *Conſul* and *Dictator*, is ſtruck out of the Roll, only for having ten Pounds weight of Silver Plate for his Table.

479. §. 11. The Republick being under the Apprehenſion that *Pyrrhus* may ſoon appear again in *Italy*, promotes *Curius* once more to the *Conſulate*; and the Collegue ſhe joins with him is *Cornelius Merenda*. As for the *Tarentini*, they now begin to deſpiſe *Pyrrhus*; and placing one *Nicon* at their Head, force *Milo* and his Troops

Battel of the Tauraſian Fields. Vide *p.* 483, 484.

The Romans *make the Camp of* Pyrrhus *the Model of their future Camps.*

Pyrrhus *returns to* Epirus.

178*th Conſulſhip.*

to retire into the Citadel, and confine themſelves there. The *Samnites* and *Lucani*, being unable to keep the Field, retire to their Mountains. Year of ROME

179th Conſulſhip. §. 12. But in the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Fabius Dorſo*, and *C. Claudius Canina*, they come down again into the Plains to defend their Towns, and preſerve their Harveſts. *Claudius* defeats them in a pitched Battel, and preſerves the ſame Aſcendant over them, which his Predeceſſors had gained. 480.

Ptolomy Philadelphus *deſires an Alliance with* Rome.

At this time *Ptolomy Philadelphus* (perhaps afraid of the Sallies of the ambitious King of *Epirus*) deſires to enter into a League with the *Romans*, and ſends an Embaſſy to *Rome* for that Purpoſe. This is the firſt time that any *Egyptians* are ſeen there; and the Republick is overjoyed to ſee Foreigners come ſo far to ſeek her Friendſhip. Not to be outdone in Politeneſs, ſhe ſends away to *Egypt* four Ambaſſadors, choſen with the utmoſt Circumſpection by the Senate, whoſe chief Point in view is to keep their Reputation abroad entire. *Fabius Gurges* is at the Head of the Embaſſy, and with him are joined three *Curule Ædiles*. Their Reception is magnificent, and at their Departure the King gives them rich Preſents for themſelves, as well as for the Republick; but they deliver all into the publick Treaſury at their return to *Rome*, deſiring no other Reward but Glory, for the Services they do their Country. However, the Senate and People order the *Quæſtors* to reſtore to the Ambaſſadors the Preſents they had received for their own uſe.

† Vide *p.* 490, *&c.* *The Death of* Pyrrhus.

§. 13. [*An* † *Account of* Pyrrhus's *Attempt upon* Lacedæmon, *after he has conquered* Macedon; *and of his ſudden leaving that Enterpriſe to lay Siege to* Argos. §. 14. *Where he is wounded on the Head by a Stone, thrown by a Woman from the Top of a Houſe, and then killed by* Zopyrus *a* Macedonian.]

180th Conſulſhip. §. 15. Before the News of *Pyrrhus*'s Death reaches *Italy*, the new *Conſuls*, *L. Papirius Curſor*, and *Sp. Carvilius*, have entered the Territories of the *Samnites*, *Bruttii*, and *Lucani*; and they gain ſo complete a Victory, that the firſt are entirely reduced; inſomuch, that the *Samnite* War, which has laſted ſeventy two Years, and has procured the *Roman* Generals thirty one Triumphs, is now at an end. The *Bruttii* and *Lucani* ſoon after ſubmit to the ſame Yoke. *Tarentum* only remains unpuniſhed; and thither therefore the *Conſuls* march and inveſt it. There was a kind of civil War between *Milo* in the Citadel, and the *Tarentini* in the City; and the latter (as it is reaſonably thought) had implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*. For theſe lay with a Fleet before the Town, and pretended to have no Deſign but againſt the *Epirots* in the Citadel. *Papirius* being deſirous to prevent the *Carthaginians* from getting any footing in *Italy*, endeavours to perſuade *Milo* to ſurrender up the Citadel to him, upon a Promiſe, that he and his Garriſon ſhall not only have their Lives ſpared, but be tranſported ſafe with their Effects to *Epirus*. *Milo* readily accepts the Offer, and even promiſes more than is aſked. He engages to put the City likewiſe into the *Conſuls* Hands; and this he effects. So that the *Carthaginians*, being diſappointed, retire; and though this Proceeding does not cauſe an open Rupture, it produces at leaſt a Coldneſs between the two Republicks. §. 16. All the old Enemies of *Rome* being ſubdued, and the *Sabines*, *Volſci*, *Campani*, and *Hetrurians*, with the other Nations newly conquered, being all now become Parts of one and the ſame State, of which *Rome* is the Capital, the Republick is at Leiſure to blot out the Diſhonour thrown upon her by the perfidious *Campanian Legion*, formerly ſent to *Rhegium*. As ſoon therefore as *Quintius*, or *Quinctius Claudius*, and *L. Genucius Clepſina* areentered upon the *Conſulſhip*, the latter is ordered to lead an Army to that City, and beſiege it. The Beſieged, to make a better Defence, not only call to their Aſſiſtance the *Mamertini* (who are themſelves originally *Campanians*, and had acted the ſame part at *Meſſana*, after the Death of King *Agathocles*, which the other have done at *Rhegium*) but open an Aſylum for all the *Banditti* of the Country. However, the *Conſul* being ſupplied with both Proviſions and Men by *Hiero* from *Syracuſe*, takes the Town, and carries three hundred Priſoners (being all that remain alive of the guilty *Legion)* in Chains to *Rome*, where they are condemned by the Senate, to be firſt beaten with Rods, and then beheaded by the *Lictors*. By this Execution the Republick clears her ſelf from the Suſpicion of having ſent the *Rhegians* Succours, only to ſeize their City. Thoſe of the old Inhabitants, who have eſcaped the Cruelty of the *Campanian Legion*, are reinſtated in the Poſſeſſion of their Lands, Liberties, and Laws. §. 17. During the new Adminiſtration of *C. Genucius*, and *Cn. Cornelius*, the former obtains a Victory over the *Sarcinates*, a People of *Umbria*, who are for the moſt part *Gauls*. This Year is remarkable for nothing more, except the Severity of the Winter. The Snow lies forty Days upon the Ground, in the *Forum Romanum*, and is of a prodigious Depth. §. 18. The following *Conſuls*, *Q. Ogulnius Gallus*, and *C. Fabius Pictor*, are ordered to undertake the Reduction of the *Picentes* and *Salentini* (the only Nations in the Eaſt of *Italy*, not yet ſubject to the Republick) but they are of a ſudden called elſewhere to extinguiſh a Flame, which a very ſmall Spark has kindled. §. 19. One *Lollius*, by Birth a *Samnite*, had been deli-

Tarentum *ſurrenders.*

181ſt Conſulſhip. 481.

Samnium *totally ſubdued.*

The Bruttii *and* Lucani *ſubmit.*

181ſt Conſulſhip. 482.

The perfidious Legion *at* Rhegium *puniſhed*

182d Conſulſhip. 483.

183d Conſulſhip. 484.

Year of ROME vered up to the *Romans* by his Countrymen, as a Hoſtage for their Fidelity. This Man eſcapes from *Rome*; joins a Company of Rebels; ſeizes a ſtrong Place in *Samnium*, and commits Robberies in all the Country. Nor is this all; he draws the City of *Carentum* into his Meaſures. The *Conſuls* are therefore diſpatched to lay Siege to this Place (which the Revolters make the Magazine of all their Booty) and by the Help of ſome Deſerters, who introduce the *Roman* Troops ſecretly into the City, they take it. *Ogulnius* and *Fabius* have no Triumph for their Succeſs in this War, becauſe it is deemed a civil War. Nevertheleſs, they ſignalize their Victory by more laſting Monuments. §. 20. To this time, the *Romans* had never uſed any Money in Commerce, but pieces of Braſs, ſtamped with the Figures of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar. The *Romans* had been too poor to coin Silver Money. But now, after the Conqueſt of *Samnium*, and the Surrendry of *Tarentum*, the Riches of the State being increaſed; and a great Quantity of Bars of Silver (of no uſe to the Republick in that Form) having been found among the Treaſures taken from *Lollius*, the *Conſuls* think it adviſeable to coin the Silver, and introduce it into Commerce. The Place appointed for the Mint, is the Temple of † *Juno Moneta*, from whence comes the Word *Money*. The new Species, inſtead of being ſtamped with the Figures of Animals, is made to repreſent the Exploits of the *Roman* Heroes, by ingenious Hieroglyphicks; but ſo ænigmatically, that the Invention of our Antiquaries is often put to the Rack to explain them. Some of theſe Pieces of Silver Money being worth ten *Aſſes of Braſs*, are called *Denarii*, and marked with the numeral Letter X. Others, worth but five *Aſſes*, are called *Quinarii*, and are marked with the Letter V. The *Seſtertii*, which are worth but two *Aſſes* and a half, are diſtinguiſhed by the Letters HS.

† Vide p. 130.

Silver Money coined at Rome.

485. §. 21. The next Year the new *Conſuls*, *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius Claudius Craſſus* (Son of the famous blind *Appius*, and the Heir of his Artfulneſs and Cruelty) enter *Picenum* jointly; but new Commotions in *Umbria* oblige the latter to march thither. He takes *Camerinum*, and contrary to his Engagements, ſells the Inhabitants for Slaves, and puts the Money into the publick Treaſury. However, the Republick, far from authoriſing ſuch a Fraud, orders the unhappy Wretches to be ſought out, grants them the Privilege of *Roman Citizens*, and allots each of them as much Land, as he has loſt in *Umbria*. As for *Sempronius Sophus*, juſt as he is going to engage the *Picentes* in a pitched Battel, his Army is terrified by an Earthquake; but he, by telling them, *That the Earth only ſhakes for fear of changing its Maſters*, and by vowing a Temple to the Goddeſs *Tellus*, recovers them from their Fright. He gains the Victory, but loſes the greateſt part of his Troops in the Action. However, the Republick is exceedingly rejoiced at this entire Conqueſt of *Picenum*, becauſe this Country alone is able to ſupply her Armies with three hundred and ſixty thouſand Soldiers. *Rome*, ſoon after, ſends *Colonies* to *Ariminum* and *Beneventum*; and the *Sabines*, who have hitherto had no other Privilege, but that of ſerving in the *Legions*, are admitted to the Right of Suffrage, and become entirely *Roman*.

184*th Conſulſhip.*

Picenum *conquered.*

§. 22. The *Salentini*, whoſe chief Cities are *Hydruntum*, *Aletium*, and *Brunduſium*, are now the only People, from the *Po*, to the Extremity of *Italy*, Eaſtward, which remain unſubdued to the *Romans*. It is eaſy for the ambitious Republick to invent Pretences to rob her Neighbours of their Liberty. The new

486. *Conſuls*, *L. Julius Libo*, and *M. Attilius Regulus*, take *Brunduſium*; but as the brave *Salentini* diſpute their Country Inch by Inch, the two Generals are obliged to leave

185*th Conſulſhip.*

487. their Conqueſt to be finiſhed by their Succeſſors. §. 23. Theſe are *Numerius Fabius*, and *D. Junius Pera*, who having firſt ſubdued the Remains of the rebellious *Sarcinates* in *Umbria*, totally reduce the *Salentini*, though they have brought the *Meſſapians* and *Japygians* into their Quarrel. The Reduction of two Nations in one Campaign, procures each *Conſul* two Triumphs; a thing unheard of before in the Republick.

186*th Conſulſhip.*

The Salentini *ſubdued.*

Rome is now become Miſtreſs of all the different Nations of *Italy*, from the farthеſt part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* Sea, and from the *Tuſcan* Sea, croſs the *Apennines* to the *Adriatick*. But theſe Nations have not all the ſame Privileges, nor are upon the ſame footing in point of Subjection. Some are ſo entirely ſubject to *Rome*, as to have no Laws, but what they receive from thence. Others retain their old Cuſtoms and Forms of Government. Some are tributary; others barely Allies, who are bound to furniſh the *Roman* Army with Troops, and maintain them at their own Expence. Some have the Privileges of *Roman Citizenſhip*, and their Soldiers are incorporated in the *Legions*; others have likewiſe a Right of Suffrage in the Elections made by the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*. Theſe different Degrees of Honour, Privileges, and Liberty, were founded in the different Terms granted by the Conquerors in their Treaties with the Vanquiſhed; and theſe Honours and Privileges were afterwards increaſed, according to the Fidelity of the ſeveral Cities and Nations, and the Services they did the Republick.

The Extent of the Roman *Dominion.*

§. 24. The wonderful increaſe of Power, which the *Romans* have acquired ſince the Defeat of

Pyrrhus,

Pyrrhus, begins to make the Republick reſpected Abroad. Free Cities and whole Nations ſeek Alliances with her. *Apollonia*, ſituated over againſt *Brunduſium*, is the firſt City of *Macedon*, which ſends Ambaſſadors to deſire her Protection. Theſe Ambaſſadors are received with Honour by the Senate; but afterwards happening to be in the Croud, in ſome popular Commotion, are inſulted by *Fabius* and *Apronius*, two young *Patrician Ædiles*, of great Diſtinction. However, to make Satisfaction to the *Apolloniates*, the young Noblemen are proſecuted, and condemned to be delivered up into their Hands, in order to be tranſported to *Apollonia*, and there puniſhed, at the Pleaſure of the People. This was ſhewing them all the Regard poſſible; and the *Apolloniates*, in their Turn, expreſs a due Reſpect for the *Roman* Senate. *Fabius* and *Apronius* are firſt hoſpitably received, and then ſent back to *Rome*. And this memorable Event gives riſe to a Law (which ſubſiſted as long as the Republick) *That whatever* Citizen *inſulted an Ambaſſador, ſhould be delivered up to the injured Nation.* Year of *ROME*

§. 25. And now the great Affair of the Republick, under the Adminiſtration of the new *Conſuls*, *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and *L. Mamilius Vitulus*, is to regulate her Finances. To this time *Rome* had no more than four *Quæſtors*, two for the City, and two to take care of the military Cheſt in the Field. But as ſhe now divides her Dominion into four *Provinces*, ſhe creates four new *Quæſtors*, and appoints one to each *Province*, to receive the Revenues ariſing from it; and they are ſtiled *Provincial Quæſtors*. It is ordained, That all the eight *Quæſtors* ſhall be choſen annually by the *Comitia by Tribes*; and That when the Election is over, they ſhall draw Lots in the Preſence of the People for their ſeveral Employments. 488.

187*th Conſulſhip.*

Provincial Quæſtors *created.*

§. 26. It had been the uſual Fortune of *Rome* to be viſited with the Plague, when ſhe had any Interval of Tranquillity; and this is her preſent Caſe. The *Sybilline* Books are conſulted, according to Cuſtom; and ſtrict Enquiry is made after ſecret Crimes, which are ſuppoſed to draw down the Wrath of Heaven upon her. A *Veſtal*, named *Capparonia*, is the unhappy Victim, ſacrificed to the Prepoſſeſſions of the People. She is condemned, for Incontinency, to be burned alive; but ſtrangles her ſelf, to avoid a more cruel Death.

By a *Cenſus* taken this Year, when *Cn. Cornelius Blaſio*, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, are *Cenſors*, the Number of Citizens appears to be two hundred ninety two thouſand two hundred and twenty four. *Marcius* is in ſo great Eſteem for his excellent Qualities, that the People being aſſembled by *Centuries*, for a new Election of *Cenſors*, they continue him in the ſame Office, notwithſtanding his own Remonſtrances againſt it, and an expreſs Law, which prohibits any Man to be twice *Cenſor*. However, it is enacted at the ſame time, that this Law, for the future, ſhall be obſerved.

A War with the Freed-men *of* Volſinium.

§. 27. But now of a ſudden a new War ſprings up in the very Bowels of the Republick. *Volſinium*, or *Volſinii*, a conſiderable City of *Hetruria*, had been by Treaty allowed to enjoy her own Laws, and Form of Government: But the *Volſinienſes* no longer conſidering themſelves as an independent People, had neglected their Laws, deſpiſed the publick Offices, and ſuffered their *Freed-men* to uſurp them. Theſe *Freed-men*, by Degrees, had made themſelves Tyrants in the little Republick, and it was their whole Buſineſs to humble their old Maſters. The latter, not being able to help themſelves, ſend Deputies privately to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Senate of *Rome*. But though the Negotiation is thought to be carried on very ſecretly, the *Freed-men* get Notice of it, and put the Deputies to Death at their return; and *Fabius Gurges* is ſurprized to find the Uſurpers upon their Guard, when he comes with a ſmall Army of Voluntiers to puniſh them. Nay, the *Freed-men* venture to face him in the Field, and give him Battel. The *Conſul* defeats them; but as he is entring the Town with the Fugitives, he receives a mortal Wound from an unknown Hand, and then the *Romans* are repulſed. After this, *Decius Mus*, a Lieutenant General to *Fabius*, beſieges the Place in form; and the Year following it ſurrenders at Diſcretion to the *Conſul*, *Fulvius Flaccus*. The *Freed-men* are all put to Death, the City razed, and the reſt of the Inhabitants tranſplanted to another.

BOOK

Year of *ROME*

BOOK XXIII.

§. 1. *CARTHAGE* (according to the common Opinion) was founded about sixty five Years before the Foundation of *Rome*, by *Dido*, who fled from the Perſecutions of her Brother *Pygmalion*, King of *Tyre*. A Swarm of *Tyrians* had, before her time, ſettled on the Coaſt of *Africa*, and built *Utica*; and theſe aſſiſted her in her Undertaking. She firſt erected a Fortreſs called *Byrſa*, and afterwards added to it a City, to which ſhe gave the Name of *Carthades*, *i. e.* in the *Punick* Language, *New-City*. The *Greeks* called it *Carchedon*, and the *Romans* *Carthago*. *Carthage was founded by* Dido.

§. 2. After her Death the *Carthaginians* threw off monarchical Government, and formed themſelves into a Republick, in many Reſpects reſembling the *Roman*. The Name of King, but not the Power, was preſerved. The People had a Right of diſannulling the Decrees both of Senate and King, which latter the *Romans* called ſometimes *Dictator*, and ſometimes *Prætor*. The *Carthaginians* had brought the Art of Navigation with them from *Phœnicia*; and to this they chiefly applied themſelves. The greateſt Men in *Carthage* were the greateſt Merchants. And hence it came to paſs, that together with a Love of Trade, all the Vices of Traders were introduced into the Republick; ſuch as Unfaithfulneſs in Treaties, Cunning, and Deceit. As much as the Citizens of *Rome* neglected the enriching of their Families to purſue the Intereſt of the Publick; ſo much did the *Carthaginians* prefer their private Advantages to the Glory and Proſperity of their Country. However, the Multitude of their Ships enabled them to make Conqueſts in the Iſlands, and upon the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean*. And at this time, when *Appius Claudius Caudex*, and *M. Fulvius Flaccus* are *Conſuls* at *Rome*, the *Carthaginian* Republick is not only Miſtreſs of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, but has extended her Dominion far in *Sicily*, and has got a good footing in *Spain*. The Occaſion of the firſt Rupture between the two Republicks, is as follows. *The Form of Government and Character of the* Carthaginians. *188th Conſulſhip.* 489.

§. 3. *Hiero*, the Succeſſor of *Agathocles* King of *Syracuſe*, had vanquiſhed the *Mamertini* in Battel, and taken *Cios*, their Governor, Priſoner. *Cios* being carried to the Camp of the *Syracuſans*, and there ſeeing the Horſe on which his Son had rode in the Action, had thence imagined that his Son was ſlain, and in a Fit of Deſpair, had torn open the Ligatures of his Wounds, and expired. The *Mamertini* being thus deſtitute of a Head, and fearing to fall under the Yoke of the *Carthaginians* (who were invading their Dominions on another ſide) had determined to ſurrender up their capital City, *Meſſana*, to *Hiero*, with whoſe mild Government, and ſtrict Honour, they were well acquainted. But this Deſign had been prevented by the Cunning of *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* General, who coming to meet *Hiero*, under pretence of congratulating him on his Victory, had amuſed him, whilſt ſome of his Troops filed off to the Place, and entered it. Upon this the *Mamertini* were divided in Opinion. Some were for accepting the Protection offered by *Carthage*, others for ſurrendring to the *Syracuſans*; and the greateſt part, for calling in the *Romans* to their Aſſiſtance. They had indeed, before the late Battel with *Hiero*, ſent to *Rome* to aſk Succours; but the Senate had thought it not agreable to Honour and Equity to protect Villains, who had formerly got Poſſeſſion of *Meſſana* by the very ſame Means, as the perfidious *Campanian Legion* had made themſelves Maſters of *Rhegium*. However, the Caſe is now altered. When the News comes that the *Carthaginians* have entered *Meſſana*, with a View, probably, to keep it for themſelves, the *Conſcript Fathers* change their Sentiments, and reſolve to ſend *Appius Claudius* to attempt its Deliverance. The *Conſul*, nevertheleſs, continues at *Rome*, and diſpatches one *Claudius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, of a good Head, and fearleſs Bravery, in his ſtead. *Claudius* thinking it not adviſeable immediately to expoſe the few *Triremes*, he can get together, to the Inſults of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which infeſt the *Streights*, goes over to *Meſſana* in a Fiſher-Boat, in order to diſcover the Diſpoſitions of the Inhabitants. He convenes the *Mamertini*, in the uſual Place of Aſſemblies, and the *Carthaginians* flock thither with them. *Claudius* tells the People of *Meſſana*, that he comes as a Deputy from the *Romans*, to offer them the Aſſiſtance which they had deſired; and promiſes, that the *Roman* Forces ſhall be withdrawn, as ſoon as their City and Eſtates ſhall be in Safety. The *Mamertini*, intimidated by the Preſence of the *Carthaginians*, anſwer him, *That his Offers are come too late; and That every free City has a Right to call in whom ſhe pleaſes to her Aſſiſtance. A free City!* replies *Claudius* briſkly, *Are you then in Poſſeſſion of your Liberty? What do I ſee here but foreign Arms? Does not* Carthage *already begin to make you feel the weight of that eternal Slavery with which ſhe threatens you? Anſwer me if you dare.* Both the *Mamertini* and *Carthaginians* being ſtruck dumb at theſe Words, *Claudius* declares to the former, that he looks upon their Silence as a Mark of Conſent, and *The Occaſion of the firſt Rupture between Rome and* Carthage.

ſtrait returns to *Rhegium*. The Senate, upon his Report, judge, that the *Mamertini* are diſpoſed to receive Succours, and therefore order him to ſail ſtrait to *Meſſana*. *Claudius*, notwithſtanding the ſuperior Strength of *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* Admiral, boldly weighs Anchor: But having not only the Enemies Fleet to ſtruggle with in his Paſſage, but a Storm likewiſe, which ariſes on a ſudden, his Men loſe all Courage, ſome of his Ships are taken, others are daſhed in pieces, and he is forced to return to *Rhegium*, after a conſiderable Loſs. §. 4. While *Claudius* is buſy in refitting his Fleet, *Hanno* ſends the Ships taken from him into the Ports of *Italy*, to reſtore them to the *Romans*. An artful Preſent, either to pique the *Roman* Republick in point of Honour, or to divert her from ſending Succours to *Meſſana*, or at leaſt to lay all the Blame of a Rupture upon her. And indeed, when *Hanno*'s Deputy reſtores theſe Ships, he reproaches the *Romans* with having firſt infringed the Treaties; becauſe, as he pretends, the *Streights* have for a long time belonged to *Carthage*. And he declares, that his Republick will not ſuffer the *Romans* ſo much as *to waſh their Hands* in them. But this makes *Claudius* reject the Preſent with the greater Indignation, and carry on his Preparations with the more Vigour. He ſtudies the Sea, obſerves the Wind, and the Seaſon proper for his Departure, and times his Enterpriſe ſo well, that he eludes the Vigilance of the *Carthaginians*, and paſſes ſafely with his Squadron to *Meſſana*. *Hanno* (who is now become Commander of the *African* Land Forces in the Town) upon the Arrival of *Claudius*, retires into the Citadel. The latter deſires the *Mamertini* to call a Council, and ſummon *Hanno* to it; and the *Carthaginian*, for fear of ſhewing a Diſtruſt of thoſe, whom he pretends to protect, appears in the Aſſembly. And then the two Generals reproach each other in bitter Terms, till at length *Claudius* is ſo provoked, that he orders his Soldiers to ſeize *Hanno*, and make him Priſoner. After this, he, by Menaces and Perſuaſions, prevails on him to ſurrender the Citadel, and evacuate the City: A piece of Cowardice, for which *Hanno*, at his return home, is crucified. §. 5. But now a *Carthaginian* Fleet arriving at *Lilybæum* with Land Forces, under the Command of another *Hanno*, *Hiero*, King of *Syracuſe*, enters into a Treaty with him, and they jointly inveſt *Meſſana*. Hitherto the *Conſul Appius* had not appeared in the Diſpute; ſo that had the *Carthaginians* ſtopt their Proceedings, all that *Claudius* had done might have been diſowned. But *Hanno* had been guilty of a barbarous piece of Cruelty, upon the refuſal of *Claudius* to ſurrender up *Meſſana* to him, when ſummoned to do it by his Herald. He had cauſed all the *Italians* in his own Army to be maſſacred. This monſtrous Barbarity determines *Rome* to keep no longer any Meaſures with her Rival; and upon the firſt News of it, *Appius* comes away to *Rhegium*. From thence he ſends Deputies to King *Hiero*, to conjure him, by the ancient Friendſhip between the *Romans* and him, to deſiſt from the Siege he has undertaken. *Hiero*, in anſwer, reproaches the *Romans*, not only with Ingratitude to him, but with deviating from their pretended Equity, in making themſelves the Protectors of the villanous Tyrants of *Meſſana*. *Appius* having received this Anſwer, reſolves to ſail thither in Perſon; but, in order to conceal his Deſign, cauſes a Report to be ſpread, that he cannot go to *Sicily* till he has received freſh Orders from the *Roman* People. This Report reaching the *Carthaginian* Fleet, makes them watch the *Streights* leſs narrowly. In the mean time *Appius* goes on board a bad Galley, haſtily and unſkilfully built, and pretends only to coaſt along the Shore, in his way to *Rome*. But as ſoon as he is out of ſight, he tacks about; and being favoured by a dark Night, reaches the neareſt Shore of *Sicily*, and lands his Troops there, without being perceived by the Enemy, either at Sea or Land. (It was for this bold Enterpriſe that he got the Surname of *Caudex*, which then ſignified a Boat ill built.) King *Hiero* was blocking up *Meſſana*, on the ſide of Mount *Chalcis*: *Appius* forces him to a Battel, defeats him, and enters triumphantly into *Meſſana*. §. 6. After this he endeavours to force the Entrenchments of the *Carthaginians*; but they are ſo advantageouſly poſted, that he is repulſed with Loſs. However, the Enemy being raſh enough to purſue him into the Plain, he there repairs his Misfortune, kills a great Number of them, and puts the reſt to flight. And now the *Conſul* with his victorious Army falls upon the Lands of the *Syracuſans* like a Torrent, pillaging and laying waſte wherever he comes. And when he has ſpent his Year very gloriouſly, partly in Battels, and partly in Negotiations, he returns to *Meſſana*, thence to *Rhegium*, and thence to *Rome*. §. 7. The ſucceeding *Conſuls*, *Manius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Manius Otacilius Craſſus*, are ordered to tranſport into *Sicily* two *Conſular* Armies, conſiſting each of eight thouſand *Legionaries*, and twelve hundred Horſe, beſides a great Number of Auxiliaries. They vanquiſh the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans* wherever they meet them, and in a few Months, ſubdue ſixty ſeven Places. After this they think themſelves able to undertake the Siege of *Syracuſe*, the Capital of the Iſland. But *Hiero* being intimidated by the Experience he has had of the *Roman* Valour, and believing that an Alliance with the *Romans* will be leſs diſadvantageous to him, than one with the *Carthaginians*,

Year of ROME

The Roman *Fleet deſtroyed.*

A new Fleet put to Sea.

The Romans *get Poſſeſſion of* Meſſana. Hiero *and the* Carthaginians *beſiege it.*

Appius, *the* Conſul, *eludes the Vigilance of the* Carthaginian *Admiral, and paſſes into* Sicily.

He defeats Hiero.

189*th Conſulſhip.*

490.

Year of *ROME* 491. of whoſe Faith he has but a mean Opinion, ſends Deputies to the *Conſuls* to treat of a Peace. His Propoſals are accepted by the *Roman* Generals, and the Treaty is confirmed at *Rome*. The *Romans* agree to acknowledge *Hiero* for a Friend to their Republick, and to protect his Dominions from all Hoſtilities whatſoever. On the other hand, *Hiero* engages to ſurrender up all the Priſoners of War taken from the *Romans*, without Ranſom; to pay the Republick an hundred Talents of Silver, and to cultivate her Friendſhip by Fidelity. §. 8. [*An* * *Account of the Birth, Education, Adventures, great Talents, and Virtues, of* Hiero.] §. 9. The *Conſuls*, after the Treaty with the King of *Syracuſe*, make farther Progreſs in *Sicily*, where the *Carthaginians* are now their only Enemies; and when the Campaign is ended, they return to *Rome*, putting the greateſt part of their Troops in Winter Quarters, upon the Coaſt of *Italy*. *Valerius*, as having had the chief part in the late Conqueſt, is decreed a Triumph; and he gets the Surname of *Meſſala*, for having relieved *Meſſana*. A *Dictator* is created this Year, but it is only that he may drive a Nail into the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to ſtop the Plague which rages in *Rome*. §. 10. The new *Conſuls*, *L. Poſtumius Megellus*, and *Q. Manilius Vitulus*, are both ordered to go and continue the War in *Sicily*; but the Army appointed them, conſiſts only of eight thouſand twelve hundred *Legionaries*, Horſe and Foot; becauſe the Republick depends on the Aſſiſtance of her Allies in *Sicily*. The *Romans* land at *Meſſana*, without meeting with any Oppoſition in their Paſſage; and having received the Reinforcements they expected, lay Siege to *Agrigentum*, a ſtrong City on the South Coaſt of *Sicily*, and furniſhed with a *Carthaginian* Garriſon of fifty thouſand Men, under the Command of *Hannibal*. *Hanno*, at the ſame time, is preparing to ſail from *Carthage* with another Army of fifty thouſand Foot, ſix thouſand Horſe, and ſixty Elephants. The *Conſuls*, however, are not diſcouraged at theſe great Preparations of the Enemy. They ſit down before the Place, juſt in the time of Harveſt, and give their Soldiers leave, at their Requeſt, to go in ſmall Parties, and reap the Corn in the Plain. But *Hannibal* reſolves to take Advantage of this Relaxation of military Diſcipline; and makes two Sallies at the ſame time, one upon the Reapers, and the other upon the *Roman* Camp. The Reapers, not being able to rally ſoon enough, are overpowered, and cut to pieces; but the *Romans* in the Camp repulſe the Enemy, and make a great Slaughter of them: So that both the Beſiegers and Beſieged learn more Wiſdom, for the future. The *Conſuls* take care not to ſuffer their Soldiers to go out to forage in ſmall Parties; and *Hannibal* ventures no more to inſult the *Roman* Camp. §. 11. While the Siege is carrying on ſlowly, the *Romans* receive daily Reinforcements from the *Sicilians*. Above a hundred thouſand of them follow the *Roman* Standards. However, the *Conſuls* continue five Months before the Place, in perfect Inaction; and in the mean time Proviſions begin to fail in the City. *Hannibal* keeps up the Courage of the Inhabitants, by giving them hopes of Succours from *Carthage*. And indeed *Hanno* at length arrives with his Fleet at *Lilybæum*. Having landed his Troops he marches to *Heraclea*, within twenty Miles of *Agrigentum*, and there he receives a Deputation from ſome of the Inhabitants of *Erbeſſa* (a Place not far from *Agrigentum*, where the *Romans* have the Magazine of all their Proviſions) offering to put the Town into his Hands. *Hanno* accepts the Offer with the greateſt Joy, becauſe by this means he thinks he ſhall be able to intercept all Convoys going to the *Romans*, who will be as much preſſed with Famine, and as much beſieged in the Plain, as the *Agrigentini* are within their Walls. And indeed, he is no ſooner in Poſſeſſion of *Erbeſſa*, than the *Conſuls* think of raiſing the Siege. But the faithful *Hiero* finds means to convey ſome Subſiſtence to their Camp, though not in ſufficient Quantity to prevent thoſe Diſtempers among the Soldiers, which are the uſual Conſequences of Scarcity. In the mean time *Agrigentum* is reduced to the utmoſt Extremity by Famine. *Hannibal* gives *Hanno* Notice by Signals, of the deplorable Condition of the Place, and that he has no way left but to ſurrender; ſo that the latter finds it neceſſary to come to a deciſive Action; and he acquaints *Hannibal* with the Day of Battel, that he may make a Sally at the proper time. But notwithſtanding this double Attack upon the *Romans*, they force the Beſieged back within their Walls, and gain a complete Victory over the *Carthaginian* Army. Eleven Elephants are taken, and thirty left dead upon the Plain. And the fugitive *Carthaginians*, with Difficulty, recover *Heraclea*. *Hannibal* imagining, that after the Fatigues of ſo glorious a Day, the *Romans* will be leſs upon their Guard, ſallies out again in the middle of the Night with the greateſt part of his Troops, to ſurpriſe the *Roman* Entrenchments; but he is again repulſed, with conſiderable Loſs: And then he does not return to the City, but retires with his Troops to a Place of Safety. The *Agrigentini*, to revenge themſelves for being thus deſerted, maſſacre the reſt of the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; and they hope likewiſe by this means to make their Court to the *Conſuls*. But ſuch Cruelties are not agreable to the *Romans*; and the City having ſurrendered at Diſcretion, it is given up to be plundered, and

* Vide *p.* 543.

190th Conſulſhip.

They beſiege Agrigentum *in* Sicily.

The Carthaginian *Army defeated,*

And Agrigentum *taken.*

and above twenty five thouſand Perſons of free Condition are made Slaves. After this the *Conſuls* return to *Rome*. §. 12. The Reduction of *Agrigentum* gives the *Romans* hopes of conquering all *Sicily*. The only Difficulty is, how to make themſelves Maſters of the maritime Cities, without the Aſſiſtance of a Fleet, equal at leaſt to that of *Carthage*. Hitherto they had made uſe only of borrowed Merchant Ships to tranſport their Troops. But now the Republick forms a Deſign of being as formidable at Sea, as ſhe is at Land, and orders a hundred and twenty Boats to be built, at the publick Expence, after the Model of a *Triremis*, lately ſplit on the Coaſt of *Italy*. While theſe Gallies are upon the Stocks, the new *Conſuls*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *T. Otacilius*, ſet out for *Sicily*. When they arrive there, all the Cities, at any Diſtance from the Sea, ſubmit to them, being terrified at the Fate of *Agrigentum*. In the mean time *Hanno*, by a piece of Treachery, gets rid of four thouſand intractable *Gauls* in his Army, who mutiny for their Pay. He tells them that he will ſoon give them the Plunder of *Entella*, a City ſubject to the *Romans*; and this quiets them for the preſent. He then ſends away his Steward, who pretends to be a Deſerter, to give Notice to the *Conſuls* of the Day when the *Gauls* are to go, and pay themſelves their Arrears. A Body of *Romans* is accordingly detached, to lay in Ambuſh for them; and though they ſell their Lives dearly, not one of them eſcapes. §. 13. And now in the beginning of the *Conſulſhip* of *Cn. Cornelius Aſina*, and *C. Duilius*, the building of the ſixſcore Gallies (moſt of which are *Quinqueremes*) is finiſhed. (The *Romans* had been but ſixty Days in equipping this Fleet, reckoning from the time that the neceſſary Timber was brought to the Ports.) In order to inſtruct the Rowers and Mariners in their Buſineſs, a ſort of marine Exerciſe on Shore is appointed for them; and they learn at Land how to make uſe of their Oars at Sea, and to obſerve the proper Signals.

The Romans *order a hundred and twenty Ships of War to be built.*

191ſt Conſulſhip.

192d Conſulſhip.

When all things are ready for the Departure of the *Conſuls*, they chuſe their Commands by Lot. The Land Forces fall to *Duilius*, and he goes into *Sicily* with two *Legions*. *Cornelius*, with ſeventeen Ships only of his new Fleet, ſails to the Iſland of *Lipari*, upon falſe Advice given him (by Perſons ſuborned by *Hannibal* for this Purpoſe) that the People of the Iſland will put him in Poſſeſſion of it, upon the firſt Summons. He finds himſelf on a ſudden ſurrounded by a greater Number of *Carthaginian* Veſſels, under the Command of one *Boodes*. However, the latter, inſtead of attacking him, invites him, and the Commanders of his ſeventeen Gallies, to come aboard his Ship, to confer about the Differences between *Rome* and *Carthage*, in an amicable way. The credulous *Conſul* gives into the Snare; goes with his Officers on board *Boodes*'s Veſſel; is laid in Irons, and ſent Priſoner to *Carthage*. In the mean time the other hundred and three *Roman* Gallies ſet ſail, according to the Orders *Cornelius* had given, coaſt along *Italy*, and make the beſt of their Way to the Mouth of the *Streights*. There they find *Hannibal*, who, with a Detachment of fifty Gallies, had come out of Curioſity to take a View of the Enemy's new-faſhioned Boats. They fall upon him on a ſudden, and either ſink or take the greateſt part of his Squadron. However, the *Romans* are ſenſible that the *Carthaginians* have a great Advantage over them in the lightneſs of their Veſſels. And when the *Conſul Duilius*, upon the News of his Collegue's Misfortune, comes on board the Fleet, he makes the ſame Reflection; and it a little abates his Confidence. But while he is ruminating on this Matter, an Engineer, in his Fleet, invents a Machine (afterwards called the *Corvus* *) to ſtop the Enemy's Ships, and give the *Romans* an Opportunity of boarding them. By the help of this Machine, they, in two ſeveral Engagements, defeat *Hannibal*, take eighty of his Veſſels, and ſink thirteen. §. 14. After this, *Duilius* goes aſhore in *Sicily*, puts himſelf at the Head of the Land-Forces, relieves *Segeſta*, beſieged by *Hamilcar*, and takes *Macella*. The Campaign being ended, the Conqueror returns to *Rome*, and leaves his *Legions* behind. During his Abſence, a Diſpute ariſes between them, and the *Sicilian* Troops, about the Poſt of Honour, *i. e.* the Poſt of Danger. And the Difference comes to ſuch a height, that the *Sicilians* ſeparate from the *Romans*, and encamp by themſelves. *Hamilcar* takes Advantage of theſe Diviſions; falls upon the *Sicilians* in their Entrenchments; kills four thouſand of them; and then drives the *Romans* from their Poſts. In the mean time *Hannibal* returns towards *Africa*; and, fearing leſt Crucifixion ſhould be his Fate, diſpatches one of his Friends, with proper Inſtructions to the Senate of *Carthage*. The News of his Defeat had not yet reached thither, when his Friend, being introduced to the Senate, acquaints them, from the Admiral, *That the* Romans *have put to Sea a good Number of heavy, clumſy Veſſels, with ſtrange new-faſhioned Machines faſtened to the Prows of them*; and he aſks, *Whether it be their Opinion that* Hannibal *ſhould attack them*. They are all unanimous for the Affirmative: And then the Meſſenger adds, Hannibal, *my Lords, thought as you do. Fortune has not favoured him. But ſhall the Capriciouſneſs of Fortune be charged on him as a Crime?* By this means *Hannibal* eſcapes Death. The Command of the Fleet is nevertheleſs taken from him. But while the

* Vide *p.* 555.

The Corvus *invented.*

Duilius *twice defeats the* Carthaginians.

Year of *ROME* the *Carthaginians* are thus disgracing their unfortunate Admiral, the *Romans* are heaping Honours on the brave *Duilius* at *Rome*. His late Victory at Sea, makes all former Victories at Land to be in a manner forgotten. Medals are struck to perpetuate the Memory of it; and a Pillar of white Marble is erected to his Honour in the *Forum Romanum*. (This Pillar was in the last *Century* accidentally dug up out of the Ground. There are yet six *Prows* of *Roman* Gallies sticking to it, and a long † Inscription on the Pedestal of the Column.) *The* Columna Rostrata *is erected to his Honour.*

494. §. 15. The *Consuls* for the new Year are *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Aquilius Florus*. While the former is busy in getting the Fleet ready for new Enterprises, the latter is detained at *Rome*, to put an end to a Conspiracy to plunder and burn the City. Four thousand *Samnites* being appointed, contrary to their Inclination, to serve as Rowers in the Gallies, unite with three thousand discontented Slaves in this Design; and they chuse *Fotilius*, a Commander of Auxiliaries, to be their Leader. He seems to go in heartily to their Measures, till he has learnt their whole Secret, and then he discovers it to the Senate. § 17. In the mean time *Cornelius* puts to Sea, and makes a Descent first upon *Corsica*, and then upon *Sardinia*, and conquers both those Islands from the *Carthaginians*. § 18. *Aquilius* goes late into *Sicily*, but recovers the Affairs of the *Romans* there, which had suffered since the Departure of *Duilius*, and he stays in the Island all the Winter, in quality of *Pro-Consul*. His Collegue holds the *Comitia* for the new Elections. *A. Attilius Calatinus*, and *C. Sulpicius Paterculus*, are chosen *Consuls*. The Command of the Land Army falls to the former, the Fleet to the latter. Soon after *Attilius* comes into *Sicily*, *Myssistratum*, which the *Pro-Consul Aquilius* has reduced to the last Extremity, surrenders to him. § 19. From thence he marches his Forces towards *Camarina*; but in his Way meets with *Caudian Forks*, where he is shut in by *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* General However, the Army is rescued out of the Danger, by the Bravery of one *Calpurnius Flamma*, a *Legionary Tribune*, who with three hundred chosen Men keeps the Enemy in play, while the *Legions* get off. *Calpurnius* is the only Man of the Detachment who escapes with Life. He is found under a heap of dead Bodies, and covered with Wounds. The Reward given him is a Crown of *Gramen*. The *Consul Attilius* having escaped this Danger, continues his march to *Camarinum*, which he takes by the help of Engines sent him by *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*. After this he takes several other Towns. § 20. And now being flushed with Success, he rashly lays Siege to *Lipara*, expecting that it will immediately surrender. But *Hamilcar* having got Notice of his Design, had stolen, with some Troops, into the Place. These make a Sally, when the *Romans* are beginning to scale the Walls; and the latter are shamefully repulsed, with considerable Loss. As for *Sulpicius*, he burns with Desire, to signalize his Campaign by a naval Victory: And because no *Carthaginian* Fleet appears at Sea, he spreads a Report, that he intends to go and burn the Ships of the *African* Republick in their Harbours. This News alarms the *Carthaginians*, and they trust *Hannibal* once more with the Command of a considerable Fleet. He finds *Sulpicius* with his Squadrons not far from the Coast of *Africa*. But when both sides are preparing for an Engagement, a Storm separates them, and drives the Ships of both Fleets into the Ports of *Sardinia*. After this, *Sulpicius*, by a Stratagem, surprises the *Carthaginian* Admiral, and either sinks, or takes, most of his Gallies. *Hannibal* escapes to a little Town in *Sardinia*; but there his own Crew seditiously pronounce Sentence against him, and crucify him. *The* Romans *conquer* Corsica *and* Sardinia.

495. *194th Consulship.*

496. §. 21. The Year following, when *C. Attilius Regulus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Blasio*, are *Consuls*; the former obtains a fresh Victory over the *Carthaginian* Fleet, commanded by *Hamilcar*. He takes ten of his *Triremes*, and sinks ten others. *Cornelius*, who commands the *Roman* Land-Forces, has little to do in *Sicily*, his Predecessor, *A. Attilius* (who after the Expiration of his Year, had continued there as *Pro-Consul*) having almost totally reduced that Island. *195th Consulship.*

† Vide *p.* 559.

193d Consulship.

Year of *ROME*

BOOK XXIV.

§. 1. THE War with *Carthage* has already lasted eight Years. The *Carthaginians* have lost *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, and all their Dominions in *Sicily*, except *Lilybæum*, *Panormus*, and some few Places in that Neighbourhood. And now the *Roman* Republick forms a Design upon *Carthage* itself. The two new *Consuls*, *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, are ordered to pass into *Africa*, and to make that Country the Seat of the War for the future. Their Fleet, for this Expedition, consists of three hundred and thirty Gallies, of different Sizes; and on board of each of these Vessels, are a hundred and twenty Soldiers, and three hundred Rowers. The Fleet of the Enemy, under the Command of the Admirals *Hanno* and *Hamilcar*, is yet more formidable. It consists of three hundred and sixty Sail, and is better manned than that of the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians* arrive at the Port of *Heraclea* in *Sicily*. There they watch the Motions of the *Romans*, being determined to oppose their Descent upon the Coast of *Africa*. The *Consuls* nevertheless pursue their Course, and appear off *Heraclea*, with their several Squadrons, drawn up in order of Battel. *Hanno* and *Hamilcar* accept the Challenge, and an Engagement ensues; (*The* † *Circumstances of which are described.*) The *Romans* prove victorious. They sink thirty of the Enemies Ships, and take sixty four. Their own Loss is but of twenty four Gallies. §. 2. The *Consuls*, after so complete a Victory, prepare anew for a Descent upon *Africa*. *Hanno* endeavours to amuse them by Conferences about Peace, and has the Boldness to come in Person to the *Consuls*, as Deputy from his Republick. But he is no sooner arrived, than the Multitude cry out, *That he should be detained Prisoner by way of Reprisal, for the Treachery practised five Years before, with regard to the* Consul Cornelius Asina. *Hanno* is alarmed at this, but with an Air of Confidence, puts this artful Question. *What Advantage*, Romans, *can you get by imitating our Perfidiousness? It will only be said, that* Rome *produces as great Villains as* Carthage. The *Consuls* are piqued in Honour at these Words, and suffer him to return to his Army. There being no Disposition to Peace on either side, *Hanno* makes the best of his Way to *Carthage*, to give Notice of the approaching Invasion. The *Romans* have a fortunate Voyage, appear off *Clupea*, near the Promontory of *Mercury*, and there land. The *Consuls* having made themselves Masters of *Clupea*, continue there quiet, and wait for fresh Instructions from *Rome*. (For such was the Dependence of the *Consuls* upon the Senate at this time, that they did little more than execute the Orders of the *Conscript Fathers*. And the latter being for the most part experienced and able Soldiers, who had been themselves at the Head of Armies, were very capable of directing the Conduct of their new and unexperienced Generals.) When the Messenger comes back, he brings Orders for *Manlius* to return to *Italy* with the Fleet, and for *Regulus* to continue the War in *Africa*. The latter, whether from some foreboding of what is to happen to him, or from an Impatience to have the Honours of a Triumph, is discontented with the *Province* assigned him, and desires to be recalled. His Pretext is the bad Condition of his little Farm of seven Acres of Land. He represents to the Senate, that upon the Death of the Husbandman who had had the Care of his Farm, he had committed the Management of it to a Day-Labourer, who had stolen his Cattle, and carried off all his Stock; so that his Presence was necessary at home, to provide for the Subsistence of his Wife and Children. Upon this the Senate give Orders to have his Family maintained at the publick Expence; but he is directed to stay in *Africa*, and to continue to command the Army there as *Pro-Consul*, when the Year of his *Consulate* shall be expired.

§. 3. *Manlius* sails back to *Italy*, carrying with him on board his Fleet twenty seven thousand Prisoners, taken at Sea, and upon the Continent. He leaves only forty Vessels to attend *Regulus*, whose Army consists of fifteen thousand *Legionaries*, five hundred Horse, and a greater Number of Auxiliaries. *S. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, are soon after promoted to the *Consulship*; but all the Attention of the Republick is upon *Regulus*, who now, as *Pro-Consul*, pushes on his Conquests with prodigious Rapidity. To oppose his Progress, *Hamilcar* is recalled from *Sicily*, and to him are joined *Bostar* and *Asdrubal*. The Army given to *Hamilcar* is just equal to that of the *Romans*. The other two Generals command separate Bodies. But now *Regulus* meets with a monstrous * Serpent on the Banks of the River *Bagrada*, and (as some Historians say) is obliged to employ his battering Engines of War to destroy it. §. 4. After this he lays Siege to *Adis*; and the *Carthaginian* Army coming to relieve it, he attacks the Enemy in their Camp, kills seventeen thousand of them, takes five thousand Prisoners, and eighteen Elephants. The neighbouring *Provinces* immediately submit to the Conqueror,

The Battel of Heraclea

† Vide *p.* 571.

The Romans *make a Descent upon* Africa.

** Vide p. 574, 575.*

Regulus *kills the Serpent on the Banks of the* Bagrada.

196*th Consulship.* 497.

197*th Consulship.* 498.

Year of ROME and in a few Days the *Pro-Conſul* becomes Maſter of fourſcore Towns, which ſurrender to him. He then beſieges *Tunis*, within ſight of *Carthage*, and carries the Place. At the ſame time the *Numidians*, eternal Enemies of the *Carthaginians*, enter their *Provinces* with Fire and Sword, and force the Peaſants to take Refuge in their Capital. So many Mouths ſoon conſume the Stores, laid up in the publick Magazines; and the private Merchants conceal what Proviſions they have, that they may ſell them at an exceſſive Price. §. 5. In this Extremity the People of *Carthage* are overjoyed to ſee Deputies come from the *Pro-Conſul*, to treat of Peace. (*Regulus* being deſirous to put an end to the War, before the Expiration of his *Pro-Conſulate*, that his Succeſſor might not rob him of any part of the Glory of his Conqueſts, had reſolved, if poſſible, to conclude an advantageous Peace, which might do honour for ever to his Memory.) But his Deputies inſiſt upon ſuch hard † Conditions, that the *Carthaginian* Senate unanimouſly reject the Propoſal, and reſolve to ſtand all Events. They had, before this Negotiation, ſent to hire Troops in *Greece*, to recruit their Army. This Reinforcement arrives juſt in the height of their Diſtreſs. Among theſe Mercenaries is one *Xantippus*, or *Xanthippus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, a Man of a mean Appearance, and only a ſubaltern Officer, but of great Bravery, and wonderful Ability in the Art of War. This Man having informed himſelf of the Circumſtances of the late Battels, in which the *Carthaginians* had been worſted, declares publickly, that their Misfortunes are owing more to their own Miſconduct, than any real Superiority of their Enemies. Being introduced to the Senate, he explains himſelf ſo clearly, and talks ſo judiciouſly, that the *Carthaginian* Generals, as well as the reſt, are unanimouſly for putting him at the Head of their Army; and a Decree is made for that Purpoſe. *Xantippus* immediately teaches his Troops a new ſort of Diſcipline, and how to encamp to Advantage: Inſomuch, that the *Romans* are ſurpriſed at the ſudden change they perceive in the Conduct of the Enemy. However, *Regulus* deſpiſes both them and their Commanders, and writes to the Senate of *Rome*, that he will ſoon reduce *Carthage* to receive Law from the Republick. §. 6. After this he marches to attack the Enemy, who are encamped in a vaſt Plain, where their Elephants have room to act, and their Horſe to wheel. He finds a River in his Way, but is ſo confident of Victory, that he makes no Scruple to croſs it, and leave it behind him; though he thereby cuts off all Poſſibility of Retreat, in caſe of a Misfortune. This was the very Situation in which *Xantippus* wiſhed to ſee him; and he inſtantly draws out his Troops, and gives him Battel, before the *Romans* can refreſh themſelves, after the Fatigue of their March. [*The † Battel is deſcribed.*] The *Romans* loſe thirty thouſand Men in the Action, and *Regulus* is taken Priſoner, and led in Triumph to *Carthage* by the Conqueror. *Xantippus* is looked upon by the People as a Hero ſent from the Gods to deliver them. However, the exceſſive Praiſe they beſtow upon him proves fatal to him. It raiſes the Envy of the *Carthaginian* Generals. *Xantippus* is aware of the Danger he is in, and reſolves to return to *Lacedæmon*. (Some Authors ſay that he was murdered in the Voyage; others, that he was put on board a leaky Veſſel; and all agree in the conſummate Ingratitude of the *Carthaginians*.) As for *Regulus* he is treated in a moſt inhuman manner: And, when he has been for a time a publick Shew, and the Sport of the inſulting Populace, he is ſhut up in the common Priſon. §. 7. But now the *Conſuls* for the Year, *Fulvius* and *Æmilius*, who have hitherto lain ſtill, enter upon Action. The Republick orders them to take proper Meaſures to ſecure the Coaſt of *Italy* from an Invaſion; then to go into *Sicily*; and after that, if they judge it adviſeable, to ſail to *Africa*. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* endeavour in vain to retake *Clupea* and *Utica*. The News of the Approach of another *Roman* Fleet, conſiſting of three hundred and fifty Gallies, makes them ſet all Hands to work to refit their old Veſſels, and build new ones, in order to oppoſe a ſecond Deſcent. They venture to give the *Conſuls* Battel near *The Promontory of Mercury*, but are totally defeated. They loſe fifteen thouſand Men; and a hundred and four of their Ships are ſunk. After this the *Romans* land near *Clupea*. *Xantippus* is now no more. The *Carthaginian* Army is commanded by the two *Hanno*'s, Father and Son; and notwithſtanding the new Diſcipline it has learnt from the *Lacedæmonian* General, it cannot ſtand before the *Roman Legions*. In the firſt Action, nine thouſand *Carthaginian* Soldiers are ſlain, and a great Number of their principal Lords are taken Priſoners. Theſe are carefully guarded by the *Romans*, in order to be exchanged for *Regulus*. After theſe glorious Victories, the *Conſuls* find themſelves obliged to evacuate both *Clupea* and *Utica*, and to leave *Africa* for want of Proviſions. In their way home they are deſirous to ſignalize the end of their *Conſulſhip* by ſome important Conqueſts on the Coaſt of *Sicily*. The Pilots in vain repreſent to them, that the Seaſon is approaching, when it is impoſſible to keep the Sea. The Obſtinacy of the *Conſuls* proves the Deſtruction of the Fleet. A more violent Tempeſt, than had been known in the Memory of Man, ariſes; and of near four hundred Veſſels, ſcarce

Gets Poſſeſſion of eighty Cities.

Regulus ſends Propoſals of Peace, which are rejected.

† Vide p. 576, 577.

Xantippus, *the* Lacedæmonian, *appointed General of the* Carthaginian *Army.*

† Vide p. 578, 579.

The Romans *defeated, and* Regulus *taken Priſoner.*

Xantippus *murdered.*

The Carthaginians *defeated, both by Sea and Land.*

The Roman *Fleet deſtroyed by a Tempeſt.*

scarce eighty escape. This Disaster, however, is not imputed to the *Consuls* by the Republick. Year of ROME 499.

198th Consulship. §. 8. They are continued, each in the Command of an Army, as *Pro-Consuls*, for the following Year. The new *Consuls* are *A. Attilius*, and that *Cornelius Asina*, who had been made Prisoner by Treachery, and, in his Captivity, had been forced to drive a Plough. *Carthalo* now commands the *Carthaginian* Forces in *Sicily*, and seems to threaten the total Reduction of that Island.

The Romans *fit out a new Fleet.* But the *Romans* in three Months time fit out a hundred and twenty new Gallies; and these, with the old ones that are refitted, make a Fleet of two hundred and fifty Sail. The *Consuls* and *Pro-Consuls* pass over to *Sicily*; the former command at Sea, the latter at Land: But as they besiege only maritime Towns, they all act jointly. They block up *Panormus*, and reduce it to capitulate. Forty thousand of the Besieged purchase their Liberty, at almost seven Pounds *per* Head; and the rest, to the Number of thirty thousand, are sold for Slaves. After this the *Consuls* return to *Rome*; but in their Passage, the Transport Ships, on which they have put the Money and Spoils brought from *Panormus*, are taken by the *Carthaginians*.

199th Consulship. §. 9. The *Consuls* for the new Year are *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *C. Sempronius Blæsus*; with a Fleet of two hundred and sixty Gallies, they sail first to *Lilybæum*; but finding this too strong to attempt the Siege of it, they steer thence to the Coast of *Africa*, a great way eastward from *Carthage*. There they make a Descent, and get some Booty. After this they narrowly escape losing the whole Fleet on the Flats of the lesser *Syrtis*, and return to *Panormus*. Having staid here a short time, they set sail for *Italy*, and have a fair Wind till they come off Cape *Palinurus*; but then so violent a Storm overtakes them, that a hundred and sixty of their Gallies, besides Transport-Ships, are lost. And now, the Republick begins to consider the two Tempests, which have destroyed her two Fleets, as a Declaration of the Will of Heaven, against her Attempt, to deprive *Carthage* of the Empire of the Seas. The Senate make a Decree, that for the future, no more than fifty Vessels shall be equipped, and that these shall be employed only in guarding the Coast of *Italy*, and in transporting Troops to *Sicily*. 500.

Which is destroyed by another Tempest.

200th Consulship. §. 10. *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus*, being now raised to the *Consulate*, go into *Sicily*, and take the City of *Himera*. After this *Aurelius* forms a Design upon the Island and City of *Lipara*, but is destitute of Ships to transport his Forces thither. *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*, supplies this Want. The *Consul*, having finished his Conquest, returns to *Sicily*. But though the *Roman* and *Carthaginian* Armies come often in sight of each other, the former are too much disheartened since the Defeat of *Regulus*, and too much afraid of the Elephants, to hazard a Battel; so that the Campaign ends without any considerable Exploit. 501.

A Plebeian *made* Pontifex Maximus. §. 11. The *Consuls*, at their return to *Rome*, find a considerable change in civil Affairs. *Tib. Coruncanius*, a *Plebeian*, has been raised to the Dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, for his eminent Virtues. At this time there is a general Disposition to a Reformation of Manners. The Great Pontiff makes Profession of an austere Philosophy; the *Censors* turn their Thoughts to reform the Senate; and these being assisted by *Aurelius*, who is naturally severe, Examples are made of those who neglect the Worship of the Gods, live irregular Lives, or break the Laws of military Discipline. Thirteen Senators are ignominiously struck out of the List; and at the Motion of *Aurelius*, four hundred *Knights*, who had refused to obey his Orders when in the Island of *Lipara*, are degraded. Their Horses are taken from them, and they are deprived of the Right of Suffrage in their *Centuries*, &c. §. 12. The *Carthaginians* seeing themselves Masters of the Sea, and their Hopes of reconquering *Sicily* increasing, in proportion as they find their Rivals reduced to act upon the defensive, they prepare to make new Levies, and to equip a new Fleet. But Money is wanting to execute this Design, and their Treasures are exhausted. They send an Embassy therefore to *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, to borrow of him two thousand Talents. He being desirous to stand neuter, refuses to assist them against the *Romans*. However, they make an Effort, and fit out a Fleet of two hundred Sail. The Army they put on board it, consists of thirty thousand Men, Horse and Foot, and a hundred and forty Elephants: And *Asdrubal* is appointed Generalissimo both by Sea and Land.

201st Consulship. §. 13. In the mean time *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *C. Furius Pacilus*, are chosen *Consuls*. They go into *Sicily*, and act only upon the defensive, according to their Instructions from the Senate. But though the *Conscript Fathers* approve this Obedience in their Generals, they begin to reflect, that so much Circumspection and Caution dishonours the Commanders, and must enervate the Courage of the Soldiers. They resume therefore their former Vigour, and resolve to put a new Fleet to Sea, there being no other means to preserve *Sicily*. 502.

The Romans *fit out a new Fleet.*

202d Consulship. §. 14. While the Vessels are building under the Direction of *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *C. Attilius Regulus*, the new *Consuls*, *Metellus*, who continues to act in *Sicily* as *Pro-Consul*, restores the Reputation of the *Roman* Arms. By pretending Fear, he draws *Asdrubal* to a disadvantageous Ground near *Panormus* (where he has posted himself to defend the fruitful Harvests round 503.

that

Year of *ROME* that City) and then by his maſterly Conduct obtains one of the moſt memorable † Victories in the *Roman* Story. Twenty thouſand of the Enemy are killed, and many Elephants. A hundred and four of theſe Beaſts are taken alive; and are afterwards, by the *Pro-Conſul*'s Orders, tranſported to *Italy*, where they ſerve to ſwell the Pomp of his Proceſſion, when he enters *Rome* in Triumph. As the *Romans* had reſolved never to make uſe of them in their Wars, and did not care to be at the Expence of feeding them, they order them to be hunted to death in the *Circus*, by common Wreſtlers, for the Diverſion of the People, who are hereby taught to deſpiſe theſe Animals. As for *Aſdrubal*, his Sentence is paſt in his Abſence, and at his return home he is crucified. † Vide *p.* 590.

Metellus gains a ſignal Victory in Sicily.

§. 15. And now the two *Conſuls*, with the new Fleet of two hundred and forty Gallies, and ſixty ſmaller Veſſels, paſs into *Sicily*. Being excited by a noble Emulation, they reſolve, if poſſible, to ſurpaſs their Predeceſſor *Metellus*, and to exterminate the *Africans* out of *Sicily* by one Stroke. They lay Siege to *Lilybæum*, a City deemed impregnable, and the only ſafe Retreat of the *Carthaginian* Armies. The People of *Carthage*, upon the News of this Enterpriſe, are ſo diſcouraged, that they begin to think of Peace. They ſoften the Rigours of *Regulus*'s Confinement, and endeavour to engage him to bring his Republick into a Treaty of Peace, upon moderate Terms, or, at leaſt, to an Exchange of Priſoners. Having firſt taken an Oath of him to return to *Carthage*, if the Negotiation proves ineffectual, they ſend him away to *Rome* with ſome Ambaſſadors. When *Regulus* comes to the Gates of the City, he refuſes to enter them, he being a Slave to the *Carthaginians*, and it being contrary to Law for the *Roman* Senate to give Audience to Strangers within the Walls. His Wife and Children come to meet him, but he fixes his Eyes upon the Ground, as one aſhamed of his ſervile Condition, and unworthy of their Careſſes. When the Senators are met without the Walls, he tells them, *That being a Slave to the* Carthaginians, *he is come on the part of his Maſters to treat with them concerning a Peace, and an Exchange of Priſoners.* As ſoon as he has uttered theſe few Words, he ſeeks to withdraw, and to follow the Ambaſſadors. In vain the *Conſcript Fathers* preſs him to ſtay, and give his Opinion as an old Senator and *Conſul*. However, he obeys his *African* Maſters, who order him to continue in the Aſſembly. When his turn comes to ſpeak, he gives very ſolid * Reaſons againſt granting the *Carthaginians* a Peace, and very frivolous ones againſt an Exchange of Priſoners. The Senate admire his Magnanimity and Diſintereſtedneſs; and his Contempt of Life makes them the more deſirous to ſave him. The *Pontifex Maximus* declares, that he may, without Perjury, continue at *Rome*. *Regulus* is offended with this, as if his Honour were touched, and his Courage called in Queſtion. He tells them, *That he is not ignorant of the Tortures he ſhall undergo; but That they will not be comparable to the continual Remorſes of a guilty Conſcience, and the Infamy which would follow him to his Grave. It is my Duty*, adds he, *to return to* Carthage. *Let the Gods take care of the reſt.* The Senate, by the ſame Decree by which they refuſe the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors both Peace and an Exchange of Priſoners, leave *Regulus* at Liberty to continue at *Rome*, or to return to *Carthage*. He quits his native Country, to go and reſume his Chains, with the ſame Serenity, as if he were going to a Country-Seat for his Recreation. The *Carthaginians* are ſo enraged againſt him, that they invent new Tortures to ſatisfy their Revenge. They cut off his Eye-Lids, and then expoſe him to the Sun at Noon-day. After this they ſhut him up in a kind of *Armoire*, or Preſs, ſtuck full with Nails, ſo that he can neither ſit nor lean; and there they leave him to periſh with Hunger, and want of Reſt. The News of this Barbarity no ſooner reaches *Rome*, but the Senate, by way of Retaliation, give up the chief of the *Carthaginian* Captives to be treated at the Diſcretion of *Marcia*, the Wife of *Regulus*, and ſhe condemns them to the ſame cruel Death her Huſband had ſuffered.

The Carthaginians *ſend* Regulus *to* Rome *to treat of a* Peace.

* Vide *p.* 594.

Regulus *returns to* Carthage, *and is put to a cruel Death.*

§. 16. In the mean time *Manlius* and *Attilius* carry on the Siege of *Lilybæum* with Vigour. *Himilco* commands in the Place; which is not only ſtrong by Nature and Art, but is defended by a numerous Garriſon. The firſt Attack is upon the Cape of *Lilybæum*, where it jets out moſt into the Sea, and where are ſeven Towers ranged, which reach to the Rampart of the Town. Theſe Towers taken, the *Conſuls* attempt to fill up the Ditch, that they may approach the Wall. *Himilco* raiſes a ſecond Rampart behind the firſt; and when the *Romans* endeavour to undermine the Walls, the Enemy countermine on their ſide, and Battels are fought under Ground, in which the Beſiegers are worſted.

Lilybæum beſieged.

§. 17. The Beſieged however are reduced to great Straits, when they receive a ſeaſonable Reinforcement from *Carthage*. Notwithſtanding all that the *Romans* can do to block up the Port, *Hannibal*, the Son of *Hamilcar*, enters it with ten thouſand Men, and a great Quantity of Proviſions. This bold Admiral finding himſelf uſeleſs in the Place, puts all the *Carthaginian* Horſe on board his Gallies, repaſſes ſafely through the *Roman* Fleet, and gets to *Drepanum*. There he lands; and being now at the Head of a numerous Body of Cavalry, makes Incurſions into the Ter-

ritories belonging to the Allies of *Rome*, intercepts the *Roman* Convoys, and cauſes a Scarcity in their Camp. This obliges one of the *Conſuls* to ſeparate with his *Legions* from the reſt of the Army; and he returns to *Rome* to hold the *Comitia* for new Elections. In the mean time his Collegue endeavours to ſhut up the Port by a Bar, made of ſtrong Beams, faſtened together with Iron. The Winds and the Current of the Sea ſoon deſtroy this Work. However, the Report of it cauſes ſuch a Terror at *Carthage*, that no body will venture, for ſome time, to go to *Lilybæum*, to bring back an Account of the Siege. Year of *ROME*

§. 18. At length *Hannibal*, the *Rhodian*, a Captain of a very light Galley, ventures upon the bold Undertaking, and ſucceeds, in ſpight of all the Vigilance of the *Romans*. He paſſes and repaſſes ſeveral times before their Eyes; and his good Fortune encourages others to the like Attempt. One of theſe Adventurers, leſs skilful than *Hannibal* in the Knowledge of the Currents between the Rocks and the Flats, runs a-ground; and his light Galley is taken by the *Romans*. By the help of this they catch the *Rhodian* himſelf; and being now in Poſſeſſion of two light Gallies, they effectually ſhut up the Port; and no *Carthaginian*, for the future, attempts to enter it.

The Works before Lilybæum *deſtroyed.*

§. 19. But now a ſudden Tempeſt ariſing, and the Wind blowing from the Land with ſuch Violence, as almoſt to overturn the Machines and Batteries erected by the *Romans* againſt the outward Rampart of the Town, the *Carthaginians*, by the Advice of ſome mercenary *Greeks* in their Service, take Advantage of this Accident, ſally out of the Place, and ſet Fire to the Galleries, Platforms, Towers, and *Balliſtæ* of the Beſiegers: And, in ſhort, the Work of ſeveral Months is deſtroyed in an Hour's time. The Storm blowing full in the Faces of the *Romans*, they can make no Reſiſtance, their Darts have no Effect, and the Smoke blinds them. The *Roman* Conſtancy is ſtaggered by this Blow; but *Hiero* raiſes their Courage again, by ſending them Convoys of Proviſions, and exhorting them to continue their Enterpriſe. The Siege however is turned into a Blockade. When the News of this Diſaſter reaches *Rome*, the People are only the more animated by it to continue the Siege, and ten thouſand of them aſſociate together, to go and ſerve before *Lilybæum*. But in the Senate many are for concluding a Peace, and the Diſpute riſes to ſuch a height, that Blows are given, and (according to ſome Author one Senator is killed for being too warm on that ſide.

203d Conſulſhip.

§. 20. The next Year proves more unfortunate to *Rome*, when *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Junius Pullus*, are *Conſuls*. The former has the Command of the Land-Forces, the latter of the Fleet. *Claudius*, inheriting the Raſhneſs and Pride of his Family, is no ſooner at the Camp, but he begins by defaming his Predeceſſors, and reproaching the Soldiers with Indolence and Cowardiſe. He then takes it into his Head, that by the help of the ten thouſand Men, with which his Army is reinforced, he may ſurpriſe *Drepanum*, where *Adherbal*, an able Captain, commands for the *Carthaginians*. He ſails thither with the Fleet of a hundred and twenty Gallies, that lay before *Lilybæum*. *Adherbal*, aware of his Approach, comes out of the Port of *Drepanum* with ninety Gallies, well manned, and hides himſelf behind ſome Rocks, till the *Roman* Ships have entered the Mouth of the Haven. He then appears out at Sea, and bears down upon the *Conſul*, who is in the Rear of his Fleet. *Claudius* tacks about, and makes a Sign to the advanced Gallies to do the ſame. It is with great Difficulty that he draws them up in a Line along the Coaſt. His Situation is very diſadvantageous, becauſe, in caſe his Veſſels are obliged to give way in the leaſt, they muſt either run upon the Flats, or bulge againſt the Rocks. It is in his Power to ſheer off; but he is obſtinate to try an Engagement. And when the *Sacred Chickens* are conſulted, and refuſe to eat, he throws them, Cage and all, into the Sea. *If they won't eat, let them drink*, ſays he; not reflecting that ſuch a Contempt of Religion would diſcourage his Troops. In reality, the *Romans* behave themſelves like mere Cowards, and hardly make any Reſiſtance. The *Conſul* no ſooner ſees that things go ill, but he makes off as faſt as he can with thirty Gallies, and leaves the reſt to ſtruggle with the Waves, the Rocks, and the Enemy. He loſes ninety Ships. Eight thouſand of his Men are either killed or drowned, and twenty thouſand of his Rowers, Mariners, and Soldiers, are ſent Priſoners to *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* gain this Victory without loſing a ſingle Man, or one Galley. However, *Claudius* has the Preſence of Mind, in his Flight, to put Crowns upon his thirty Gallies, as if he were victorious, and thereby eſcapes being attacked from any of the maritime Places between *Drepanum* and *Lilybæum*.

Claudius Pulcher *throws the* Sacred Chickens *into the Sea. He is defeated at Sea by the* Carthaginians.

504.

He names one of his Clients to be Dictator.

§. 21. The News of the ill Conduct and Impiety of the *Conſul* no ſooner reaches *Rome*, but he is immediately recalled, and ordered to name a *Dictator*. To inſult the Senate, and in Deriſion of the Laws, he nominates to that ſupreme Dignity, one of his own Clients, named *Claudius Glycia*, a Man of the meaneſt of the People, and who had been his Tipſtaff, while *Conſul*. But this Fellow is compelled to abdicate, and *M. Attilius Calatinus* takes his Place. (Whether *Claudius* was condemned or not, upon a Trial before the People for his Miſdemeanors, is uncertain.)

Year of tain.) §. 22. As for the other *Conſul*, *Junius Pullus*, he had ſailed with
ROME a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Gallies, and eight hundred other Veſſels to *Syracuſe*, there to get Proviſions to carry to the Camp before *Lilybæum*. From *Syracuſe* he had ſent the *Quæſtors* before him with a Squadron; and now he himſelf follows with the reſt of the Fleet. *Carthalo*, detached by *Adherbal* from *Drepanum* with a hundred Gallies, meets firſt the *Quæſtors*, and then the *Conſul*, and obliges both to ſeek their Safety by running cloſe upon the Coaſt, and mooring their Ships in a Place full of Rocks, where a violent Storm ſoon after daſhes them all to pieces. *The* Ro-
So that *Rome* is once more deprived by Heaven of all her naval Force, and once man *Fleet*
more renounces the Empire of the Seas. §. 23. The Blockade of *Lilybæum totally de-*
is however continued. The *Romans*, notwithſtanding theſe Diſaſters, are ſtill *ſtroyed.*
ſtrongeſt by Land. *Junius*, to repair his Misfortune, makes an attempt upon *Eryx*, ſituated on the higheſt Mountain in *Sicily*, next to Mount *Ætna*. He ſurpriſes the Place in the Night by the help of ſome Soldiers, who, for Money, betray it to him. To ſecure this Conqueſt, he builds a Fort at the Foot of Mount *Eryx*, and places there a Garriſon of eight hundred Men. But *Carthalo* makes a Deſcent, beſieges the Fort, takes it by Aſſault and puts the Garriſon to the Sword. (Some Authors ſay that *Junius* was taken Priſoner in defending the Place; but others, that he killed himſelf for fear of being condemned at *Rome* for his ill Conduct.)

§. 24. One *Conſul* being dead, and the other depoſed, the *Dictator*'s Preſence becomes neceſſary in *Sicily*. And this being the firſt time that ſuch a Magiſtrate appears out of *Italy*, much is expected from the Novelty. However, the *Dictatorſhip*
505. paſſes without any memorable Exploit. The *Centuries* now raiſe to the *Conſulſhip*, *204th Con-*
C. Aurelius Cotta, and *P. Servilius Geminus*. (It is probable, that in their time ſome *ſulſhip.*
of the *Veſtals* were firſt choſen out of *Plebcian* Families.) §. 25. The
whole care of the new *Conſuls*, when they come into *Sicily*, is to hinder the *Carthaginians* from carrying Succours or Proviſions into *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*. And *Carthalo* having in vain attempted both, endeavours to draw one of the *Conſuls* out of the Iſland, by making a Deſcent upon *Italy*, and ravaging the *Provinces* belonging to the Republick. He lands on the Coaſt of *Lucania*; but the *Prætor* of *Rome*, at the Head of an Army, ſoon obliges him to retire to his Ships. And now his mercenary Troops begin to murmur for want of their Pay. To put a Stop to the Mutiny, he puniſhes the moſt ſeditious with Rigour. But this provokes even thoſe who are the moſt peaceably inclined; inſomuch, that the Rebellion is like to be
general, when he is ſeaſonably recalled, and *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barca*, the Father Hamilcar
of the Great *Hannibal*, is ſent to command in his ſtead. *Hamilcar* having appeaſed Barca, *Ad-*
the Sedition in his Fleet, ſails to *Italy*, pillages the Territories of the *Locrenſes* and *miral of the*
Bruttii, and then returns to *Sicily*. There he encamps his Army at *Epierte*, ſituated Carthagi-
upon a high Rock, between *Panormus* and *Eryx*, both belonging to the *Romans*. nian *Fleet.*
From thence he makes Incurſions into the Lands of the Allies of *Rome*, and ſo haraſſes the *Conſuls*, that they can make but little Progreſs in the Siege of *Lilybæum*.
506. §. 26. However, *Cæcilius Metellus*, one of their Succeſſors, is ordered to continue *205th Con-*
that Enterpriſe, while his Collegue, *N. Fabius Buteo*, beſieges *Drepanum*. *Hamilcar*, *ſulſhip.*
by innumerable Sallies from his Eminence, keeps both the *Conſuls* in play; and by his infinite Activity and maſterly Conduct, hinders them from gaining any great Advantages over his Nation. (At this time his Son, *Hannibal*, is born.) Hannibal

§. 27. While Affairs are in this Situation in *Sicily*, a *Roman* Fleet of Privateers, *born.*
under the Command of *Aurelius*, the late *Conſul*, pillages the Coaſt of *Africa*. They enter the Port of *Hippo*, ſet fire to Ships and Houſes, and carry thence a great deal of rich Spoil. After this they meet a *Carthaginian* Fleet, loaded with Proviſions for *Hamilcar*, and gain a conſiderable Advantage over it. However, the Pride of the *Romans* being in a good Meaſure abated by their many late Misfortunes, they are now the firſt to wiſh an Exchange of Priſoners; and accordingly they are exchanged Man for Man. And as the *Carthaginians* have more to redeem than the *Romans*, the latter receive Money for the Overplus, and thereby recruit their Treaſury. The Number of *Roman Citizens* appears, by a *Cenſus* taken this Year, to be no more than two hundred fifty one thouſand two hundred and twenty, which is leſs, by eighty ſix thouſand five hundred and ſeventy five, than the Number at the
507. laſt *Cenſus*. §. 28. The following Campaign of *M. Otacilius Craſſus*, *206th Con-*
and *M. Fabius Licinus*, is as barren of military Exploits, as the preceding one. But *ſulſhip.*
the *Romans* give a remarkable Inſtance at *Rome*, to what a high Pitch they carry the Love of their Country. *Claudia*, the Siſter of the late *Claudius Pulcher*, and thoroughly tinctured with all the Vices of the Family, returning in a Chariot from Claudia *pu-*
the publick Shew, happens to be preſſed in the Throng. Upon this ſhe cries out *niſhed at*
in a Paſſion, *I wiſh my Brother* Claudius *were alive again; and that he could rid* Rome *for*
Rome, *as formerly, of ſuch a Mob of Scoundrels, with which the City is overcrouded.* *treaſonable*
For theſe Words ſhe is cited by two *Ædiles* to appear before the *Tribes*; and not- *Words a-*
withſtanding all that the whole Body of the Nobility can ſay or do in her Favour, *gainſt the*
ſhe *People.*

she is condemned to pay a Fine of twenty five thousand *Asses* of *Brass*. §. 29. Year of

207th Consulship. The *Romans* still continue the Siege of *Lilybæum*, under the new *Consuls*, *M. Fabius Buteo*, and *C. Atilius Bulbus*, and hope to take it at length by Famine. But *Hamilcar* finds means to supply it with Provisions. He sails with his little Fleet from *Epierctæ*, and in the Night, sends a part of it to lie behind some Islands, which shelter the Port of *Lilybæum*. In the Morning he himself appears out at Sea with the rest of his Ships, and defies the Enemy to Battel. The *Romans* make all haste to attack him, and when they are got a good way from the Port, the detached Squadron, which had lain hid, enters it, lands the Provisions, and some fresh Troops, and then gets away again before the *Romans* can return from a vain Pursuit. The *Roman* Privateers gain another Victory over a *Carthaginian* Fleet near the Island of *Ægimur*, but are afterwards dashed in pieces by a Tempest against the Rocks, on the Coast of *Lybia*. §. 30. The next Year, when *A. Manlius Atticus*, and *C. Sempronius Blæsus* command in *Sicily*, *Hamilcar* surprises the City of *Eryx*, situated about the middle of the Mountain of that Name; and he maintains himself in this Post, though the *Romans* are in Possession of the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, on the Summit of the Mountain, and have a Fort at the bottom of it, defended by a good Garrison. The *Consuls* in vain use all their Efforts to dislodge him; and in the mean time the Siege of *Lilybæum* advances but slowly, and that of *Drepanum* is raised. §. 31. While the new *Consuls*, *C. Fundanius*, and *C. Sulpicius Gallus* are vainly endeavouring to drive *Hamilcar* from *Eryx*, both the Besieged and the Besiegers suffer all the Misery of War and Famine. The *Gauls*, who make the best part of *Hamilcar*'s Garrison, being wearied out with continual Fighting, and not receiving their Pay, plot together to put the Place into the Hands of the *Romans*; but the vigilant *Carthaginian* prevents their Design. However, they desert to the Enemy, and inlist themselves in the *Roman* Service. This is the first time that we see foreign Forces in the Pay of the Republick.

The Roman *Privateers destroyed by a Tempest.*

208th Consulship.

Hamilcar *takes* Eryx *by surprise.*

209th Consulship.

§. 32. But now the Senate being thoroughly convinced, that it will be impossible to establish their Dominion in *Sicily*, while the *Carthaginians* are Masters of the Seas, they turn their Thoughts to the building of a new Fleet, and they propose to man their Vessels with hired Troops from foreign Countries, that in case of new Misfortunes by Tempests, *Rome* may not suffer so great a Loss of her own *Citizens*, as formerly. The great Difficulty is, how to find Money for such an Undertaking; for the publick Treasury is exhausted. Upon this Occasion the Senators give an Example, to the rest of the *Citizens*, of Zeal for their Country's Service. The richest of them build, each a *Quinqueremis*, at his own Cost. Others tax themselves at so much a Head, and a Galley is fitted out at the joint Expence of three or four. And, in short, a Fleet of two hundred *Quinqueremes* is thus put to Sea by private *Citizens*, without asking any thing of the Republick, but to be reimbursed, when her Affairs are recovered. This new Armament is vastly better than any of the former ones, in as much as all the Gallies are built upon the Model of that light Vessel taken from *Hannibal* the *Rhodian*.

A new Roman *Fleet built at the Expence of private* Citizens.

210th Consulship.

§. 33. The *Consuls* chosen for the new Year are *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Postumius*; but the latter being at the same time High-Priest of *Mars*, the *Pontifex Maximus* forbids him to meddle in Affairs of War; so that he has little more than the Name of *Consul*. But the Republick not thinking it advisable to trust the Command of her Armies to one General, and being unwilling to hazard the Inconveniencies which may arise from the too long Absence of the *Prætor* of *Rome* (to whom it naturally falls to supply the Place of the interdicted *Consul*) she creates a second *Prætor* for that Purpose. This latter is stiled *Prætor Peregrinus*, and is appointed not only to assist the General Abroad, but to be the Judge to determine civil Causes between *Roman Citizens* and Strangers. The former takes the Name of *Prætor Urbanus*, resides at *Rome*, and his Jurisdiction is confined to the judging of Causes between *Roman Citizens* only. These Magistrates are chosen annually in the *Comitia by Centuries*, and take their *Provinces* by Lot. §. 34. *Valerius Falto* is the first *Prætor Peregrinus*, and he embarks on board the new Fleet, with the *Consul Lutatius*. They begin the Campaign with the Siege of *Drepanum*, and soon make a Breach in the Wall; but as the *Consul* is mounting it at the Head of his Men, to make an Assault, he receives a dangerous Wound in the Thigh. The Soldiers quit the Breach to succour him, and carry him back to the Camp. After this he no longer pushes on the Siege with Vigour: But being persuaded, That the *Carthaginians* will soon appear with a Fleet upon the Coast, and That a Victory over them at Sea, will contribute much more, than the taking of a single Town, towards the entire Conquest of *Sicily*, he turns all his Thoughts to Discipline his Men, and prepare them for a naval Engagement. He is not yet cured of his Wound, when he receives an Account that a *Carthaginian* Fleet of four hundred Ships, under the Command of *Hanno*, is approaching. He sails to meet it, and comes up with the Enemy off the

A Prætor Peregrinus *created.*

Islands

Year of ROME

Islands called the *Ægades*, between *Drepanum* and *Lilybæum*. There he gains a complete Victory. Having destroyed a vast Number of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, he endeavours to surround the rest, and take them. He takes seventy Vessels, and ten thousand Captives, with a great part of the Money and Provisions designed for the Relief of *Hamilcar*. §. 35. This brave *Carthaginian* General is the first who feels the Effects of so terrible a Defeat. Having no longer any hopes of Succours, he is forced to capitulate. But while the *Romans* are insisting on his passing *under the Yoke* with his Garrison, and he is obstinate, in chusing to suffer all Extremities, rather than submit to such an Indignity, he receives full Powers from his Republick to do whatever he judges to be most for her Interest. *Hamilcar* being sensible that *Carthage* is too much exhausted to keep her footing in *Sicily*, thinks it better to yield it by a Treaty of Peace, than expose *Africa* to the Ravages of the victorious Fleet. For this Purpose therefore he sends Deputies to the *Consul Lutatius*, who receives them joyfully, being very desirous to put an end to the War before his *Consulship* expires, that so his Successors may not have the Glory of finishing a Work, which has cost him so much Blood and Labour. The Substance of the Articles of Peace, drawn up before *Eryx*, is as follows. 1. *The* Carthaginians *shall evacuate all the Places, which they have in* Sicily, *and entirely quit the Island.* 2. *They shall in twenty Years pay the* Romans, *at equal Payments every Year, two thousand two hundred Talents of Silver.* 3. *They shall restore the* Roman *Captives and Deserters without Ransom, and redeem their own Prisoners with Money.* 4. *They shall not make War upon* Hiero *King of* Syracuse, *or his Allies.* These Conditions being agreed upon, a Truce is made, Hostages are given on both sides, and *Hamilcar* surrenders *Eryx*. The only thing remaining is to get the People of *Rome* assembled in *Comitia*, to confirm the Stipulation. *Lutatius* and *Hamilcar* both send Deputies thither for this Purpose. The Republick, though overjoyed at the *Consul*'s Successes, is dissatisfied with the too easy Terms he has granted the *Carthaginians*, and therefore sends away ten Commissioners, to treat anew with *Hamilcar*, and demand farther Advantages. These Deputies require *a thousand* Talents *to be paid down immediately, and the two thousand two hundred* Talents *to be paid in ten Years, at equal Payments.* They likewise insist, *That the* Carthaginians *shall quit all the little Islands about* Italy *and* Sicily, *and not come there any more with Ships of War, or to levy Mercenaries.* Necessity obliges *Hamilcar* to consent to these new Terms; but he returns to *Carthage* with a Hatred to the *Romans*, never to be eradicated from his Heart. And now the *Carthaginians* employ him in a cruel War, they have to sustain with their own revolted Mercenaries. In this Distress the *Roman* Republick generously assists her new Friends. She sends them back their Prisoners *gratis*, furnishes them with Provisions, and permits them to hire Troops in the *Provinces* that are in Alliance with her. §. 36. *Lutatius* and *Valerius* are continued in their *Province* another Year, the first in quality of
512. *Pro-Consul*, the second in that of *Pro-Prætor*, while the two new *Consuls*, *Q. Lutatius Cerco*, and *A. Manlius Atticus*, are obliged to march an Army into *Hetruria*, to quell a sudden Rebellion of the *Falisci*. §. 37. This Expedition over, they go into *Sicily*, to put the last Hand to the Peace, which is ratified by the solemn Sacrifice of a Sow, and the mutual Oaths of the two Nations. Thus ends the first *Punick* War, in which the Conquerors have lost seven hundred *Quinqueremes*, and the Conquered only five hundred. §. 38. And now, the great Affair at *Rome* is to determine the Fate of *Sicily*, the manner in which it shall be governed, and the Emoluments which the Republick shall draw from so fine a Conquest. The whole Island, except the little Kingdom of *Syracuse*, is declared a *Roman Province*, *i. e.* a Country to be governed by *Roman* Laws, and *Roman* Magistrates. A *Prætor* is to be annually sent thither to be its Governor and Judge, in civil Causes, and a *Quæstor* to receive the Revenues of the Republick. (These Revenues were either fixed or casual. The *Fixed* were called *Tributes*, and consisted in a certain Sum of Money, which the *Province* was every Year to pay into the publick Treasury; the *Casual* were the Tenths of the Product of the Lands, and the Duties upon Merchandize, exported and imported. Certain Officers, called *Publicans*, were appointed to levy both these sorts of Taxes, and the latter sort were farmed by the *Publicans*.) §. 39. But the Joy of the People of *Rome* for their late Prosperity is much damped by two dreadful Misfortunes, which follow close upon one another. The *Tyber* on a sudden overflows with such Violence, as to overturn a great many Houses in the lower Grounds; and the Water continues stagnating so long in the *Forum*, as greatly to damage the Foundations of the Houses there. After this a Fire breaks out in the upper City, no body knows how, and makes terrible Destruction. It reaches even the Temple of *Vesta*; but *Cæcilius Metellus*, the present *Pontifex Maximus*, gives a signal Instance of his Piety upon this Occasion, and ventures his Life to save the *Palladium*. He makes his Way through the Flames, and fetches it out of the Sanctuary. One of his Arms is much hurt in the Attempt, and he entirely loses his Sight. To reward so heroical an Action, he is permitted, for the future, to be drawn in a Chariot to the Senate-

The Romans *gain a complete Victory at Sea.*

Conditions of Peace between Rome *and* Carthage.

The first Punick *War ends.*

211th Consulship.

Sicily *made a* Roman Province.

House; a Distinction, which had never before been granted to any Man. (It is probable, that the *Tribes* were this Year augmented to thirty five, by the Addition of the *Tribe Velina*, and the *Tribe Quirina*. This Number was never afterwards increased.) Year of ROME 513.

The Tribes *increased to thirty five.*

§. 40. Among the Advantages which *Rome* gains from her Wars in *Sicily*, may be reckoned an Improvement of her Taste for Letters, and juster Notions of Poesy. *Sicily* abounded with excellent Poets. In the first Year after the peaceable Possession of this Island, when *C. Claudius Centho*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* are *Consuls*, appears *L. Livius Andronicus*, the Reformer of the *Latin* Theatre; he introduces upon the Stage connected Fables, after the *Greek* manner, instead of the Buffooneries, and rambling Discourses, with which the People were before entertained.

212*th Consulship.*

The *Consuls* having no Employment Abroad, turn their Thoughts to establish good Order in *Italy*, and to secure the Frontiers against the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, by planting *Colonies* in their Neighbourhood. In the mean time the Republick, ever uneasy when not engaged in some Quarrel, sends Ambassadors to *Ptolomy Euergetes*, King of *Egypt*, to offer him her Assistance against *Antiochus* of *Syria*. But the *Egyptian* has got rid of his Enemy, and returns his Thanks: So that the *Romans*, having nothing else to do, apply themselves to invent new *Games*. The Festival of the *Floralia* is transferred from the Month of *April* to the Month of *May*, or is now instituted for the first time. The *Ædiles*, with the Fines laid on those who are convicted of having fed their Cattle on the Demesnes of the Republick, build a Temple to the Goddess *Flora*, and defray the Expences of the *Games* consecrated to her Honour.

ERRATA.

PAGE 4. Line 31. *Marcomani; that is the Sclavonians fell,* read *Marcomani, that is, the Sclavonians; fell.* p. 6. l. 26. *now is. The Insubres on the North-side of the Po,* r. *now is, on the North-side of the Po. The Insubres.* ibid. l. 29. *of Antium,* r. *of the Autunois.* p. 8. N. 40. l. 14. *Veneti, i. e. the Country of the Venetii,* r. *Venetia, i. e. the Country of the Veneti.* p. 10. l. 25. *by the Ruin of others,* r. *by their Losses.* p. 13. l. 50. *of a single Gaul,* r. *given to a single Gaul.* p. 20. l. 17. *Wives* r. *Wines.* p. 24. l. 4. *Brennus the Sum agreed on, and,* r. *the Sum agreed on, and Brennus.* p. 40. l. 40. *fled,* r. *flew.* p. 59. l. 9. *Lustrum,* r. *Census.* p. 61. l. 34. *a Country,* r. *a City in the Country.* p. 82. l. 32. *Military Tribune,* r. *Tribune of the People.* p. 94. l. 12. *L. Manlius,* r. *T. Manlius.* p. 109. l. 30. *their,* r. *her.* ibid. l. 31. *them,* r. *her.* p. 131. l. 17. *Manius,* r. *Marcius.* p. 141. l. 12. *it,* r. *them.* p. 143. l. 33. dele *been.* p. 149. l. 1. dele *was somewhat abated.* p. 160. l. 2. *Discipline; to,* r. *Discipline, in order to.* p. 169. l. 18. *tattered,* r. *shattered.* p. 216. l. 51. *Creditors,* r. *Debtors.* p. 218. l. 24. *Vigour,* r. *Rigour.* p. 233. l. 18. & alibi *Herminius,* r. *Herennius.* p. 237. l. 1. *invaded,* r. *usurped.* p. 239. l. 12. *off,* r. *of.* p. 253. N. 23. & alibi, *Venusium,* r. *Venusia.* p. 261. l. 42. *strong,* r. *stony.* p. 265. l. 1. *to the,* r. *to.* p. 277. l. 16. *fled,* r. *flew.* p. 278. l. 21. *three hundred and twenty two,* r. *three hundred and nineteen.* p. 279. l. 8. *neareſt,* r. *neweſt.* p. 292. l. ult. dele *about.* p. 300. l. 24. *the Rabble into the four City Tribes,* r. *into the four City Tribes the Rabble.* p. 311. l. 30. *Port,* r. *Post.* p. 350. l. 38. *at first,* r. *immediately.* p. 352. last Line but two, *had kept,* r. *kept.* p. 354. l. 2. *than that of shewing,* r. *than what serv'd to make him shew.* p. 355. l. 28. *which would,* r. *which would not.* p. 356. l. ult. *their first part,* r. *a first part.* p. 358. l. 36. after *Friend,* add [*And the latter their Friends, and so on*] p. 361. l. 46. *over run,* r. *overthrown.* p. 365. l. 2. *that when it was repaired, another Statue of Jupiter,* r. *that a Statue of Carvilius.* ibid. l. 42. *And indeed,* r. *But after all.* p. 366. l. 22. *Chariots,* r. *Carriages.* p. 370. l. 34. *demean himself,* r. *condescend.* p. 376. l. 48. *three,* r. *the three.* p. 380. l. 38. *the same,* r. *an.* ibid. l. 47. dele *loss of.* p. 407. l. 22. *to part,* r. *between.* p. 408. l. 3. *shou'd,* r. *were to.* p. 410. l. 16. dele *Claudius.* p. 440. l. 1. *farther,* r. *hither.* ibid. l. 3. *hither,* r. *farther.* p. 455. last Line but one, *from him,* r. *from them.* p. 477. N. 42. & alibi, *Locris,* r. *Locri.* p. 514. l. 9. *Imports,* r. *Impost.* p. 539. l. 21. *repair to several,* r. *repair to him from several.* p. 543. l. 49. *the Syracusans,* r. *the Armies of the Syracusans.* p. 544. l. 21. *But they,* r. *But these.* p. 546. l. 10. *eight thousand,* r. *eight thousand twelve hundred.* p. 548. N. 48. *Erbessa,* add *or Erbessus.* p. 549. l. 7 and 8. dele *be as often returned him Answer by Signals.* p. 553. l. ult. *come,* r. *go.* p. 554. l. 23. *thirteen,* r. *three.* p. 561. l. 31. *But indeed,* r. *And indeed.* p. 564. l. 1. *who themselves,* r. *who devoted themselves.* ibid. l. 21. *and kill'd by the Numbers of the Enemy,* r. *by the Numbers of the Enemy and kill'd.* p. 566. l. 12. dele *the Descendants of it.* p. 569. l. 6. *Ports,* r. *Posts.* p. 572. l. 38. *prolong,* r. *binder.* p. 573. l. 18. *Neck,* r. *Nook.* p. 574. l. 44. dele *and.* p. 575. l. 3. dele *He.* p. 578. l. 18. *Revolutions,* r. *Evolutions.* p. 581. l. 38. *Northern,* r. *Southern.* p. 583. l. 21. *reciprocal Union,* r. *Union, and reciprocal and.* p. 587. l. ult. dele *only.* ibid. *but,* r. *and.* p. 588. l. 20. *Centuries,* r. *Century.* p. 589. l. 19. *War with,* r. *War jointly with.* ibid. l. 48. *Hannibal,* r. *Furius.* p. 591. l. 33. *gather'd,* r. *driven.* p. 604. l. 22. *hastily,* r. *hungry.* ibid. l. 23. *thought,* r. *made.* ibid. l. 31. *threw away,* r. *scatter'd about.* ibid. l. 53. *Ports,* r. *Posts.* p. 606. l. 10. *of the Ground,* r. *of the Place of Battle.* ibid. l. 34. *Port,* r. *Post.* p. 607. l. 27. *Melancholy,* r. *Vexation.* ibid. l. 28. *and to,* r. *as to.* p. 611. l. 19. *Eighty,* r. *Forty.* p. 622. l. 17. *Publicus,* r. *Publicans.* ibid. l. 27. *diminishing,* r. *impoverishing.*

The Reader is desired to correct one more Error. P. 172. last Line but two, *This Office* [the Censorship] *had hitherto* [i. e. to the Year 414.] *been confined to the most illustrious of the Nobility, no Plebeian having yet enjoy'd it,* r. *This Office had been in a manner wholly confined to the Nobility,* but one *Plebeian having yet enjoy'd it.* Both the Author and the Translator forgot that *C. Marcius Rutilus,* a *Plebeian,* had been raised to the *Censorship in the Year* 402.

In the Contents.

P. 11. l. 22. *disown,* r. *disarm.* p. 15. §. 18. l. 3. *require,* r. *acquire.* p. 17. §. 5. l. 13. *except,* r. *exempt.* p. 24. l. 8. *and adds,* r. *he adds.* ibid. l. last but one, *a thousand,* r. *an hundred.* p. 25. §. 6. l. 16. *Factious at first, one by one,* r. *Factious, at first one by one.* p. 31. l. 6. *Prisoners,* r. *Poisoners.* p. 36. l. 33. *and so cover'd,* r. *so cover'd.* p. 45. l. 5. *allotted,* r. *appointed.* p. 51. §. 30. last Line but one, *Decius,* r. *Venus.* p. 53. §. 6. l. 11. *Officer,* r. *Officers.* p. 53. last Line but two, *declare,* r. *declares.* p. 79. §. 27. l. 12. *Eighty,* r. *Forty.*

N. B. The Mistakes made in the first Volume, in the Reduction of Roman Money to English, are rectify'd in Page 583. N. 16. of this Volume.

The Reader is desired to correct the following Errors in the first Volume.

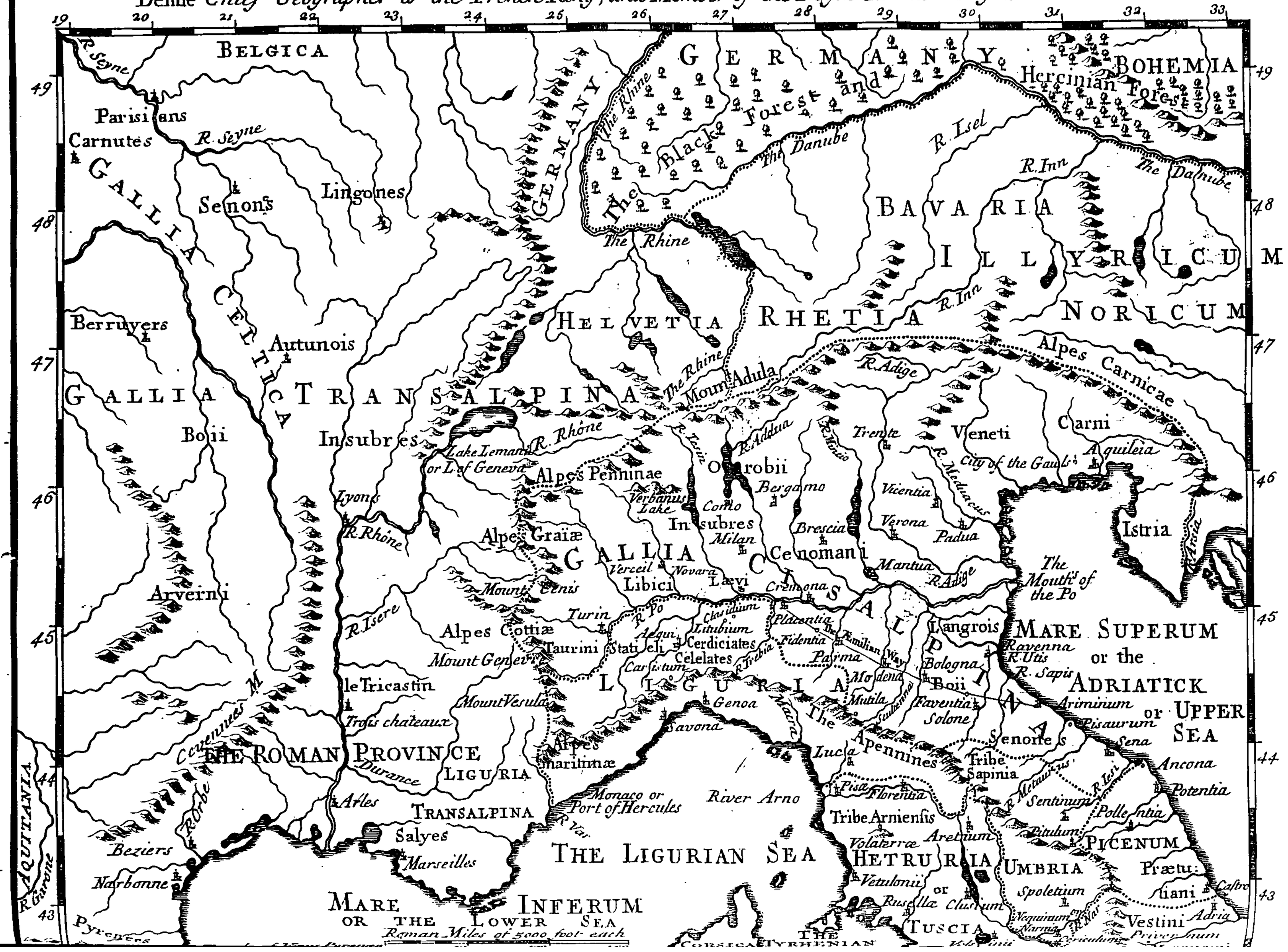
Translator's Preface, for *Cæs. de Bell. Gall. B.* 4. *c.* 26. r. *B.* 4. *c.* 36. History, p. 6. l. 39. *after the War,* r. *before the War.* Contents, B. 4. §. 20. l. 10. *Brother-in-law,* r. *Husband.*

The NAMES of the SUBSCRIBERS omitted in the last LIST.

Sir Robert Abdy *Bart.*
Sir Thomas Brand *Knight, Gentleman-Usher of the Green-Rod, and daily Waiter to his Majesty.*
Orlando Bridgman *Esq;*
Lancelot Burton, *Esq;*
The Hon. and Rev. Henry Dawney, *M. A.*
Richard Fleming *Esq;*
The Honourable Thomas Harvey, *Esq; first Equerry to her Majesty.*
Reverend John Hilldrop, *M. A. Schoolmaster of* Marlborough Wilts.
Edward Harrington *M. D.*
Reverend William Harrington, *M. A.*
Mr. James Horne, *Architect.*
Thomas Holmes *Esq;*
Reverend Mr. Hay.
Reverend Mr. Jackson. *Two Books.*
Reverend —— Medlicot, *M. A.*
Reverend Charles Maddox, *M. A.*
Dudley North *Esq;*
Reverend John Pelling *D. D.*
Reverend Edward Pordage, *M. A.*
Sir Simeon Stuart *Bart.*
Robert Sutton *Esq; one of her Majesty's Gentlemen-Ushers of the Privy-Chamber.*
Right Honourable General Wade.
James Worsley *Esq;*
The Rev. Mr. Thomas Yale Calverly.
The Rev. Richard Younger, *M. A.*

Errata. In the last List, read *Earl of* Scarborough *and* Burlace Webb, *Esq;*

A Map of Gallia Cisalpina, Liguria and the Neighbouring Countries. *By* G. Delisle *Chief Geographer to the French King, and Member of the Royal Academie of Sciences.*





THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XIII.

ITALY is divided from [1] *Gaul* by the [2] *Alpes*. But how impaſſable ſoever theſe Mountains ſeem to be, it is probable, that Travellers, in all times, found a Way from *Gaul* to *Italy*, and from *Italy* to *Gaul*, by long Windings through the Valleys [3]. The Difficulty was, how to lead Armies from one Country to the other, in order to attempt Conqueſts, and make Settlements there. If we give Credit to Fable, *Hercules* [4] was the firſt Man who forc'd ſuch a Paſſage from *Gaul* to *Italy*, which he did upon his Return from *Spain*, after he had ſubdued [5] *Geryon*.

Year of ROME CCCLXII.
L. LUCRETIUS, SERV. SULPICIUS, M. ÆMILIUS, L. FURIUS, AGR. FURIUS, and C. ÆMILIUS, Military Tribunes.

1 The *Romans* comprehended under the general Name of *Gaul*, the Countries on both Sides the *Alpes*. That next to *Rome* gave Name to that Part of *Italy*, which was formerly called *Gallia Italica*, from the time that the People of *Gallia Tranſalpina* brought it into Subjection to them.

2 *Feſtus* contends, that theſe Mountains which ſeparated *Gaul* from *Italy*, were called *Alpes*, *a candore nivium, quia perpetuis nivibus fere albeſcunt*; i. e. *becauſe they are almoſt always covered with Snow*. And in Proof of this Etymology he obſerves, that the *Sabines* call the *white* Colour *Alpum*, which the *Latins* pronounce *Album*: Whereas *Iſidorus*, *Orig. B.* 13. and *Servius*, ſay, that in the Language of the old *Gauls*, all high Mountains in general were called *Alpes*. And in this Senſe, ſeveral ancient Authors, and ſome old *Itineraries*, ſeem to confound the *Alpes* with the *Pyrenees*. But not to ſpend time in theſe trifling Etymologies, or the Dreams of Mythologiſts, who derive the Name of theſe Mountains from one *Albion* a Son of *Neptune*, who, they ſay, was killed by *Hercules*, whoſe Paſſage over the *Alpes* he diſputed; the main Point is, to underſtand well the Situation and Extent of theſe Mountains, in order thereby to underſtand thoſe Parts of Hiſtory, which we ſhall hereafter treat of. Now as to the Extent of them, *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Polybius*, and *Pliny*, differ in Opinion about it: and *Cluver*, in his *Italia Antiqua*, takes great Pains to reconcile the antient and modern Geographers in this Particular.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXII.

L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes.

Justin. 24. *D. Hal. B.* 1. *Diod. Sic. B.* 4.

But the *Latin* Historians, who borrow'd this idle Story of the *Greeks*, are not agreed among themselves, as to the Place where *Hercules* passed over these Mountains with his Troops. Some contend, that he crossed the *Maritime* [6] *Alpes*, near the Place now called [7] *Monaco*, and formerly, *The Port of Hercules*. Others assure us, that he passed the *Greek* [8] *Alpes*; that is, that he entered *Italy* by Mount *Joux*, which has since been called, *The Great Saint Bernard*. And these different Opinions being both founded on equal Authorities, they don't [9] make the Story of *Hercules*'s Passage at all the more credible.

Plin. B. 3. *c.* 17. *Corn. Nepos.* *Plut. Just. & Polyb.*

As to the *Gauls*, it is not to be doubted, but they passed these Barriers, which obstructed their Entrance into *Italy*, at several different times. But many Historians confound the different Transmigrations of the *Gauls* over the *Alpes*, and reduce five to one. Which Mistake has led them to give different Accounts both of the Names of the Commanders of the *Gauls* who settled in *Italy*, and of the Motives which drew them thither. And we must therefore, in the first Place, rectify this Confusion of Opinions, if we would be clear in our History.

GAUL [10] was anciently divided into three Parts. The first, which reached from the *British* Ocean to the *Seine*, was called (by the *Romans*) *Gallia*

Particular. But we shall not trouble ourselves to enter into unnecessary Debates, which the Reader may examine into, in their Books themselves; it is sufficient for us to observe, that the *Alpes* are a long Chain of Mountains which begin at the Mouth of the *Var*, which falls into the Sea of *Genoa*, and after several irregular Turnings of above 245 Leagues, or 800 Miles, end at the *Arsia*, or *Arsa*; a little River in *Istria*: So that the *Alpes* are a Sort of Barrier, which separates *Italy* from *Gaul*, *Germany*, and *Illyricum*.

3 It's probable, that those narrow Ways thro' the Streights or Defiles of these Mountains, which were almost utterly impassable for an Army, were not so for private Persons. The Pass of the *Tende*, which is between *Piedmont* and the *County of Nice*, and that of *Argentiere*, which divides that County from the *Marquisate of Saluzzo*, might perhaps be open enough, at that time, for People to go from *Gaul* into *Italy*.

4 The *Pagans* seem to have exhausted themselves in Fictions, to multiply their *Hercules's* and *Jupiters*. *Cicero* ingenuously confesses, he should have found it difficult to say which *Hercules* it was, of the many mentioned in Fable, which the *Romans* worshiped above the rest. *Quem potissimum Herculem colamus scire sane velim; plures enim tradunt nobis ii, qui interiores scrutantur & reconditas litteras. De Nat. Deor. B.* 3. The *Greeks*, the *Egyptians*, the *Indians*, the *Cretans*, and the *Gauls* too, had each their *Hercules*, whom they deified, in order thereby to immortalise the Exploits of these fabulous Divinities. And as to myself, I am tempted to be of Opinion, that *Hercules* was not so much a proper Name, as a Title of Honour, which the *Greeks* gave to all those who made themselves famous for great Actions. We know the *Greek* Word Ηρακλης signifies both *Hercules*, and *The Illustrious*. So that the *Hercules's* were the *Illustrious* Men of their Times, who signalized themselves by military Accomplishments. *Diodorus Siculus* reckons up three, *Cicero* six, and *Varro* no less than forty three.

5 Fable gives us, in the Person of *Geryon* King of *Spain*, the Picture of a Tyrant, who was so cruel as to deliver up all Strangers to be devoured by wild Bulls, which he fed with human Flesh. These Bulls were kept by a Dog which had two Heads, and a Dragon which had seven. And *Geryon*, who, according to the Poets, had three Bodies, had one *Eurytion* in his Service, who was the Instrument of his Cruelties. *Hercules* delivered *Spain* from these Monsters, and this Expedition was reckoned as one of his twelve Labours. They, who don't understand the Allegories which are concealed under this Fiction, may consult *Noel le Compté*'s *Mythology*, *Lilius Geraldus*'s Treatise of the *Pagan* Divinities, and *Gerard Vossius de Idololatria*.

6 The *Maritime Alpes*, were so called from their Situation. They begin at the Side of the Sea of *Liguria*, or the Mouth of the *Var*, and, after making several Elbows, end at Mount *Vesulus*, now called *Viso*, or *Veso*, in *Piedmont*. This is the most Southern Part of the *Alpes*.

7 *Monaco* was called the *Port of Hercules*, either because a Temple was here erected to him, in Memory of his Passage over the *Alpes*; or on account of the Victory he gained over the Inhabitants of this District. *Petronius*, who confounds the *Greek Alpes* with the *Maritime Alpes*, speaks of the City of *Monaco* thus,

> *Alpibus Aeriis ubi Graio nomine vulsæ*
> *Ascendunt rupes, nec se patiuntur adiri,*
> *Est locus Herculeis aris sacer.*

Virgil, Æneid 6. calls it *Arx Monæci*.

8 Some old Authors suppose, That *Hercules* passed these Mountains at the Head of an Army of *Greeks*; That he distributed the neighbouring Country among a Part of his Followers, who settled here in a Colony; and That they were from thence called *Alpes Græcæ*, or *The Greek Alpes*. They reach from *Mount Cenis*, beyond *The Little St. Bernard*, that is, to near *Mount Joux*, formerly called *Mons Jovis*, or *The Mount of Jupiter*, on account of its excessive Height. This Mount now goes by the Name of *The Great St. Bernard*.

9 *Livy* himself ranks this Expedition of *Hercules* among Fables. *Quas (Alpes) haud equidem miror nulla dum via, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas.*

10 *Julius Cæsar*, in his *Commentaries*, *B.* 1. says that *Transalpine Gaul* was divided into three Parts, before his time; namely, into *Gallia Belgica*, *Gallia Aquitanica*, and *Gallia Celtica*. *Gallia est omnis divisa in tres partes; quarum unam incolebant Belgæ, aliam Aquitani, tertiam, qui ipsorum linguâ Celtæ, nostrâ Galli appellantur.* *Casaubon* is of Opinion, that this Division of the *Gauls* into three Provinces, was made by the *Greeks*, who first maintained a Commerce with the *Gauls*, and planted Colonies on the Coasts of *Provence*, from whence they might easily be informed of the different Climates and Inhabitants of *Transalpine Gaul*. Besides, all Authors, antient and modern, agree, with very little difference, that *Gaul* antiently contained all that vast Tract of Ground, which is bounded to the East by the *Rhine*, the *Alpes*, and the River *Var*; to the South, by the *Mediterranean Sea* and the *Pyrenees*;

Year of *ROME* CCCLXII.

L. Lucretius, *&c.* Military Tribunes.

lia 11 *Belgica.* The ſecond, which comprehended all the Country between the *Seine* and the *Garonne*, quite to the *Alps*, was called *Gallia* 12 *Celtica.* And laſtly, the third, which contained all the Ground between the *Garonne*, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Ocean*, was called *Gallia* 13 *Aquitanica.* But of all the different Nations which



Silver.

to the Weſt, by the Ocean; and to the North, by the Channel which ſeparates it from *England*. *Ptolomy* reckons the Longitude of it from *Conquet-point*, or *Cape St. Matré*, which he calls *Gobæum Promontorium*, to *Mount Adula*, now *Mount St. Godard*, a Part of the *Alpes* in *Swiſſerland:* that is, from 15 Degrees to 29 Degrees, 30 Minutes. *Strabo* reckons the Longitude of *Gaul* from the Temple of *Venus Pyrenæa*, to the Mouth of the *Var*; which, according to him, contains the ſpace of 2600 *Stadia*, i. e. near 112 common *French* Leagues, from Weſt to Eaſt. The antient Geographers reckoned the Latitude of it, from the Temple of *Venus Pyrenæa*, to the moſt Northern Part of the *Rhine*. Some *Greeks* give theſe large Provinces the Name of *Galatia*, and call the Inhabitants of them *Galates*.

11 *Gallia Belgica*, according to the common Opinion, contained all the Country between the *Ocean*, the *Rhine*, the *Seine*, and the *Marne*; ſo that it was bounded to the North by the *Britiſh Channel*; to the Weſt, by the Rivers *Seine* and *Marne*; to the Eaſt, by the *Rhine*; and to the South, by the Countries of the *Switzers* and *Burgundians*. But theſe Boundaries afterwards varied, according to the arbitrary Diviſions made of *Gaul*, by the *Roman* Emperors, after *Julius Cæſar*. Hence the Differences of the antient Geographers, about the Limits of each of the three Parts of *Tranſalpine Gaul*. *Ptolomy* and *Oroſius* make the *Britiſh Ocean*, the *Rhine*, Mount *Adula*, Mount *Jura*, the *Alpes Penninæ*, and the *Rhone*, the Boundaries of *Gallia Belgica*. *Mela* places the Country of the *Belgæ*, between the *Seine* and the *Rhine*. *Pliny* makes the *Seine* and the *Skelde* its Boundaries; becauſe the Provinces between the latter and the *Rhine* were inhabited by ſome Nations of *Germany:* which gave occaſion to *Auguſtus*'s new Diviſion of *Germany*, into *The Upper*, and *The Lower*. *Strabo* places *Gallia Belgica* between the *Rhine* on one Side, and the Mouth of the *Loire* on the other. He likewiſe places in it the Country of the *Veneti*, or the Territory of *Vannes*, and that of the *Ociſmii*, *i. e.* the Cities of *St. Pol*, *Leon*, *Trequier*, and *St. Brieu*. But in this he is contradicted by the other Geographers, who ſay theſe People were Inhabitants of *Gallia Celtica*. *Junius* ſpent a great deal of pains to little purpoſe in ſearching for the Origin of the Word *Belgium*. *Iſidorus* and *Heſychius* derive the Name of *Belgica*, which they give this Part of *Gaul*, from the City of *Belge*, whoſe Situation is diſputed by modern Authors. *Ortelius* pretends, that this Country was called *Belgica*, from one *Belgius*, a Captain of the *Gauls*, who went into *Illyricum* and *Macedonia*, and forced the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries to purchaſe a Peace on very hard Terms; after which he conquered *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, took him Priſoner, and beheaded him. *Juſtin*, *Polybius*, and *Pauſanias*, mention this *Belgius*.

12 Before *Gallia Celtica* was diſmembered by the *Roman* Emperors, it comprehended all the Countries between the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Garonne*, on one Side; and the *Rhine*, the *Rhone*, Mount *Voge*, and *The Lake of Geneva*, on the other. The other Southern Provinces, from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alpes*, made indeed a fourth Part of *Gaul*, in *Julius Cæſar*'s Time, which was called *Gallia Narbonenſis*. It was bounded by the *Alpes*, the *Pyrenees*, the *Rhone*, the *Cevennes*, and the *Mediterranean Sea:* but this Country may be juſtly ſaid to have been a Part of *Gallia Celtica* before that time, it not having been ſeparated from the reſt of *Gaul*, till after it had been ſubdued by the *Romans*, who made it a diſtinct Province. So that we are not to wonder, that *Julius Cæſar*, in his Account of the Diviſion of *Gaul*, does not reckon *Gallia Narbonenſis* to be Part of it, becauſe it was then become a *Roman* Province. *Polybius* was ſo well ſatisfy'd that this Part of *Gaul*, which adjoins to *Narbonne* and the *Pyrenees*, was formerly a Part of *Celtica*, that he ſeems to confine the *Celtæ* to this Country. But in this he is miſtaken. The Names of *Celtæ* and *Celtica* were ſo extenſive, that the *Greeks* gave them to the whole Nation of the *Gauls* in general. *Ptolomy*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, and *Herodian*, make uſe of the Names Κελτῶν, Κελτικὴν, and Κελτογαλατίαν, indifferently, to ſignify all the *Gauls* in general, without mentioning the Diſtinction of *Belgæ* and *Aquitani*. Theſe Names were even given to the People who lived beyond the *Rhine:* probably, becauſe ſeveral Colonies of *Gauls* had ſettled there. And *Cluver* adds, *Germ. Antiq. B.* 1. that the Name and Language of the antient *Celtæ*, were common to *Spain*, *England*, and *Illyricum*. The Etymologiſts derive the Word *Celtæ* from the *Greek* κελῆται, which ſignifies *Horſemen*, to ſignify the Dexterity of the *Celtæ* in managing an Horſe.

13 *Aquitania* was, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 4. *ch.* 17. anciently called *Armorica*, from the old *Gallic* Word *Armor*, which ſignified the Sea; becauſe it was a maritime Country, bounded to the Weſt by the *Ocean*, and to the South by the *Mediterranean* Sea. Thus *Strabo* ſays, that the People of this Province dwelt along the Sea-ſhores. The *Romans* may poſſibly have called it *Aquitania*, either from the Name of the City of *Aqs*, *ab Aquis Tarbellicis*, the Inhabitants of which *Pliny* calls *Aquitanos*; or on account of its medicinal Waters, ſuch as the Waters of *Bagnéres*; or on account of the Number of Rivers and Springs in it. *Cæſar* compares this Part of *Gaul* to both the others, as well for Number of Inhabitants, as Extent: but it is probable, *Cæſar* was deceived by the Accounts given him of this Country, by *Publius Craſſus*, who had ſubdued it, and whoſe Intereſt it was to exaggerate, to make his Conqueſt appear the greater. However, from the *Garonne*, or from *Bourdeaux*, to the Extremity of the *Pyrenees*, is reckoned to be but 34 Leagues. *Auguſtus Cæſar* thought it neceſſary to enlarge *Aquitania*, by fixing its Limits as far back as the *Loire*. One of *Galbus*'s Medals has the Figures of *The Three Galliæ*, which declared for him, when he was raiſed to the Empire, after the Death of *Nero*.

were

Year of ROME CCCLXII.

L. Lucretius, & Military Tribunes.

were comprehended under the general Name of *Gauls*, the *Celtæ* were the only People who undertook to climb over the *Alps*, in Search of new Habitations in *Italy*. Their own Country was indeed fruitful and well cultivated, but its Inhabitants were grown so very numerous, that the Fruits of the Earth were scarce sufficient to support them. And as [14] *Berry* was in the Center of the *Celtic* Nation, the King [15] of the *Celtæ* was of that Province, and made it his Place of Residence. His Name was *Ambigatus*. The chief Care of this King, who was already grown old, was to disburthen his Dominions of a Crowd of Inhabitants whom he found it difficult to keep in Order, and who were often at Variance with one another.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

Ambigatus had two Nephews, his Sister's Sons, who seem to have had some Authority over the Country which is watered by the *Allier*, and in all the Country of the [16] *Boii*; that is, most probably, in the present *Bourbonnois*, and in Part of the present *Nivernois*, *Auvergne*, and *Burgundy*. These two Lords were then in the Flower of their Age, and fit to carry on any dangerous Enterprize. The Name of the one was *Bellovesus*, and that of the other *Segovesus*. To them therefore the King discloſed his Design, and exhorted them to assemble as many People together as they could, from all Parts of *Gallia Celtica*, to form them into great Armies, and to go and seek their Fortunes with them in other Countries. Accordingly, the two Princes obeyed the Orders of the King their Uncle; and upon drawing Lots to know into what Provinces each should go, to establish his Colony, *Germany* fell to *Segovesus*, *Italy* to *Bellovesus*. The two Commanders therefore parted, each at the Head of all the *Celtæ* he could get together, Men, Women, and Children. *Segovesus* took his Way towards the *Hercinian* [17] *Forest*, of which what is now called *The Black Forest*, was then but a very small Part. That Forest reached from the *Rhine* far beyond the Country we now call *Bohemia*. It was sixty Days Journey long, and nine broad. *Segovesus* had more of the *Boii* attending him, than of any other *Celtic* Nation; and therefore when he had passed over a large Tract of Ground in the *Hercinian Forest*, and settled in a Canton of *Germany*, he gave it a Name derived from that of his *Boii*; and it has ever since been called Bohemia, *quasi* Boïemia. But after this, these *Celtæ* were driven from their first Habitations by the [18] *Marcomani*; that is, the *Sclavonians* fell down between the [19] *Inn*, and the [20] *Iser*, and gave their Name to the Country of the *Boiarians*, or *Bavarians*, in which they settled.

Mela, and *Cæsar*.

As for *Bellovesus*, as a more delightful Country had fallen to him than to his Brother, he was followed by *Gauls*, of almost all the *Celtic* Nations. Besides a great Number of the *Boii*, who attended him likewise, there were in his Troops some of the *Veneti*, or People of *Lower Bretagne*, in the Neighbourhood of *Vannes*; some of the *Cænomani*, that is, of the People who spread themselves from the *Seine* to the *Loire*, in the Provinces now called *Normandy*, *Perche*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*; some of the People of *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Saintonge*, *Autun*, *Chalons*,

Strabo, & *Polyb. B. 2.*

14 *Livy* says, *B. 5.* that even in the Time of *Tarquin the Elder*, the People of *Berry* held the first Rank among the *Celtæ*; and that it was their Prerogative at that time, to have the Kings of *Gallia Celtica* chosen out of them.

15 If the Government of the *Gauls* was then such, as it was afterwards, in *Julius Cæsar*'s time, it is to be presumed, that this *Ambigatus* was rather an Head, chosen by the whole Body of the People, than properly a King.

16 The *Boii* antiently inhabited the Country which borders upon *Burgundy*, *Nivernois*, *Auvergne*, and *Berry*; which Province is now called the *Bourbonnois*: And some include in it even a Part of *Auvergne*, *Berry*, and *Nivernois*. We must take care not to confound the *Boii*, we are here speaking of, with the People of the same Name, who inhabited the Country of *Buck*, in *Aquitania*, near the Ocean.

17 *Julius Cæsar* speaks of this Forest, *B. 6. ch. 25.* of his Commentaries, thus: *It is nine Days Journey over: we cannot otherwise describe it, because the* Germans *have no fixed Measures of Distances. It begins on the Confines of* Alsace *and* Switserland, *and reaches all along the* Danube *to* Transilvania; *where it winds about to the left, and parting from the River, passes through Multitudes of different Nations. None could ever yet come to the end of it, tho' there are some who have gone sixty Days Journey in it.* *Mela* gives this Forest an immense Length, extending it from the *Rhine*, to the Country of the antient *Sarmates*, which is at present a considerable Part of *Muscovy*. In process of time, the *Hercinian Forest* was grubbed up, and inhabited by different Nations. The *Black Forest*, and the *Forest of Bohemia*, were formerly both Parts of the *Hernician*.

18 The *Marcomani* dwelt originally on the Coasts of the *Baltick*.

19 The *Inn* has two Heads in one of the *Alpes*, called *Bernina*, in the *Grison*'s Country, near the Frontiers of the *Valteline*. From thence it runs into the *County of Tirol*, passes on to *Inspruck*, *Hall*, *Kustain*, and then enters *Bavaria*, where it falls into the *Danube*, at *Passau*.

20 The *Iser* runs about thirty Leagues: It rises on the Frontiers of *Tirol*, near *Inspruck*; from thence it rolls on to *Munich*, and after being enlarged by several other Rivers falling into it, loses itself in the *Danube*.

and ſome of the *Carnutes*, that is, ſome of the Inhabitants of *Beauce* and *Orleanois*; and laſtly, ſome of the [21] *Inſubres*, who I believe inhabited the two *Burgundies*. With this prodigious Multitude of whole Families, gathered together out of the upper *Celtica*, did *Belloveſus* begin his March, in order to go, and ſettle in *Italy*. He firſt took his way towards the *Rhone*, paſſed it, and extended his numberleſs Army from the [22] *Tricaſtin* and *Lower Dauphiny*, quite to that great Tract of Ground, which has ſince been called *Provence*. The *Cænomani* penetrated ſo far, and there ſtayed: Whilſt *Belloveſus* was in the mean time ſearching for a Paſs, whereby he might get into *Italy* over the *Alpes*; but the Height of theſe Mountains terrified his Troops; And Religion increaſed their Fright. They thought it not lawful to break through the Barriers; which Nature had raiſed between them and their Neighbours. But whilſt they were deliberating and delaying, an unexpected Event brought them to a Determination. There was lately arrived a Colony of *Greeks* from *Phocis* [23] in *Aſia*, which had landed at the Place where *Marſeilles* now ſtands. Theſe New-comers made all poſſible haſte to lay the Foundations of a City, in order to make a Settlement there. But the original Natives of *Provence*, then called *Salyes* [24], oppoſed the Settlement of the *Greeks*, and drove them back to Sea, from that almoſt deſerted Shore. The *Cænomani*, who were themſelves Strangers in *Provence*, were affected with the Misfortunes of theſe *Greeks*. As they themſelves were going out of *Gaul*, in ſearch of new Habitations, the Similitude of their Adventures made them favour the *Phocæi*. All this Part of the Sea there was then covered with Foreſts. The *Cænomani* therefore cut down Wood, carried it to the *Phocæi*, and aſſiſted them in making Intrenchments, and ſettling in the extreme Parts of *Gallia Celtica*. And the Example of the *Aſiatick Greeks*, who came ſo far, and had gone through ſo many Dangers in ſearch of an Habitation, encouraged the *Celtæ* to paſs thoſe Mountains, which alone obſtructed their Entrance into a Country which was ſo near them. So that *Belloveſus*, with a Part only of his Followers, attempted to make himſelf a Paſſage between the Mountains [25] *Genevre* and [26] *Cenis*, and accordingly entred *Italy* that Way. But he ſeems firſt to have increaſed the Number of his Followers with ſome Detachments of thoſe *Celtic* Na-

Year of ROME CCCLXII.

L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes. *Livy*, B. 5. ch. 34. *Pliny*, B. 3. ch. 17.

Herod. Juſtin. Livy.

Livy, B. 5. ch. 34.

21 We have not any Traces left of the original Situation of the *Inſubres* in *Gallia Tranſalpina*. *Livy*, B. 5. ch. 34. gives us room to preſume, that theſe People formerly inhabited *Burgundy*. He ſpeaks of them thus: *A Part of the* Gauls, *who followed* Belloveſus, *defeated the* Hetrurians, *near the* Teſin: *And when they knew the Country they were in was called* Inſubria, *which was the Name likewiſe given to a Canton of the* Autunois, *they thought this a favourable Omen, and this induced them to build a City in this new Country*. The *Latin* Words are theſe: *Fuſiſque acie Tuſcis, haud procul Ticino flumine, quum, in quo conſederant, agrum Inſubrium appellari audiiſſent, cognomine Inſubribus pago Heduorum: ibi omen ſequentes loci, condidere urbem*. So that this Canton of the *Autunois*, which makes a Part of *Burgundy*, ſeems to have been the ancient Habitation of the *Inſubres*. Otherwiſe they had no reaſon to be pleaſed with the Agreement of the two Names; which without it would have as nearly concerned any of the other People, who ſhared their Victories, as them. Some have alſo thought, with pretty good reaſon, and upon the Credit of ancient Authors, and among the reſt *Livy*, that the People of *Inſubria* were a Collection of ſeveral different Nations of *Gaul*, who conquered this Part of *Italy*, under the Command of *Belloveſus*. Of this Number were the *Bituriges*, *Senones*, *Carnutes*, *Cænomani*, and *Ædui*, or *Autunois*.

22 The *Tricaſtin*, which is a Part of *Dauphiné*, lies on the left Side of the *Rhone*. Its capital City is *Saint Pol Trois-chateaux*, anciently called *Auguſta Tricaſtinorum*.

23 We muſt not confound *Phocis*, a Province of *Achaia*, with the City of the *Phocæi*, we are here ſpeaking of, who were a Colony of *Athenians* ſettled in *Aſia Minor*. Theſe People being beſieged by *Harpagus*, Lieutenant to *Cyrus* King of *Perſia*, embarked with all their Effects, and left the City to the Mercy of the Enemy, after having taken Oaths, attended with the moſt horrible Imprecations, never to return into their own Country again: Which gave riſe to an old Proverb, φωκαϊκὸν ἀρὰ, to ſignify an execrable Oath. They landed on the Iſle of *Corſica*, and from thence continued their Voyage to the Coaſts of *Provence*, about the 60th *Olympiad*: and there they founded the City of *Marſeilles*.

24 The *Salyes*, or *Salyans*, formerly poſſeſſed a Part of *Gallia Narbonenſis*. They dwelt on the Sea-Coaſts of *Provence*. *Ptolomy* places them in the Diſtrict, in which the Cities of *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Taraſcon* now are. According to *Strabo*, all the Ground between the *Mediterranean*, and the *Durance*, was theirs. And he adds, that they inhabited that Part of the *Alpes* which is next the Sea. But it is evident, that *Strabo* confounded the Mountains in the Neighbourhood of *Marſeilles*, with the *Alpes* properly ſo called. And *Florus* and *Polybius* are fallen into the ſame Miſtake. *Pliny* tells us, that the *Salyes* were the moſt conſiderable Nation of *Liguria Tranſalpina*; which is the Name the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* gave to all the Country which lies between the *Var* and the *Rhone*. For this reaſon the People of *Marſeilles* are very early called λίγυες, and their Country κελτολίγυη, or *Gallo-Ligurum regionem*.

25 Mount *Genevre*, formerly called *Matrona*, is one of the *Alpes* in *Dauphiné*, a League from *Briançon*, in the Road to *Suſa* and *Pignerol*. It is the moſt frequented Paſſage from *France* to *Italy*.

26 Mount *Cenis*, is one of the *Alpes*, which is very high and ſteep, at the Foot of *The Valley of Maurienne*, and on the Frontiers of *Piedmont*. It is as it were divided into two Parts, one of which is called *Great Mount Cenis*, which lies Northward, and the other, which lies Southward, is called *Little Mount Cenis*.

Year of ROME CCCLXII.

L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes.

tions, among whom he had ſojourned. Some of the *Salyes*, or Natives of *Provence*, followed him; as did ſome Families of the Nations which dwelt at the foot of the *Alpes*, on the Side of *Gaul*. Theſe Mountaineers were called [27] *Taurini*, from the *Celtic* Word *Taur*, which ſignifies a Mountain.

At the time that *Bellovesus* entered *Italy*, the *Hetrurians*, whom the *Greeks* called *Tyrrhenians*, poſſeſſed the beſt Part of it. They had formerly ſpread themſelves from the *Alpes* to the two Shores of the *Adriatic* and *Tyrrhenian* Seas; to the latter of which they gave their own Name. And they then poſſeſſed all the Coaſt of the *Adriatic* Sea, quite to the [28] *Apennines*. Some of the *Aborigines* mixed with the *Greeks*, had made a Deſcent into the middle of *Italy*, and poſſeſſed all the Ground, from the *Apennines* [29] to the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. *Rome* was, at it were, but juſt in being, at that time. *Tarquin the Elder* was then King; and was not, at moſt, paſt the middle of his Reign. So that the *Romans* were not at all affected by this firſt Inundation of the *Gauls*, who came and poſſeſſed themſelves of one of the fineſt Parts of *Italy*. And the *Celtæ* ſeem to have continually driven the *Hetrurians* before them, after they had defeated them in one Battel, on the Banks of the [30] *Teſin*; and to have ſhut them up within a narrower and narrower Compaſs, in proportion as they got Poſſeſſion of their Lands.

Justin. B. 12. Dion. Hal. B. 1.

Livy, B. 5. ch. 34.

But the different Nations of the *Celtæ* were not all blended together in one Body, when they made this Conqueſt; and each Nation had its diſtinct Portion, in the Country they conquered. The Inhabitants of the Mountains on the Side of *Gaul*, called *Taurini*, and who, I believe, were the preſent *Savoyards*, had what we now call *Piedmont* for their Share, the Capital of which is *Turin*. The Inhabitants of *Provence*, or the *Salyes*, had [31] *Liguria*; and for this Reaſon ſome ancient Writers give the *Salyes* the Name of *Ligures*. The [32] *Libici*, another People of *Provence*, were placed in the Country where *Verceil* now is. The *Inſubres* on the North Side of the *Po*, that is, the *Burgundians*, ſettled in the fine Country of the *Milaneſe*; and theſe built a Town, which they called [33] *Mediolanum*, from the Name of a little City in the Territory of *Antium*. This afterwards became the great City of *Milan*. Some of the Inhabitants of modern *Languedoc*, who came from the Banks of the River *Orbe* [34], and were called [35] *Orobii*, poſſeſſed *Bergamo*,

Polyb. B. 2. and 3.

Strabo, B. 4. Flor. B. 2. Plin. B. 3. ch. 1.

Livy, B. 4. Plin. B. 3. ch. 17.

27 The *Taurini* were originally *Celtæ*, and dwelt at the Foot of the *Alpes Cottiæ*. *Ptolomy* and *Arrian* place them beyond the Frontiers of *Liguria Italica*, or *Ciſalpina*. They afterwards ſettled in *Piedmont*, and gave their own Name to the City of *Turin*.

28 The *Apennines* are a long Chain of Mountains, which divide *Italy* into almoſt two equal Parts, from the *Maritime Alpes*, where they take their Riſe, near *Savonne*, quite to the Streights which ſeparate *Sicily* from *Italy*.

29 That is, all *Liguria*, and the greateſt Part of old *Hetruria*, which lay between the *Apennines* and the *Tuſcan* Sea.

30 The *Teſin* riſes by Mount *Adula*, or Mount *St. Godard* in *Swiſſerland*. It runs through Part of old *Inſubria*, or the *Milaneſe*, and after mixing with the Lake *Major*, formerly called *Verbanus Lacus*, runs by the Walls of *Milan* and *Pavia*, and then falls into the *Po*: And the *Teſin*, according to *Ferrarius*, preſerves its Waters clean and clear, for above four Miles together, after it has entered the muddy Streams of that River.

31 *Liguria* was anciently one of the moſt conſiderable Provinces of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, in *Italy*. It was formerly divided into two Parts, one of which was called *Maritime Liguria*, and the other *Mountainous Liguria*. The former, excluſive of *Liguria Tranſalpina*, of which we have ſpoken already, did not reach farther than the Coaſt of *Genoa*, between the *Apennines* and the *Liguſtic* Sea, from the River *Var*, to *la Macra*. The latter comprehended all the People which were diſperſed in different Cantons, quite to the Rivers *Arne* and *Po*. *Cluver* has given us a very minute Deſcription of all the different Nations which formerly lived in *Liguria*, in his *Italia Antiqua*, B. 1.

32 The *Libici*, or *Lebeci*, were, according to *Polybius*, Natives of the Country of the *Salyes*: Which proves that they inhabited a Part of *Provence*, or *Liguria Tranſalpina*; and thence *Pliny*, B. 3. and *Livy*, B. 5. ſpeaking of the *Libici*, ſay, that theſe People were deſcended from the *Salyes*. And for this reaſon the ancient Writers call the former ſometimes *Gauls*, and ſometimes *Ligures*.

33 *Ptolomy* tells us, that there were three Cities in *Gallia Tranſalpina*, which all bore the ſame Name as the City of *Milan*, formerly called *Mediolanum*. *Strabo* calls it Μεδιολάνιον. Theſe two Geographers, and *Antoninus*'s *Itinerary*, mention the Cities of *Meun* in *Berry*, *Evreux* in *Normandy*, and *Saintes* in *Aquitania*, under the Names of *Mediolanum Biturigum*, *Mediolanum Aulercorum Eburovicum*, *Mediolanum Santonum*.

34 The *Orbe* riſes in the *Cevennes*, on the Confines of *Rouergue*, three Leagues from *Lodeve*. It diſcharges itſelf into the *Mediterranean*, two Leagues below *Beziers*. It is called Ὄβρις by *Strabo*, Ὄβις by *Ptolomy*, and *Obris* by *Pomponius Mela*. We muſt not confound it with the *Orbe*, a little River in *Swiſſerland*, which the *Latins* diſtinguiſhed from the former, by calling it *Orba*.

35 The *Orobii* were originally *Gauls*. *Juſtin* ſays That ſeveral Nations of *Gaul*, being tired out with the Civil Wars, which laid their Country deſolate reſolved to go and ſeek new Habitations, in the Reign of *Tarquin the Firſt*; That they went into *Italy*; That they drove the *Hetrurians* away, and built the Cities of *Milan*, *Como*, *Breſſe* or *Breſcia*, *Verona*, *Bergamo*, *Trent*, and *Vicenza*. And the Authority of *Juſtin*, who is not contradicted by any Author, has convinced us, that the *Orobii* who founded *Bergamo*, were originally of *Gallia Tranſalpina*. The Difficulty is, to know exactly where they ſi-

Year of ROME CCCLXII.

gamo 36, ſtill continuing to be called *Orobii*, and built *Como*. Farther than this, *Belloveſus* does not appear to have carried his Conqueſts. Nor did he then carry with him into *Italy* all the *Celtic* Nations which had engaged to follow him: A great part of them ſtayed on this Side the *Alps*, probably waiting to hear of the Succeſs of his Expedition in *Italy*, before they would venture farther.

L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes. *Juſtin. B.* 20.

So that the ſecond Irruption into *Italy* was made by the 37 *Cænomani*, that is, thoſe People of *Celtica* who extended themſelves from the Mouth of the *Seine* to that of the *Loire*. They had choſen themſelves a new Commander, called *Elitoüis*: which being a common Name among the *Gauls*, ſome have conjectured, that the Name of *Loüis* was originally derived from it. It is probable that the other People who went with *Elitoüis*, were the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, and the *Carnutes*. *Belloveſus*, who was already ſettled with his Followers, aſſiſted the *Cænomani*, the *Bretons*, and the *Cærnutes*, in purſuing the Paths which he had marked out for them. So that they alſo entered *Italy* by Mount *Cenis*. The great Inducement which prevailed upon them to climb over the *Alpes*, is ſaid to have been the 38 Wine, which in all probability *Belloveſus* ſent them. The Uſe of Wine was yet ſcarcely known among the *Gauls*; even in the time of *Julian the Apoſtate*, there was none made in *France*, at leaſt not in the 39 Neighbourhood of *Paris*. As ſoon as the *Celtæ* had taſted it, they were in haſte to go into the Country which produced ſo delicious a Liquor. And when they were come into *Italy*, the *Cænomani* ſettled South-Eaſt of the *Inſubres*, and poſſeſſed the preſent *Breſcia*, *Cremoneſe*, and *Mantua*, which lie on this Side the *Po*. The *Veneti*, that is, the *Bretons* of *Vannes*, ſettled yet more Eaſtward, on the Borders of the *Adriatic* Gulph, and poſſeſſed the Country of the *Venetians*, which continues to bear their Name to this very Day. This Opinion, which is built upon the Authority of the two moſt learned Writers of Antiquity, is to be preferred before the Fable, that the 40 *Venetians* were a Colony of the *Paphla-*

Livy, B. 5. *ch.* 35.

Plut. *Life of* Camil.

Julian. Epig.

Strabo, B. 4. and 5. *Polyb. B.* 2. and *Scylax* in Περίπλω.

ſame Name, leads us to conjecture, that they were all one Society or Body, of which the *Cænomani* were the moſt conſiderable Part.

lived. And this Nation ſeems to us, to have dwelt on the Banks of the *Orbe*, or *Orobis*, Ὄροβις, from which they took their Name. *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *ch.* 17. quotes *Cato* and *Cornelius Alexander*, in relation to the *Orobii*. The former confeſſes himſelf ignorant of their Origin. The latter is of opinion, that theſe People came into *Italy* from *Greece*. His Reaſon for it, is the Agreement of the Word *Orobes* with the two *Greek* Words Ὄρος and Βίος. This Etymology, adds he, is likewiſe agreeable to the Situation of theſe People, who inhabited the Mountains in the Neighbourhood of *Bergamo*. But we don't think fit on ſo trifling a Foundation, to reject *Juſtin*'s Teſtimony, who makes the *Orobii* to have come from *Gallia Tranſalpina*.

36 *Pliny*, *B.* 3. makes uſe of *Cato*'s Authority, to prove that the *Orobii* ſettled in *Bergamo*. He places the City of *Como* in their Diſtrict, and ſays theſe People were the firſt Founders of it. *Orobiorum ſtirpis eſſe Comum, atque Bergamum, & Licini Forum, & aliquot circa populos, auctor eſt Cato.* *Ptolomy* is therefore miſtaken, when he places the City of *Bergamo* in the Country of the *Cænomani*, and that of *Como*, in *Inſubria*. *Pliny*, *B.* 10. *ch.* 28. manifeſtly makes a difference between the Territory of *Como*, and that of the *Inſubres*. And *Livy* plainly makes them two different People, when he ſays, *B.* 33. that *Marcellus* triumphed over the *Inſubres*, and the People of *Como*: *Triumphavit in magiſtratu de Inſubribus Comenſibuſque.*

37 *Livy*, *B.* 7. and *Julius Cæſar*, *B.* 5. *Comment.* call the *Cænomani*, *Aulercos*: And the latter gives the ſame Name to the People who dwelt in the Territory of *Evreux*; and to another Nation, which *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* place in *Bretagne*, the former between *Rennes* and the Country of the *Curioſolites*, or the *Quimpercorentin*, the latter on the Side of *Vannes*, and a little more Weſtward. Theſe Authors give theſe two laſt mentioned People the Names of *Aulerci Eburovices*, and *Aulerci Diablintes*. This Agreement therefore of three Nations, who reached from the *Seine* to the Mouth of the *Loire*, all in the

38 *Pliny*, *B.* 12. *ch.* 1. gives us a different Account of this Matter. *An Artificer*, ſays he, *named* Elicon, *of* Swiſſerland, *went to* Rome, *where he continued ſome time, following the Buſineſs of his Profeſſion. And when he returned home, he made his Countrymen taſte ſome dry Figs, Raiſins, Oil, and Wine, which he had brought out of* Italy. *Which was enough to make the* Gauls *reſolve to ſettle in ſo happy a Climate, and to paſs thoſe almoſt inſurmountable Barriers the* Alpes, *which ſeemed to block up the Way to it.*

39 The Emperor *Julian* ſays, in his Work, entitled Μισοπώγων, that there were Vines in the Territory of *Paris*, which bore excellent Grapes; καὶ φύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄμπελος ἀγαθὴ. But it is manifeſt, that he there only ſpeaks of ſome Arbors, or little Plats of Vines, which ſome particular Perſons took pleaſure in cultivating, as is done in *Normandy* to this day. So that we cannot infer from thence, that the Neighbourhood of *Paris* then abounded with Vineyards, and that Wine was common there. On the contrary, *Julian the Apoſtate* declares expreſly in an Epigram, which we have left of his, that *Gaul* produced no Wine, and that the Natives were forced to drink Beer, which was the common Drink of all the People of the Country. He obſerves on this Occaſion, that *Bacchus* was no longer worſhipped at *Paris*, and that this Son of *Jupiter* was turned into a Son of *Ceres*. Not but that ſome of the Southern Parts of *Gaul* produced excellent Wine, even then. *Martial* mentions the Wine of *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, in one of his Epigrams, *B.* 13.

Hæc de vitifera veniſſe picata Vienna
Ne dubites; miſit Romulus ipſe mihi.

But *Julian* chiefly ſpeaks of that Canton of *Gaul*, in which he generally reſided. It is well known, *Paris* was the Place of his Reſidence, a pretty while.

40 Ancient Authors differ in Opinion about the Origin

Year of ROME CCCLXII.
L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes.

Paphlagonians, whom *Antenor* brought thither, after the taking of *Troy*. *The* Veneti, *says* Polybius, *were indeed like the other* Gauls, *in Manners, Customs and Dress; and differed from them in nothing but their speaking a different Language.* Is not this Description enough to shew us they came from *Lower Bretagne?* As for the [41] *Carnutes*, they steered farther North; and inhabited the Country which, from them, is called *Carniola*.

But still there were many Bands of those *Celtæ* which *Bellovesus* had raised, remaining on this Side the *Alps*, and waiting only for an Opportunity to go into *Italy*, as the others had done. What Part of *Gaul* those two little Nations inhabited, who made the third Irruption into *Italy*, is indeed difficult to determine. We only know, that Antiquity has given the first of them, who probably came from *Provence*, or the Neighbourhood of it, [42] the Name of *Læves*, or *Lævi*; and the other, that of [43] *Ananes*, or *Anamares*. But the Historians have given us a very distinct Account of the Countries they invaded in *Italy*. The *Lævi* seized the Country of *Novarra*, on the North Side of the *Po*; and the *Ananes* settled in the Neighbourhood of *Placenza*, on the South Side of that River. The latter were the first *Gauls* who passed the *Po*, and settled beyond it.

Nevertheless, the whole Colony which *Bellovesus* had engaged to bring into *Italy*, were not all arrived there even now. There yet remained the *Boii* and *Lingones*, to make a fourth Transmigration. The latter were partly Natives of *Champagne*, and partly *Burgundians*, including the People of the present *Bassigny*. And these two Nations took a different Rout from that which *Bellovesus* had taken. They went to the Place appointed for them, over the *Alpes* [44] *Penninæ*; that

Origin of those People, whom the *Greeks* call Οὐίνετοι, Βένετοι, and sometimes Ἐνετοι, on a very uncertain Tradition, which *Polybius* thinks a mere Poetick Fiction. Many Authors, as well ancient as modern, and among the rest *Livy*, *B.* 1. and *Pliny*, *B.* 3. are of Opinion, That a Colony of *Henetes* having been forced to leave *Paphlagonia*, in Times of Trouble and Sedition, went into *Italy*, and advanced as far as the Gulph of the *Adriatick* Sea, under the Command of *Antenor*, after the Destruction of *Troy*: And, That this new Colony, having driven away the Natives of the Country, founded Cities, and gave their own Name to a Country in *Italy*, which has ever since been called in *Latin*, *Veneti*; *i.e.* the Country of the *Venetii*. But besides that the Names of the Colony and the Country don't so exactly agree, as to amount to a convincing Proof, *Strabo*, *B.* 3. adopts their Opinion who thought the *Venetians* were originally Natives of that Part of *Lower Bretagne*, of which *Vannes* was then the Capital. And *Mela*, *B.* 2. seems to be of the same Opinion, when he says, That the Country bordering on the *Adriatick* Gulph, was divided between the *Gauls*, and the *Italians*. Add to this, that the *Venetians* have always been thought a foreign People, transplanted from some distant Country, into one of the Districts of *Italy*. Whence we may conclude, that they were some of those *Gauls*, who passed the *Alps*, in order to make new Conquests. And this Opinion is supported by *Polybius*'s Authority, tho' those of a contrary Opinion interpret him so as to make him favour their own Sense. He, besides what we have said of him in the Text, speaking of the War the *Romans* made with the People of *Gallia Cisalpina*, affirms, That the *Veneti* and *Cænomani* declared against their own Countrymen, in favour of the Republick, and That *Flaminius* formed a Body of *Gauls* out of these two Nations, which was reckoned among the auxiliary Troops in the *Roman* Army. We may indeed reasonably doubt of the Truth of what *Polybius*, *B.* 2. adds, concerning this People, it being a Circumstance which could scarce possibly be true of the *Lower Bretons*. This Nation, says he, who settled on the Shore of the *Adriatick* Sea, are the same which are so often brought upon the Stage by our *Tragedians*. What Probability is there, may it be objected, that the *Greek* Poets should go among the *Gauls*, and even as far as *Lower Bretagne*, for Episodes to adorn their *Drama's* with? It is utterly improbable, that the *Greeks* should ever think Foreigners and Barbarians fit Subjects to be represented on the Theatre at *Athens*. But is it not at the same time very well known, how very formidable the *Gauls* made themselves to the *Grecks*, when they spread into *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, under the Command of another *Brennus*? The Ravages they committed, the Sacrilege they were guilty of, their plundering the Temple of *Delphos*, and the miserable Fate they met with, as a Punishment for their Impieties, furnished the *Greek* Poets with very tragical Events, and very affecting Subjects. *Herodotus* mistakes, *B.* 1. in thinking that the *Venetes* came originally from *Illyricum*.

41 Ancient Authors agree, that the People of *Carniola*, called in *Latin*, *Carni*, were originally of *Gallia Celtica*: And we think them the same with the *Carnutes*, who went into *Italy* with *Bellovesus*.

42 The *Lævi* were, according to *Livy* and *Polybius*, a People of *Gallia Celtica*: But where they dwelt, these Historians don't inform us. Nevertheless, they seem to have at first inhabited a Canton near that of the *Libici*, on the Side of *Provence*. At least ancient Authors almost always put the *Libici* and *Lævi* together: And they were likewise Neighbours in *Italy*. *Pliny*, *B.* 3. makes the *Lævi* to have been the Founders of *Pavia*.

43 Ancient Authors reckon the *Anani*, or *Anamari*, among the *Gauls* who went into *Italy*; But give us no Account of the Country they inhabited before their Removal.

44 The *Alpes Penninæ* reach from the Extremities of the *Alpes Cottiæ*, *i.e.* from Mount *St. Bernard*, to Mount *Adula*, now Mount *St. Godard*, towards the Heads of the *Rhone*, the *Rhine*, and the *Tesin*. These Mountains comprehend the Countries of *Valais* and *Sion*, and in *Piedmont* the *Val d' Aosta*, formerly the Country of the *Salasses*, and *The Valley of Andorno*. Some think these *Alpes* were called *Penninæ*, because the *Carthaginians* went thro' these Passes after *Hannibal*. And *Paulus Jovius* speaks of an ancient Inscription, which testifies that *Hannibal* entered into *Italy* this way. But *Livy*, *B.* 21 derives the Name of these Mountains from the Go

Year of ROME CCCLXII.

L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes. *Polyb. B. 2. Liv. B. 5.*

that is, over *Mount St. Godard.* And as all the Countries on the North Side of the *Po* were already in the Power of their countrymen the *Celtæ*, they therefore ſettled on the South Side of it. But the *Lingones* and the *Boii* did not take up much Ground: They ſettled 45 between *Bologna* and *Ravenna*; and extended themſelves but very little farther; ſo that they did not come very near the Sea. Theſe were the ſeveral Colonies, of almoſt all the *Celtic* Nations which came and planted themſelves in *Italy*, in the Year of *Rome* 156, when that City was yet of little Note. Then the *Hetrurians*, being driven out of their old Habitations, paſſed the *Apennines*, and fled for Refuge into that Tract of Ground, which has ever ſince been called *Hetruria*, or *Tuſcany*. Their Dominions were divided into twelve *Lucumonies*, and extended from the River 46 *Arnus*, at preſent the *Arno*, to the *Tyber*, all along the *Apennines*, and the *Tyrrhenian* Sea: And the *Italian Gauls* being now left in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Countries they had conquered, they let the *Hetrurians* likewiſe enjoy the ſame Tranquillity. No Hiſtorian has told us, that the latter were ever diſturbed by the *Celtæ* their Conquerors, for the ſpace of two hundred Years: Till at length, about the Year of *Rome* 356, the great Deſires the *Gauls* had of removing into *Italy*, revived. We have not ſeen any of the *Senones* yet paſs the *Alpes* with *Bellovesus*, in any of theſe four Irruptions. They had no thoughts of it, till two hundred Years afterwards, and then acted upon very different Motives. They poſſeſſed all that Part of *Gaul* which reaches from *Paris* to *Meaux*, or even as far as *Troyes*, and a Part of the *Autunois*, *Nivernois*, *Orleanois*, and *Beauce*. Their chief City was *Sens*. The Affair which occaſion'd their going in their turn, and making a fifth Irruption into *Italy*, was the following Accident.

Polyb. B. 2.

Plut. Life of *Camil. Liv. B. 5.*

One *Arunx* was one of the chief Lords of *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*. He had been Tutor to a young Man of Diſtinction, called *Lucumo*, that being either his proper Name, or, as is moſt probable, his Title. He had been brought up in *Arunx*'s Houſe from his Infancy. As ſoon as he was of an Age to feel the Force of a Paſſion, he fell violently in Love with his Tutor's Wife. They at firſt kept their Intrigue ſecret; but it was at laſt diſcovered by the mad Heat of the ungrateful Pupil, and the Fears of the unfaithful Wife. As ſoon as ſhe perceived her Husband ſuſpected her, ſhe got her ſelf conveyed away by the *Lucumo*: and *Arunx* in vain endeavoured to have Reparation made him for the Injury he had received. The *Lucumo* had more Power in the Country than he. By the help of Intereſt and Money, the guilty Pupil triumphed over the Complaints of his Tutor. *Arunx* therefore, full of Grief that he could find no Protectors in *Hetruria*, went to ſeek ſome in *Gaul*; and the People among all the *Celtic* Nations, to whom he choſe to apply himſelf for Vengeance, were the *Senones*. He might perhaps obſerve their Country to be the leaſt exhauſted of Men, ſince none of them had followed *Bellovesus*. However, he boaſted to them of the great Plenty the People of *Italy* enjoyed, and made them taſte ſome *Italian* Wine, which he had brought with him. Upon this, the *Senones* reſolved to follow him, and their Army was exceeding numerous. The new Colony paſſed the *Alpes* after their Leader, did not attack the *Celtæ* in *Italy*, but left them in their old Poſſeſſions, and came and fell upon 47 *Umbria*, only a ſmall

Penninus, whom theſe Mountaineers worſhiped. The *Alpes Penninæ* are called by *Cæſar*, *Summæ Alpes*, or, *The higheſt Alpes*; and by *Strabo*, τὰ ἄκρα τῶν Αλπίων. The *Great St. Bernard* is called by the Name of *Summus Penninus*, in *Antoninus's Itinerary*.

45 The *Boii* dwelt in the Territories of *Imola* and *Tarenza*, and all along the Rivers *Reno*, *Idice*, *Utens* or *Montone*, and *Santerno*. The *Lingones* were more Northwards, and nearer the Mouth of the *Po*.

46 The *Arno* riſes among the *Apennines*, about the Confines of *Romagnia Florentina*. After it has watered the Territory of *Arrezzo*, the *Chiane* falls into it, and then it paſſes thro' the City of *Florence*, and after being enlarged by ſeveral other little Rivers, empties it ſelf into the *Tuſcan* Sea, eight Miles above *Piſa*.

47 The *Umbri* paſs for thoſe antient People of *Italy*, of whoſe Origin we have no Records. For this Reaſon, ſay the *Roman* Writers, they are reckoned to be the *Aborigines*, or Αὐτόχθονες of *Italy*, as the *Greeks* uſed to ſpeak. They, thinking theſe People had eſcaped a Deluge cauſed by Rains, which drowned their Lands, called them therefore Ομβρικὸς, and Ομβρίους, *quod inundatione terrarum imbribus ſuperfuiſſent*, i. e. *becauſe they had eſcaped a Deluge occaſioned by violent Showers of Rain*, (the *Greek* Word Ὄμβρος, or *Ombros*, ſignifying *a Shower of Rain*) according to *Pliny* and *Solinus*. Almoſt all Authors agree, that ancient *Umbria* contained all the Countries between the *Tyrrhenian* and *Adriatic* Seas, from the *Arno* to the River *Nar*, or *La Nera*: But the *Umbri* were diſpoſſeſſed of a Part of their Country by the *Hetrurians*, who came originally from *Lydia*. *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 2. that the *Lydians* poſſeſſed themſelves of 300 Cities of ancient *Umbria*, and gave the Name of *Hetruria* or *Tuſcany*, to their new Conqueſt. And in this he agrees with *Dion. Hal.* who affirms that the *Umbri* antiently bordered on the *Ligures*. At leaſt it is evident, that the *Arno* divided theſe two Nations. *Pliny* places

Year of *ROME* CCCLXII.

L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes. *Liv. B.5. c.35.*

ſmall Part of which had hitherto been invaded. The New-comers poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Country from *Ravenna* to *Picenum* [48], including the preſent *Duchy of Urbino.* They were about [49] ſix Years in ſettling themſelves, whilſt the *Romans* were carrying on the Siege of *Veii.* And at length, in the Year of *Rome* 362, *Arunx* brought the *Senones* before *Cluſium*, in order to beſiege the Place, in which his Wife and her lewd Lover had ſhut themſelves up.

§. II. *ROME* was then governed by [50] ſix *Military Tribunes:* Their Names were, *L. Lucretius, Serv. Sulpitius, M. Æmilius, L. Furius, Agr. Furius*, and *C. Æmilius.* Theſe Governors of the Republick entered upon their Office, contrary to Cuſtom, on the firſt Day of *July.* The Sickneſs of the *Conſuls* for the laſt Year, had obliged the People to proceed to their Elections before the uſual time. The

Liv. B.5. c.32. *Romans* were ſtill carrying on the War againſt the *Hetrurians.* The [51] *Volſinienſes* and the [52] *Salpinates* had taken up Arms againſt the Republick; and it was neceſſary to puniſh them for it, and ſuppreſs their Inſolence. *L. Lucretius* and *C. Æmilius*, two of the *Military Tribunes*, were therefore ſent againſt the *Volſinienſes*; and two others of them, *viz. Agr. Furius* and *Serv. Sulpicius*, marched into the Country of the *Salpinates*, advancing towards *Cluſium* in *Hetruria.* So that *Hetruria* was attacked on both Sides by two conquering Nations, the *Romans* and the *Gauls.* The *Volſinienſes* firſt felt the Revenge of the *Romans.* They were indeed very numerous; but nevertheleſs became an eaſy Conqueſt to the two *Roman* Generals. They diſperſed themſelves upon the firſt Attack; and eight thouſand of the Fugitives, being ſurrounded in their Flight by the *Roman* Cavalry, all threw down their Arms, and ſurrendered at Diſcretion. And this Victory terrified the *Salpinates*, ſo that they durſt not appear in the Field; and their whole Country was plunder'd. As for the *Volſinienſes*, they, grown wiſe by the Ruin of the others, demanded a Truce of the *Romans*, which was granted them for twenty Years; upon Condition, that they ſhould reſtore to the *Romans* all they had taken from them, and pay their Soldiers one Year's Pay.

§. III. As for the Neighbourhood of the *Gauls*, who were ſet down before *Cluſium*, it gave the Republick leſs Uneaſineſs than it ſhould have done. Nevertheleſs, one of the meaneſt of the *Roman* Citizens, called *Cæditius*, made ſome Reflections upon the Danger that threatned his Country, which would have better become the

Plut. Life of *Camil.* *Liv. B.5. c.32.* Governors of it. He came to the *Tribunes*, and told them he had heard a miraculous Voice. *I was*, ſaid *Cæditius, in the Night, a little beyond the Temple of*

the ſame Boundary between them, beginning it at the Conflux of the *Arno* and the *Umbro*, now the *Umbrone*, a little River, which both waters *Umbria*, and gave it its Name. Afterwards the *Umbri* were confined within narrower Limits on both Sides the *Apennines.* The *Abridger of Stephens* places them between *Picenum* and the *Po*, towards the Mouth of that River. But the exact Situation of *Umbria*, according to the ancient Geographers, was this: It was bounded to the Weſt, by a Line drawn from the *Utens*, now the *Montone*, to the Heads of the *Tyber*, and from thence to the Conflux of this laſt River with the *Nar*; which was its Boundary to the South; to the Eaſt, by the Middle of the River *Æſis*, now called the *Fiumeſino*; and to the North, by the *Adriatic* Sea. *Ptolomy* divides *Umbria* into *Olumbria* and *Vilumbria:* The former lying on the North, the latter on the South Side of the *Apennines.*

48 *Pliny*'s Account of the Situation of *Picenum*, is this: *Infra Sabinos Latium, a latere Picenum, a tergo Umbria.* According to *Mela*, B. 2. the City of *Ancona* ſtood on the extreme Parts of *Picenum* and *Gallia Ciſalpina.* All the ancient Geographers place this Country between the Heads of the *Nar*, the River *Æſis*, *Umbria*, and the *Adriatic* Sea. The *Picentini*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, deſcended originally from the *Sabines.* Theſe People, in order to enlarge their Country, ſought for Lands to cultivate, out of *Sabinia*, and ſent out a Colony, who upon meeting here with a good Omen from a Woodpecker, called in *Latin Picus*, came and ſettled in *Picenum.* This Bird pitched upon the Standard this little Clan carried with them, and was their Guide, all the while they travelled. *Feſtus* vouches for the Truth of this fabulous Story.

49 The Country the *Senones* choſe to dwell in, was bounded to the Weſt, by the *Utens*, or *Montone*; and to the Eaſt, by the River *Æſis*, or *Eſino*, as we learn from *Livy*, *B. 5.* But antient Authors have not told us exactly its Boundaries to the North and South. Nevertheleſs, the *Senones* ſeem to have been ſhut up at firſt between the *Apennines* and *Adriatic* Sea; and to have afterwards encroached upon the *Hetrurians* as far as *Cluſium*, and from thence, quite into the Neighbourhood of *Rome.*

50 *Diodorus* mentions only four *Military Tribunes*, for this Year 362; namely, *Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Marcus Æmilius*, and *Lucius Furius Medullinus.* We ſuppoſe this *Lucius Lucretius* was the ſame who had been *Conſul* ſome little time before. *Capitolinus* gives *Serv. Sulpicius* the Surname of *Betextalus. Zonaras* gives him that of *Ruſus.* If we may credit *Pighius*, he was the ſame who had been *Conſul* two Years before.

51 The City of the *Volſinienſes*, which *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* call *Volſinium*, was a conſiderable City in *Hetruria*, being the Capital of one of the twelve *Lucumonies* of that Country. It formerly ſtood near a Lake of the ſame Name, in the Place where *Bologna* now ſtands. *Pliny* tells us, *B. 36.* that Grinding Mills were firſt invented and uſed in this City.

52 We can diſcover nothing of the Situation of the ancient City of the *Salpinates*, or of *Salpinum.* It is probable that this City, which entered into a Confederacy with the Inhabitants of *Volſinium*, was one of the moſt powerful in *Hetruria.*

Year of ROME CCCLXII.

L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes.

Veſta, *when I heard an* 53 *articulate Voice, which had nothing in it like a human one, and which diſtinctly pronounced theſe words: Go to the Magiſtrates, and tell them the* Gauls *draw near.* But this might probably be rather ſome foreboding of *Cæditius* himſelf, than any miraculous Warning. However, as the Citizen had neither Intereſt nor Authority, his Story was neglected; and the daily Conqueſts the *Gauls* made upon the *Hetrurians*, made little impreſſion on the Minds of the People. This was evident from the manner, in which they treated the great *Camillus*, who was the only General they had, who was capable of making Head againſt theſe formidable Neighbours. The People's Hatred to him was more bitter than ever. They had leſs Gratitude for his Exploits, and the important Services he had done his Country, than Reſentment for his having refuſed to let them plunder the Cities, and his having commanded them to reſtore Part of the Booty they had brought from *Veii*. He was too equitable a Commander in time of War, and too rigid a Magiſtrate in time of Peace, to pleaſe the *Plebeians*. The Commons ſtood thus affected towards *Camillus*, when one of the *Tribunes of the People* undertook to cite him to appear before the 54 *Comitia*. The Name of this *Tribune* was *L. Apuleius*. And indeed, the Opportunity he took to ſerve him with the Citation, was a melancholy one for the Accuſed. *Camillus* had juſt then loſt one of his two Sons, whom he tenderly loved. So that this Family-Affliction, together with the publick Attack made upon his Honour, obliged him to confine himſelf to an inner Apartment of his Houſe, and not appear in publick. The Accuſation the *Tribune* drew up againſt *Camillus*, in a manner wholly related to ſome Spoils of the *Hetrurians*, which he was reproached with having applied to his own Uſe. Among others, it was charged upon him as a Crime, that he had taken to himſelf a Braſs-Door, at the Plunder of *Veii*, which Door then adorned his Houſe in *Rome*. This was a very trifling Affair, in compariſon of the vaſt Advantages he had gained the Republick by his Conqueſt; but the People were very unjuſtly enraged againſt him, and were inflexible. During the Interval of twenty ſeven Days, which were always given the Accuſed, before they were brought to their Tryals, *Camillus* aſſembled together all his Friends, Clients, Neighbours, the Officers of his Armies, and his former Collegues, at his own Houſe. He asked them, whether they would give him up defenceleſs to the Injuſtice of his Accuſers, and the Hazard of the People's Suffrages: But the Aſſembly, tho' numerous, did not find themſelves ſtrong enough to ward off the Blow which threatned *Camillus*. All his Friends could promiſe him, was only this, that they would pay the Fine, which would infallibly be laid upon him. *Camillus* therefore, having too great a Soul to bear the Affront the People were going to offer him, choſe rather to withdraw himſelf, than to ſtand the Shock of it. After he had taken his Leave of his Wife and Son, he ſet out on a voluntary Baniſhment, and thereby deprived the *Romans* of their only Remedy in caſe of Danger. And it is ſaid, that when he came, without any Attendance, to the Gate, through which he was to go out of *Rome*, and had turned his Eyes towards the *Capitol*, he deſired the Gods, That, 55 *if he were innocent, they would make* Rome *lament the Loſs of him.* But both theſe Stories, that of the miraculous

Liv. B. 5. c. 32. Plut. Life of *Camil.*

53 An Altar was erected, in *New-ſtreet*, to a new Sort of Divinity, which the *Romans* called *Aius Locutius*, on account of this miraculous Voice, which had forewarned them to be upon their Guard againſt the *Gauls*. *Cicero* ſpeaks of him, in his 2*d Book of Divination*, thus: *Quid ergo? Aius iſta loquens, quando eum nemo norat, aiebat, & loquebatur, & ex eo nomen invenit. Poſteaquam & ſedem, & aram, & numen invenit, obmutuit. What then?* ſays he, *This God* Aius *uttered Oracles when he was known of no Body. But he had no ſooner got himſelf a Name, no ſooner had an Altar erected to his Honour, but he became dumb. Varro, Gell.* 16. expreſly mentions both the Altar, and the Worſhip which was paid *Locutius*. If we credit *Livy* concerning him, a Temple was built to his Honour, by way of Reparation for the little Reſpect which had been ſhewn him, in having neglected his Admonitions.

54 The *Comitia* here ſpoken of, are *Comitia by Tribes*, which thro' the Intrigues of the *Tribunes of the People*, had, ever ſince the Year 262, got in Poſſeſſion of a Power of ſummoning any particular Perſon in *Rome*, not excepting the *Patricians* themſelves, to appear before them as Criminals. This tumultuous Tribunal, if I may ſo ſpeak, was entirely at the Devotion, and under the Government of the *Tribunes*, who made Uſe of it to gratify their Hatred, and promote their Intereſts, or to humble the Deſerving, or keep under the Ambitious. Nevertheleſs, the Right of judging Capital Crimes, and puniſhing with Death, belonged only to the *Comitia by Centuries*. The *Comitia by Tribes* could only fine, or, at moſt, baniſh the Accuſed.

55 The Pagans thought ſuch Sort of Imprecations as this, pronounced by a Perſon unjuſtly condemned, always had their Effect; and always foreboded ſome Misfortune, to be inflicted by the Gods, the Avengers of oppreſſed Innocence. In this Senſe *Horace* ſays, *Epod.* 5.

Dira Deteſtatio.
Nulla expiatur victima.

raculous

Year of *ROME* CCCLXII.

L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes.

raculous Voice, and this of *Camillus*'s Prayer, are probably no more than Embelliſhments, invented by the Hiſtorians, to adorn their Relations of the following Event. The taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, was a conſiderable *Epocha* for the *Romans*; and they have therefore made it the more remarkable, by adding ſome Circumſtances, which have much of *The Marvellous* in them. However, *Camillus* purſued his Journey, and came to *Ardea*, in the Country of the *Rutuli*: And being both a good Subject, and a Man of Honour, he continued quiet there, without ſhewing any publick Reſentment to his Country. His Virtue in this Inſtance exceeded that of *Coriolanus*, who was no longer *Roman*, when once condemned to Baniſhment. Nevertheleſs, the *Tribune Apuleius* carried on his Proſecution againſt *Camillus*, and got him condemned for Contumacy. The People fined him 15000 *Aſſes* [56] of Braſs: A very moderate Sum indeed; but this was all they could charge him with having taken from the publick Treaſury.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 3.

§. IV. However, *Camillus* was no ſooner gone, but People came to implore the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Gauls*. *Cluſium* was beſieged by the *Senones*, under the Command of *Brennus* their King, and of *Arunx*, whom the *Cluſini* had juſtly provoked. The People of *Cluſium* had not indeed entred into any Alliance with the *Romans*; neither had they, on the other hand, oppoſed the Conqueſts of the *Romans*, during the Siege of *Veii*. And as it was evidently the Intereſt of the Republick to ſtop the Progreſs of theſe foreign Conquerors, this made the *Hetrurians* hope they might engage the *Romans* in their Quarrel. The Envoys from *Cluſium* therefore repreſented to the Senate the imminent Danger of a City, which was a Barrier to the *Romans*, againſt the Inundation of the Barbarians. They deſcribed the haughty Looks, high Stature, and extraordinary Arms of the *Gauls*: And then recounted the ſeveral Conqueſts they had made, at different times, on both Sides the *Po*. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* would not engage in an open War againſt a Nation which never had offended them. The Senate contented itſelf with only ſending Embaſſadors to *Cluſium*, with Orders to offer the *Gauls* their Mediation to terminate all Differences amicably. Theſe Ambaſſadors were three Brothers, of the Name of *Fabius*, the Sons of *Fabius Ambuſtus*, who had been *Conſul* and *Military Tribune*: and when they came before the Heads of the *Senones*, they were civilly received. *Rome* had gained a great Reputation in theſe Countries, ever ſince *Camillus*'s Conqueſts. The *Fabii* deſired the *Gauls* to ſpare a City which was under the Protection of the *Romans*, and which the Republick would be obliged to defend, if they forced her to it: adding, that it was more for the Credit of a new ſettled Colony, to make itſelf known by Works of Peace, than by a Declaration of War. *What Injury*, ſaid the Embaſſadors to them, *have the* Cluſini *done you, and what Pretence have you for invading their Lands?* But upon this, the Chief of the *Gauls* burſt out into a loud Laughter. *Is it not Reaſon enough to begin a War*, replied he, *that other People poſſeſs Lands which lay very conveniently for us? Their keeping Poſſeſſion of a larger Tract of Ground than they can cultivate, is an Injury to us. What other Motive than this, had you yourſelves*, Romans, *for conquering ſo many neighbouring Nations? Not that we accuſe you of Injuſtice in it; but it is evident you thought this to be the firſt and moſt ancient Law, That the Weak muſt give way to the Strong. Either therefore no longer intereſt yourſelves for the* Cluſini, *or ſuffer us to intereſt ourſelves in behalf of the Cities you have ſubdued.* This haughty Anſwer deprived the Ambaſſadors of all Hopes of negotiating a Peace: And therefore the three *Romans* being young, and deſcended from a Family which was famous for its Valour, adviſed the *Cluſini* to make frequent Sallies. This they did at firſt, only that they might be Spectators of the Bravery of the *Gauls*, and their Way of fighting. But afterwards, being from Mediators become Enemies, they reſolved to try the Courage of theſe Strangers in Battel themſelves, and to enter the Liſts with them. They all three put themſelves at the Head of the Troops of the *Cluſini*, and their Bravery diſtinguiſhed them in the Battels which were fought under the Walls of *Cluſium*. One Day, as one of the

Liv. and *Plut. ibid.*

Liv. B. 5. c. 35. Plut. Life of *Camil.*

[56] The 15000 *Roman Aſſes* reckoned by Weight, that is, conſidered as 15000 Pound Weight of Braſs Money, amount to the Value of about 10125 *French Livres*, at the Rate of allowing a little more than 13 *Sols*, for each *Roman As* of 12 Ounces Weight: But if we reckon each *As* to be of the Value of a *French Sol*, according to our former Valuation of it, in Proportion to the *Attic Drachma*, or *Roman Denarius*, the Fine laid upon *Camillus* will then not exceed 750 *French Livres*. [The 15000 *Aſſes* amount, according to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, to 48 *l.* 8 *s.* and 9 *d. Sterling*.

Commanders of the *Gauls*, was advancing before the Ranks, to attack a Company of the *Clusini*, one of the *Fabii* named *Quintus*, instantly started forward, and rushed upon the *Gaul*. Upon this a single Combat ensued, in which the *Gaul* was wounded in the Side with a Javelin, and left dead upon the Sand. Whether the Enemy who killed him was a *Roman*, or one of the *Clusini*, could not be discerned, whilst they were fighting. The Brightness of the Champions Arms dazzled the Spectators Eyes, in the Heat of the Battel. But when *Fabius* dismounted, in order to strip his Adversary, *Brennus* discovered the Conqueror of the *Gaul* to be one of the *Roman* Ambassadors. And this was immediately reported through all the Army of the *Senones*. The *Gauls* called on the Gods to be Witnesses of the Perfidiousness of the *Romans*. They complained of this Breach of the Law of Nations, and were now wholly bent upon revenging themselves on a Nation, which proposed Peace, and made War. Immediately after the Battel, between the *Gaul* and the *Roman*, at the Head of the two Armies, was over, *Brennus* sounded a Retreat. Then the *Senones* held a Council among themselves; in which, the hottest were for marching directly to *Rome*, without giving the *Romans* time to look about them; but the wisest thought it necessary to take more moderate Measures, and first send an Embassy to the Republick, to demand Justice on these perfidious Ambassadors, and to require the *Romans* to deliver up to them, both him that slew the *Gaul*, and his two Brothers: And the latter Opinion prevailed. So that the *Gauls* herein shewed themselves to be less barbarous, and to have more regard to the Laws of Nations, than the *Romans*. The Embassy from the *Senones* therefore set out for *Rome:* and these unknown Persons being immediately introduced into the Senate, they no sooner had opened their Complaints, but they threw the *Conscript Fathers* into a great Perplexity. On one hand, it seemed but common Justice to deliver up the Guilty to the Resentments of the Injured. On the other, the Glory of the *Roman* Name, and their Affection for Men descended from an illustrious Family, suspended their coming to such a Determination. Nevertheless, the Senate foresaw what would be the fatal Consequences of their Refusal; were unwilling to be chargeable with having brought them upon *Rome*; and therefore chose to act a Part, which was more mean than prudent. As the question was, whether they should deliver up some illustrious Citizens to Death, by surrendring the *Fabii* into the Hands of the *Gauls*, the Senate [57] referred the Cognizance, and Determination of the Affair, to the Assembly of the *Curiæ*. And the Family, being one of those which was called *popular*, for their Affection for the Commons, the three Brothers found more Protection among them, than among the Senators. The People were so far from condemning them, as to resolve on promoting the three *Fabii* to new Honours. When the time came for proceeding to the Election of *Military Tribunes* for the next Year, *Q. Fabius*, *Cæso Fabius*, and *Caius Fabius*, the three Aggressors complain'd of by the *Gauls*, were the first who were chosen to govern the Republick; and to them were added, *Q. Sulpicius*, *Q. Servilius*, and *Ser. Cornelius*.

Year of ROME CCCLXII. L. Lucretius, &c. Military Tribunes.

Liv. B.2. c.36.

§. V. The Ambassadors of the *Gauls* therefore resented the Promotion of the *Fabii*, and thought it an open Affront to their Nation. They left *Rome* in a great Rage, and inspired their Countrymen with the same: Upon which the *Senones* immediately began their March. They advanced towards *Rome* with great Expedition, and quieted the Fears of all the Cities and People in their Way, whom they found alarmed; by telling the Peasants, who were scattered about in the Country, *They had no Design but against* Rome. As for the Republick, all Orders of Men in it seemed to be in a manner intoxicated. The three *Fabii* gave Law in *Rome*; and they, depending upon one lucky Stroke of a single *Gaul*, promised themselves a sure Victory over the whole Nation. And their Confidence, and Contempt of the Enemy, made the *Romans* neglect taking those Precautions at *Rome*, which were usual in dangerous Wars. They had often chosen themselves a *Dictator* in Times of much less Difficulty. But now they trusted to the six *Military Tribunes*, whose Diversity of Opinions and Conduct were prejudicial to the State. The Levies they raised, consisted only of young Men, little inured to War. Nay, they even forgot

Year of ROME CCCLXIII. Q. Fabius, Cæso Fabius, C. Fabius, Q. Sulpicius, Q. Servilius, Ser. Cornelius, Military Tribunes.

Liv. B.5. c.37. Plut. Life of *Camil.*

[57] *Plutarch* adds, That the *Feciales* prosecuted the *Fabii* with Zeal before the Tribunal of the *Comitia*; but that the People had no Regard to their Prosecution, and treated all the religious Motives they made use of, to press the Condemnation of the Offenders, as vain Scruples.

Year of ROME CCCLXIII.

Q. Fabius, &c. Military Tribunes.

to consult the 58 *Augurs*, and to offer up the usual Sacrifices to the Gods. Nevertheless, they marched out the Troops, and encamped sixty *Stadia* from *Rome*, on the Banks of the 59 *Allia*, near the Place where it falls into the *Tyber*. But the *Roman* Generals either neglected, or had not time, to chuse a convenient Piece of Ground, whereon to encamp, and to throw up their Entrenchments. The Hurry and too great Confidence of the *Fabii*, made them both overlook Presages, and neglect proper Precautions. In the mean time, *Brennus* hastned his March, and appeared in sight of the *Roman* Army. And tho' this General was lately come from *Gaul*, he made the *Romans* sensible, that the Art of War was as much cultivated beyond the *Alpes*, as at *Rome*. In reality, the Victory he gained over them, was not barely the Work of Fortune, or the Effect of a savage Fierceness. The *Latin* Historians themselves ascribe it to the prudent Conduct and Experience of *Brennus*. The *Roman* Army consisted of only 40000 Men, according to some; but of all the Forces the Republick was Mistress of, according to others. The *Gauls* reckoned up 70000 fighting Men. *Brennus* was not in haste to draw up his Troops in Battalia: Before he would run any hazard, he observed the Disposition of the *Roman* Army. Their Right Wing, which consisted of the best *Legions*, reached from the River to their main Body, which was placed in the Centre of the Plain: and their Left Wing reached to the Tops of the Hills, which surrounded the Valley, and on which the *Roman* Generals thought fit to post their weakest *Manipuli*. As for their main Body, it was a little thinned of Men, in order to fill up the two Wings, which were by that means enabled to cover a larger Tract of Ground. The Fear of being surrounded, made them take this Precaution. A chosen Body of the bravest *Romans* were placed upon an Eminence, as a *Corps-de-reserve*, to act as Occasion should offer. And *Brennus* considered well the Order of the Enemy's Troops, and drew up his own like a skilful General. He first chose out some of the bravest of his Soldiers to begin the Battel, with attacking the *Corps-de-reserve* of the *Romans*, which he feared would suddenly fall upon him, either in Flank or Rear, in the Heat of the Action. Then he placed his Veterans against the weakest of the *Romans*, without regarding their having the Advantages of the Ground: And this Disposition gained him Success. As soon as the Trumpets began to sound, the Right Wing of the *Senones* made great Shouts, advanced at the same time towards the *Corps-de-reserve*, and fell upon the Left Wing of the *Romans*. The *Legionaries* of the Left Wing were already seized with Fear, and had Thoughts of flying without fighting. They left their Post, dispersed, and came down into the Plain in Disorder. Then the rest of the *Senones* attacked both the main Body and the Right Wing of the *Romans*; whilst the Fright communicated itself from the Left Wing to the whole Army, and all fled. They did not so much as make a Return to the Shouts, with which the *Gauls* filled the Air. The *Romans* were routed, in a manner without a Battel; and fewer of them fell by the Swords of the Enemy, than by the Hands of their own flying Companions, who cut their Way through their own

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

Liv. B.5. c.38.

D. Sic. B. 14.

Liv. B.5. c.38.

D. Sic. B. 14.

58 The *Romans* made it Matter of Religion to undertake nothing considerable without first consulting the *Augurs*. They, who were thought the Interpreters of the Will of the Gods, carefully observed the different Motions of the Birds, while they pronounced the following Form of Words, which *Varro* has conveyed down to us, in his 5th Book of the *Latin Tongue*. *Jovis Pater, si mihi es auctor, Urbi, Populoque Romano Quiritium, hæc sane sarteque esse, uti tu nunc mihi bene sponsis, beneque volueris.* These Prayers were called *Effata*. The *Augurs* had made themselves so necessary, that one of them always attended the *Consul* who commanded an Army, in order to direct him in the Observation of the *Auguries*, to which Recourse was usually had, in dangerous Enterprizes. But the Men of the best Understanding among the *Romans*, honestly acknowledge the Vanity of the *Augural* Science. *Cicero* himself, tho' an *Augur*, treats all the Ceremonies of the *Augurship* as ridiculous Grimaces. But nevertheless, he blames those Generals and Magistrates, who had little Regard to Prognosticks on important Occasions: And contends, that this Custom, as much abused as it was, ought to be respected, as being authorized by the Superstition and Prepossessions of the People.

59 *Blondus*, and after him *Cluver*, are of Opinion, that the *Allia* was only a little Brook, which was about a Mile below *Ereta*, now *Monte Rotundo*, and five Miles above *Crustuminum*, or *Marcigliano Vecchio*. They say it was the same little River which is now called *Rio di Mosso*. It rises in the Mountains of *Crustuminum*, from whence it runs into a Plain, (which is divided in the Middle by *The Salarian Way*) between the *Tyber*, and those Mountains. Which agrees with *Livy*'s Account of it, *B. 5. c. 37. Ad undecimum lapidem occursum est Gallis; qua flumen Allia Crustuminis montibus prærupto defluens alveo, haud multum infra viam, Tiberino amni miscetur. Holstenius* thinks the *Allia* is a little Rivulet which runs into the *Tyber* a little beyond *Marcigliano*, between *St. John*, and *St. Columba*, five or six Miles above *Fidena*, or *Castel Jubileo*. But however that be, this Rivulet, which would otherwise have been buried in Obscurity, is become famous, ever since the fatal Battle in which the *Romans* were there defeated by the *Gauls*.

Country-

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIII. Q. Fabius, &c. Military Tribunes.

Countrymen, in order to reach the *Tyber*. *Rome* was indeed their neareſt and ſafeſt Retreat; but they were ſo terrified, as not to know wherein their Safety conſiſted. They choſe rather to retire to *Veii*, their new Conqueſt, tho' they muſt croſs the *Tyber*, in order to come at it. They leaped into the River with their Arms, ſo that ſome of them were drowned in it, tho' the greateſt Part ſwam over: Whilſt in the mean time, it was a Diverſion to the *Gauls*, to ſtand and ſhoot their Darts at the Swimmers; and as the River was covered with theſe flying Troops, no Dart was thrown in vain. Some were mortally wounded, and died immediately. Others ſtruggled with the Waves, which they ſtained with their Blood, for ſome time; and others, quite exhauſted with Fatigues, gave themſelves up to the Stream, to carry them whither it would. Whilſt laſtly, thoſe who eſcaped the Slaughter in the Plain and the *Tyber*, arrived ſafe at *Veii*; but never thought of ſending any Account of their Retreat to *Rome*. The *Corps-de-reſerve* was the Body which held out longeſt againſt the Valour of the *Gauls*. The Advantages of the Ground, on which they were poſted, preſerved them from a more ſudden Defeat. But they were at laſt broken, and put to flight; and were almoſt the only Soldiers which took the Road to *Rome*, and filled it at once with Terror and Deſpair. The *Romans* gave up all for loſt, never once imagining that any of their routed Troops had taken Refuge in *Veii*. In ſhort, if *Brennus* had been more expeditious in reaping the Advantages of his Victory, and had purſued the Fugitives to *Rome*, the very Name of the *Romans* would have been buried for ever in the Ruins of their City. The *Capitol* itſelf could not have preſerved them from utter Deſtruction. But *Brennus* gave the *Romans* time to breathe, and recover themſelves. He was ſo much ſurprized with his Victory, that he could ſcarce believe it was complete. He ſpent the remaining Part of that Day, and all the next, in cutting off the Heads of all the Dead he found on the Field of Battel: A barbarous Cuſtom, which then prevailed among the *Gauls*. This memorable Day, which proved fatal to the *Romans*, was *The fifteenth of the* [60] *Calends of* Auguſt: Which was ever after thought an unfortunate Day to the Republick, and the *Romans* were forbidden undertaking any Enterprizes upon it. The next Day after the Battel, *Brennus* [61] marched his Troops into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and encamped on the Banks of the *Anio*. Thither his Scouts brought him word, that the City was defenceleſs, its Gates open, and not a *Roman* to be ſeen on the Ramparts. Upon which the former Suſpicions he had had of an Ambuſcade on the Day of Battel grew ſtronger than ever: and the Outcries which were heard in all the Quarters of *Rome*, together with the extraordinary Step the *Romans* had taken, confirmed him in this Thought. He [62] therefore delayed yet longer the making himſelf Maſter of an open City: which it was very

Liv. B.5. c.38.

D. Sic. B. 14.

Liv. B.5. c.39.

60 *The fifteenth of the Calends of Auguſt*; i. e. according to our Way of reckoning, the 18th Day of *July*, was from this time ever thought an unlucky Day. It had before proved unfortunate to the *Romans*, in the Slaughter of the 300 *Fabii*, at the Battel of the *Cremera*. The Days which were memorable for any great Diſaſter, were called by the *Romans*, *Dies Atri*; i.e. *Black Days*. And indeed it was cuſtomary to mark them with black Letters, and the lucky Days with white. Agreeably to which Cuſtom, *Perſius* ſays,

Quæque ſequenda forent, quæque evitanda viciſſim,
Illa prius cretâ, mox hæc carbone notaſti.

This was alſo the Cuſtom of the *Scythians*. They uſed, at the End of every Day, to put a white or black Stone into their Quivers, according as the Day proved fortunate or unfortunate. And after any one died, his Quiver was produced, and the deceaſed was thought to have ſpent a happy Life, if the white Stones were more in Number than the black ones. *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 7. *c.* 40. that the *Thracians* likewiſe had the ſame Cuſtom. *Macrobius* informs us, *B.* 1. that the *Romans* were not ſuffered to pay any Funeral Honours to the Memory of their Anceſtors, on unlucky Days: And all Law-Suits were ſuſpended, and Courts of Juſtice ſhut up, on thoſe Days. And for this Reaſon, Authors often confound theſe unlucky Days, which were called *Dies Atri*, with thoſe which were called *Dies Nefaſti*, in the *Roman* Calendar.

61 Whatever ſome miſinformed Authors may ſay of it, this *Brennus* who beſieged *Rome*, was not the ſame *Brennus* who went into *Macedonia* at the Head of an Army of *Gauls*, conſiſting of 152000 Foot, and 20000 Horſe, killed *Soſthenes*, ravaged *Theſſaly*, made a Deſcent upon *Greece*, by the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, about the ſecond Year of the 125th *Olympiad*; that is, 278 Years before the Chriſtian *Æra*; and laſtly, who after ruining all the flat Country, took his Rout towards *Phocis*, with Deſign to plunder the celebrated Temple of *Delphos*, where he and a Part of his Army periſhed. There is reckoned to be about a Century Difference between him and the *Brennus* here mentioned.

62 *Plutarch* gives us another Reaſon for *Brennus*'s Delays, in not making the beſt Uſe of his Succeſs immediately, and going directly to *Rome*. The *Roman* Republick had indeed, ſays he, been utterly deſtroyed, if the Conqueror had known how to make the beſt Advantage of the entire Defeat, and Conſternation of the *Romans*: But the *Gauls* not imagining their late Victory ſo complete as it really was, and being tranſported with exceſſive Joy, gave themſelves up to feaſting and revelling, and thought of nothing but dividing the Spoils they had found in the *Roman* Camp. Which made it eaſy for the common People of *Rome* to eſcape, and provide for their own Safety.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIII.

Q. Fabius, &c. Military Tribunes.

Liv. B.5. c.39. Auth. of the Lives of Illuſt. Men.

unnatural for its Inhabitants to give up to be plundered, without making any Reſiſtance. And this Dilatorineſs in *Brennus* gave the *Romans* time to fortify the *Capitol*, remove all the Ammunition in the City thither, fill it with all the Youth which were able to bear Arms, and the braveſt of the Senators; and in a word, to preſerve there the laſt Remains of the Republick, and defend the moſt ſacred Monuments of their Religion. One *Manlius* was at the Head of thoſe who retired thither; and it is eaſy to imagine the great Concern thoſe many Perſons muſt have been in, who were not admitted into this Citadel. The Women, who were forced to ſtay behind their Husbands, ſcreamed exceedingly. *To what Dangers, and what Indignities*, ſaid they, *do you expoſe us? Where ſhall we find any Protection againſt the Violences of the Barbarians?* And this ſo far moved the Compaſſion of the Men, that thoſe who inſiſted upon being admitted into the *Capitol*, were received. The greateſt Part of them eſcaped from *Rome*, over the Bridge *Sublicius*, and reached the *Janiculus*. From thence they either diſperſed themſelves in the Fields, without Guides or Deſign, or fled for Refuge to the neighbouring Cities. The *Veſtals* alſo themſelves, and the chief of the *Pontifices*, who were devoted to the Worſhip of *Quirinus*, did the ſame. But theſe conſecrated Virgins were even more concerned for the Preſervation of their Religion, than of their Lives. Before they left *Rome*, they took Care to ſecure the [63] venerable Monuments of Religion, which they kept in the Temple of *Veſta*, and eſpecially *The Sacred Fire*. It was not



Silver.

63 Moſt Authors agree, that the *Palladium* was one of thoſe venerable Monuments, which were committed to the Care of the *Veſtals*. And in order to come to a diſtinct and clear Knowledge of it, it ſeems neceſſary to collect under certain Heads, all that the Writers of Antiquity have ſaid about it. *Ovid* thought it was an Image of *Pallas*, which fell down from Heaven upon the Hills of *Ilion*; or, according to *Diodorus*, at *Peſſinunta*, a City of *Phrygia*. The latter ſays this Image was made of Wood, and held a Pike in its right Hand, and a Diſtaff and Spindle in its left. To which he adds, that this miraculous Image was put into the Hands of *Dardanus*, who took all poſſible Care to preſerve this precious *Depoſitum*, becauſe he had been told by the Oracle of *Apollo*, that his new City of *Ilion* ſhould continue to ſubſiſt ſo long (and not longer) as he kept this Preſent from Heaven in it. And this Tradition, fabulous as it is, was the Foundation of the religious Reſpect the *Romans* paid the *Palladium*. *Dion. Hal.* honeſtly confeſſes, that there were many Secrets belonging to this Piece of Antiquity, which he was not let into, and which it was unlawful to diſcover to the profane Vulgar. He makes *Timæus* the Hiſtorian ſay, that it was forbidden by the Laws to diſcover and divulge the Myſteries of the *Palladium*. But *Rome*, as ſoon as enlightned with the Truths of Chriſtianity, ſoon confeſſed the Cheat; and the Keepers of this pretended Divinity made no ſcruple of undeceiving the credulous People. *Arnobius* and *Clemens Alexandrinus* both agree in the ſame Account of it. The former ſays, the *Palladium* was made of the Bones of *Pelops*, an ancient King of *Peloponneſus*, and that the Pagans themſelves had betrayed this Secret. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* goes farther, and diſcovers the ſhameful Rites of that myſterious Worſhip, which the ancient Pagans paid to three Statues, on which the Fate of Cities and Nations were ſuppoſed to depend. This Father ſeems to have thought it a Piece of Necromancy. Theſe Images were partly made of the Bones, or other Parts of dead Bodies. *Serapis*, for inſtance, is indeed well known to have been the tutelar God of *Egypt*. But what was this famous Statue made of? St. *Clemens* tells us. *Athenodorus*, ſays he, *diſcovered the Myſtery of it.* Seſoſtris *having ſubdued many Nations of* Greece, *brought away from thence all Sorts of Artificers. And he ordered one* Briaxes *to make a Statue of* Oſiris, *one of his Anceſtors: Which the Artificer did, and uſed all Sorts of Metals and precious Stones in it, to make his Work the more perfect. And he took particular Care to put a Perfume in it, with which the Bodies of* Oſiris *and* Apis *had been embalmed. From their two Names therefore the Statue was called* Oſirapis, *and afterwards, by Corruption*, Serapis. And it was much the ſame with *Jupiter Olympius*, the tutelar God of *Greece*, whoſe Statue, *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, was made of the Bones of an Elephant. And laſtly, the *Palladium* alſo, which was firſt the Guardian of *Troy*, and then of the *Roman* Empire, was, according to the ſame Father, made of *Pelops*'s Bones. From all which we may conclude, that the tutelar Gods of the ſeveral Countries of the Pagan World, were ſo many Taliſmans, made according to the Rules of Magick. Whether theſe myſterious Statues had really any Power to preſerve Cities in Safety, from internal or external Violences, is not our Buſineſs to enquire in this Place. But we may obſerve, that St. *Auſtin* at leaſt, *B. 1. ch. 2. de Civit. Dei*, reproaches the *Romans* with the Inability of their *Palladium* to preſerve their Empire. But why was this Statue called the *Palladium*? We might anſwer, according to the common Opinion, that it repreſented the Goddeſs *Pallas*. But I am rather inclined to believe, that the Goddeſs owed both her Name and Origin to the Statue. The Foundation of my Conjecture, is this,

not indeed poſſible for them to carry away every thing that was appropriated to the Worſhip of the Gods, along with them; but nevertheleſs, they thought it ill became them, to ſuffer any thing of that kind to be prophaned. They therefore put a Part of the *Depoſitum* they were entruſted with, into two Barrels, which they hid in a ſubterraneous [64] Temple; and then began their March to the other Side of the *Tyber* (which was not infeſted by the Enemy) barefoot, out of reſpect to the Statues they carried with them. The Principles of Religion acted powerfully on the Minds of the *Romans*, in the midſt of their greateſt Calamities. Of which we have an Inſtance in *Albinius*, who ſhewed his Reſpect for the *Veſtals*, and the Divinities they carried, as ſoon as they came to the *Janiculus*. This *Albinius* was a *Plebeian*, who was then conveying his Wife and Children in a Carriage, to a Place of Safety. But as ſoon as he ſaw theſe ſacred Virgins bending under the Weight of their too heavy Burdens, and their Feet bloody, he came out of the Carriage, put the Prieſteſſes and their Gods into it, and made his Family walk. In this manner, he brought them as far as *Cære*, a City of *Hetruria*, which then adhered to the *Romans*; and there theſe ſacred Virgins met with Protection, and a favourable Reception. And as they ſtill *continued* to perform their prieſtly Offices in *Cære*, therefore the Rites of the *Roman* Religion were called * *Ceremonies*. By this means the Memory of the Hoſpitality ſhewn the Gods and their Prieſteſſes, by the City of *Cære*, was eternized.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIII. Q. FABIUS, *&c.* Military Tribunes.

Livy, *B.* 5. *ch.* 40. *Val. Max. B.* 1 Plut. *Life of* Camil.

* From *Cære* and *maneo*, *to remain* or *continue*.

§. VI. BUT whilſt great Numbers of the Inhabitants of *Rome* were leaving their domeſtick Altars, and ſeeking Retreats in different Places; and whilſt the young fighting Men were fortifying themſelves in the Citadel, in order to ſuſtain a Siege there; the moſt illuſtrious and venerable old Men of the City could not reſolve either to leave their native Country, or to carry ſo many uſeleſs Mouths into the *Capitol*. They, to the number of fourſcore, choſe rather to die together, within the Compaſs of their own Walls, and to ſignalize the latter end of their Days, by an honourable Death. And in order to this, they devoted their Lives to the Tutelary Gods, by a Vow, which the *Pontifex Fabius* made, in the Name of theſe brave *Romans*. This was one of thoſe Vows, which the ancient Pagans thought ſuch an Act of Religion, as was capable of appeaſing the Anger of the Gods. There were among theſe venerable old Men, ſome *Pontifices*, ſome who had born the Office of *Conſul*, and ſome Generals of Armies, who were famous for their Triumphs: and theſe voluntary Victims prepared likewiſe to complete their Sacrifice with a Solemnity and Pomp, worthy of the Dignity and Conſtancy of the *Romans*. They all dreſſed themſelves in their Robes of State, and had no other Arms in their Hands, but the Truncheons adorned with Ivory, which they uſed when in Power. Some were dreſſed in their *Pontifical*, others in *Conſular* Robes, and ſome in their triumphal Veſts embroidered with Palm-Branches. In theſe pompous Habits they were carried to the *Forum*, there ſat themſelves down on their *Curule Chairs*, and in this manner waited for the Completion of their Sacrifice.

Zonar. B. 10. *Livy*, *B.* 5. *Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

AT length, *Brennus*, after he had ſpent three Days in uſeleſs Precautions, arrived *Di. Sic. B.* 14.

Feſtus. Val. Max. B. 1.

this. *Dion. Hal.* gives us this Story of the *Palladium*, upon the Teſtimony of *Calliſtratus*. *Pallas*, ſay he, *was a King of* Arcadia, *and the Father of* Chryſanthe. *She was married to* Dardanus, *and had this Statue for her Portion, and called it* Pallas's *Preſent*; he having, in all Probability, made this Taliſman. In After-times, to gain it Veneration, Fable made it the Statue of a Goddeſs, who bore the Name of *Arcadian Pallas*. And what ſtrengthens the Conjecture is, that the two *Palladiums*, one of which was the Original, and the other the Copy, repreſented two young Men armed from Head to Foot. As it was eaſy to miſtake the Sex, the Vulgar made it a warlike Goddeſs. We ſhould not have enlarged ſo much on this Subject, but to mention a Point of Learning, which we firſt cleared up in our Notes on the ſecond *Æneid* of *Virgil*. Some Authors pretend, that the two Figures of the *Dii Penates*, which *Æneas* brought with him into *Italy*, were carefully preſerved in the Temple of *Veſta*. In the Time of *Dion. Hal.* there were many Copies of theſe Statues in different Temples in *Rome*, made in the Form and Habits of two young Warriors, with this Inſcription, *Denates*; inſtead of *Penates*; becauſe, as the ſame Author obſerves, the Ancients did not uſe the Letter *P*. There were two of theſe Figures eſpecially, which were of very ancient Workmanſhip. A Medal of the *Sulpician* Family gives us the Heads of theſe *Dii Penates* with the three Letters *D. P. P.* i. e. *Diis Penatibus*; and on the Reverſe, are the ſame Gods in military Habits, and with Pikes in their Hands. At their Feet lies the myſterious wild Sow, whoſe thirty little Boars-Pigs ſhewed that the City of *Alba* was to be built, thirty Years after *Æneas*'s Arrival in *Italy*.

64 *Plutarch* ſays, That this ſacred Treaſure was buried under the Temple of *Quirinus*; and That this Place was therefroe called *Doliola*, from the Name of the two Tuns. This Place was afterwards ſo much reſpected, that it was thought wicked to ſpit upon it: *Ubi nunc deſpui religio eſt*, ſays *Livy*: who adds, that the two Tuns were buried in a Place dug for that Purpoſe, near the Houſe of the *Flamen Quirinalis*.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIII. Q. Fabius, &c. Military Tribunes.

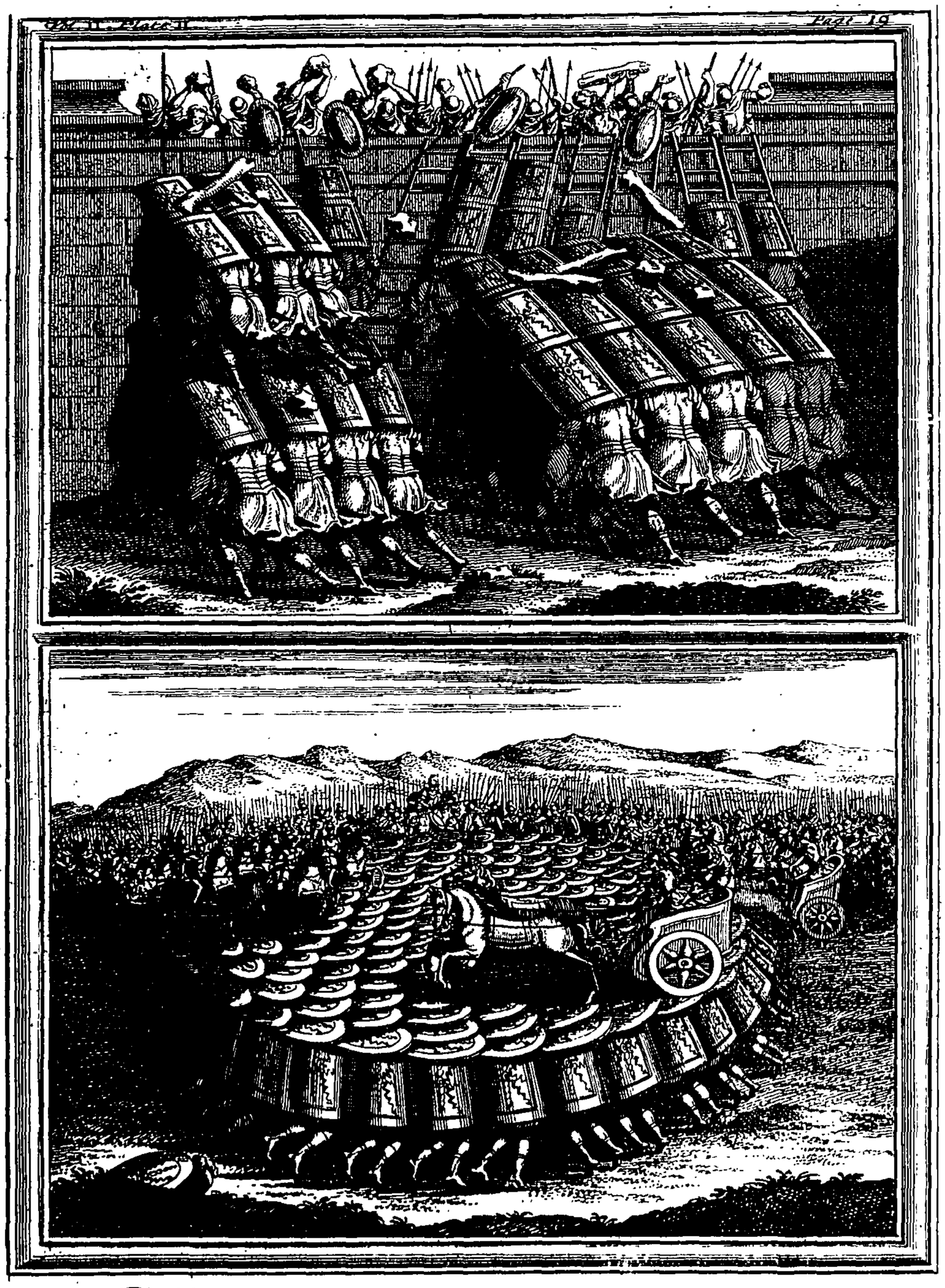
at the Gates of *Rome*, on the fourth Day after the Battel. And whether he found them open, or broke them open without any Reſiſtance, he entered [65] the City by the Gate *Collina*. Upon his Entrance, *Rome* appeared to him like a mere Deſert; and this Solitude increaſed his Anxiety. He could not believe, either that all the *Romans* could be lodged in the *Capitol*, or that ſo numerous a People ſhould ſo voluntarily condemn themſelves to Baniſhment. He therefore was afraid of a ſudden Eruption from the Houſes, which were for the moſt part ſhut: tho', at the ſame time, he could no where ſee any armed Men, but on the Ramparts of the Citadel. However, when he had firſt ſet Guards at the Avenues to the *Capitol*, he gave the reſt of his Soldiers leave to diſperſe themſelves all over the City, and plunder it. So that, ſome ran into the diſtant Streets, and others were ſeizing the Booty which was nearer at hand. Whilſt *Brennus* advanced towards the *Forum*, and his Troops, which ſtill kept themſelves in order of Battel, for fear of a Surprize, came thither from all Parts of the City. And there he was ſtruck with Admiration, at the unexpected Sight of fourſcore old Men, whoſe Majeſty, Silence, Modeſty, and the Magnificence of their Habits and Seats, made him take them for ſo many Deities. Theſe *Romans*, who were as motionleſs as Statues, ſaw the Enemy advance without changing Colour, or ſhewing any Concern at the Approach of Death. The *Gauls* kept a great while at an awful diſtance from theſe dumb Images, and were afraid to approach them; but they at length grew more familiar with the Objects of their Admiration. One of them came up to *M. Papirius*, and gently ſtroked his Beard. This was indeed no very heinous Offence; nevertheleſs the *Roman* Pride could not brook the Affront, but ſignally ſhewed itſelf in a Man who ſought for Death. *Papirius* gave the *Gaul* a hard Stroke with the Battoon he had in his Hand, and wounded him in the Head. And then the Rage of the Conquerors got the better of their Reſpect and Aſtoniſhment. They threw down theſe Idols, and gave theſe old Men the Death they deſired. After which, the *Gauls* no longer ſet any Bounds to their Fury; which was increaſed by the Shower of Darts the *Romans* threw down upon them, from the Top of the Citadel. The Conquerors plundered all Places. They dragged ſome of the *Romans* out of their Houſes, in which they had ſhut themſelves up, and put them to the Sword: and their Cries, which were heard to the Top of the *Capitol*, pierced the Hearts of thoſe who defended it. The whole City would likewiſe have been laid in Aſhes, the firſt Day the Plunder began, if *Brennus* had not out of Policy put a ſtop to the Fury of his Soldiers. He wiſely tempered the violent Heat of his Men, who were for burning *Rome* all at once, and deſtroying all the Inhabitants of it that remained at one Blow. He divided the Priſoners, which were to have been maſſacred, into ſeveral Bands; and pointed out what Parts of the City might be burnt, aſſigning ſeveral different Days for the doing it. His Deſign in this was to bring thoſe who defended the *Capitol*, to ſurrender at Diſcretion, either out of Affection to their Relations, or Love to their old Habitations. But the *Romans* grew hardned at laſt, both againſt the Misfortunes of their Countrymen, and the Ruin of their City. They yet preſerved ſome ſmall Remains of Liberty in the Republick; and this was enough to make them inſenſible of any Calamities to be undergone in the Defence of it.

Liv. B.5. c.41. Plut. Life of *Camil.*

Liv. B 5. c 43. When therefore the *Senones* found that the *Romans* in the *Capitol* were unmoved at ſeeing their City ready to be reduced to Aſhes, they immediately completed the Deſtruction of it. And then adding Force to Artifice, they attempted to gain the Citadel by Aſſault. Thoſe [66] *Tortoiſes*, which were ſo much uſed in Sieges in

[65] We have followed the Chronology of the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Sigonius*, and *Pighius*, who place the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, in the Year of *Rome* 363; tho' *Pliny* fixes it to the Year 364; and *Plutarch* honeſtly confeſſes it to be very difficult, to ſay exactly in what Year this famous Event happened. *Livy* ſeems to make it three Years ſooner, when he ſays, that *Rome* had hitherto been victorious over all her Enemies, for the ſpace of 360 Years. But beſides that he does not pretend to any chronological Exactneſs in this Part of his Hiſtory, where he is repreſenting the *Romans*, as mutually exhorting one another to behave themſelves bravely, for the Honour of *Rome*, which had now made herſelf formidable for 360 Years together; it is evident, that he begins the Date of his 360 Years from the firſt War *Romulus* entered into, and not from the Foundation of the City.

[66] The *Military Tortoiſe*, was a Method of ſcaling the Walls of Towns, which *Cæſar* ſays, *Comment. B.* 2. was in Uſe among the *Gauls*, as well as the *Greeks* and *Romans*. According to the Deſcriptions given us of it by *Cæſar*, *Livy*, *Plutarch* and *Dio*, it was this: When the Aſſailants came near the Walls of a beſieged City, they locked themſelves very cloſe together, and covered their Heads with their Bucklers, in ſuch a manner, that they continued riſing gradually one above another, from the hindmoſt



Different sorts of Military Tortoises *in use among the* Romans .

in *Greece* and *Italy*, were not unknown to the *Gauls*. They endeavoured to make one, by ſtooping and holding their Bucklers over their Heads, and by that means to form ſeveral Stages of their Bodies, one above another, till they came to be as high as the Ramparts of the *Capitol*. In order to put this Deſign in Execution, *Brennus* drew up his Troops in Battalia in the *Forum*, and commanded them to march up the ſteep Path, which led to the Foot of the Walls. But the *Romans* foreſaw the Attack, and prepared for it. They firſt poſted Guards at all the Avenues, and then ſuffered the *Gauls* to come up pretty high, that they might tumble them down again with the more Eaſe. *Brennus*'s Troops got half way up the Hill, and there halted to recover their Breath. And then the Beſieged made a Sally on the Enemy with a choſen Body of Men, who drove the *Gauls* headlong from a Piece of Ground, where it was ſo difficult to keep their footing. And the Loſs the *Senones* ſuſtained, when driven from the Avenues of the *Capitol*, deterred them from making the like Attempt upon it again.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIII. Q. Fabius, &c. Military Tribunes.

The Siege of the Citadel was therefore now turned into a Blockade. *Brennus* hoped he ſhould, by Famine at leaſt, make himſelf Maſter of a Rock, which he could not take by Force. But in the mean time, the *Gauls* themſelves wanted Proviſions. They had found little in the City which they had plundered. The *Romans* had removed the greateſt Part of them into the *Capitol*; and the reſt were burnt. Beſides, the Country itſelf was likewiſe unprovided. Thoſe *Romans* who retired to *Veii*, had carried all the Corn they could find in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, thither with them. So that *Brennus* was forced to divide his Troops, and leave one Part to ſurround the *Capitol*, whilſt he ſent the other to the neighbouring Villages to buy Corn: And even there theſe Foreigners could not get any, but by Violence. They ravaged the Fields indeed, and forced the Peaſants to open their Granaries. But they were often obliged, even to go and appear before Cities, and threaten them with Plunder, if they did not furniſh them with as much Corn as they deſired. And it was happy for the *Romans*, that a Body of theſe Pillagers came and appeared before *Ardea*, in order to put that City likewiſe under Contribution.

Plut. Life of *Camil.* *Liv. B.*5. *c.*43.

§. VII. The great *Camillus*, who had been ſo unjuſtly condemned by the *Romans*, had now already ſpent near two Years in a private manner, in voluntarily Exile, in this Capital of the *Rutuli*. But the Rigour of his Fate, and the Ignominy with which he had been loaded, had not at all diminiſhed his Love for his Country. He had heard of the Loſs of the Battel of the *Allia*, in his Retirement, and had often lamented it. *Are theſe*, ſaid he, *the ſame Men that I led to the Conqueſt of* Veii *and* Tolcria? *Will theſe* Romans, *who always made War even with more Courage than Succeſs, tamely continue to be enſlaved to the Power of a King, who is a Barbarian?* Theſe were the Sentiments *Camillus* entertained with reſpect to his ungrateful Republick: however, his Affection at that time confined itſelf to Grief. But when he underſtood that a Body of *Gauls* were ravaging round *Ardea*, he conceived Hopes of being able to ſerve his Country more effectually than Sighs could do. He firſt raiſed the Compaſſion of the young Soldiers in *Ardea* towards the *Romans*, and made them deſirous of revenging their Quarrel. And then, knowing that the Senate of the City, in which he reſided, was aſſembled, to deliberate about the Approach of the *Gauls*; this private Man, who had never yet intermeddled in

hindmoſt to the foremoſt. This Collection of Bucklers, thus placed one lower than another, and joined together, made a Sort of ſloping Pavement or Roof, by the help of which the Soldiers defended themſelves from the Darts and Stones which the Beſieged threw from the Tops of the Walls. The Beſiegers had Recourſe to this Stratagem, whenever they had Occaſion to make an Aſſault on a Town. Covering themſelves with their Bucklers, as a Tortoiſe is covered with its Shell, the hindmoſt ſupported thoſe who ſtood before them; and in this manner others mounted upon them, till they raiſed themſelves as it were in ſeveral Stories, one over another, to the Height of the Top of the Wall. The *Tortoiſe* was likewiſe ſometimes uſed in Battles, either by Way of Defence, in Caſes of great Danger, and in the Heat of an Action, or in attacking. On theſe Occaſions, the Battalions cloſed, and ſheltering themſelves with their Bucklers, run headlong thro' the Enemy's Troops. The *Romans* were ſo expert in this Way of fighting, and made themſelves ſo ſtout a Bulwark with their Shields, that it was Proof againſt the heavieſt Weight; even Horſes and Chariots were driven over this Sort of walking Floor, and the Battalions not broken by it. And as this *Tortoiſe* was ſhelving, the great Stones which were thrown from the Top of the Walls, ſlid down their Bucklers; otherwiſe they would have overloaded and beat down the Soldiers with their Weight. But as Plates are very proper to give the Reader a clear Idea of this Way of fighting, we here preſent him with ſome engraven after two ancient Relievo's; one of *Trajan's*, the other of *Antoninus*'s Pillar. The Invention of the *Tortoiſe* is aſcribed to *Artemon* of *Clazomene*.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIII. Q. Fabius, &c. Military Tribunes. *Liv. B.5. c.44.*

any publick Affairs, presented himself before the Magistrates, and addressed himself to them thus: *Be not surprized,* Ardeates, *that an Exile presumes to appear in your Assemblies. I have ever been a Friend to you by Inclination, and Fortune has some time since made me one of your Citizens. Can then a Friend and a Citizen refuse the new Country, which his Affection led him to, his Advice in pressing Dangers? Ought I to forget the Hospitality you shew me? If not, how can I shew my Gratitude, but by military Services? I owe all my Reputation among the* Romans, *to War: It was Peace only that proved fatal to my Glory. Employ then,* Ardeates, *my Experience and Valour. Your City is besieged. Your Lands are ravaged by an Inundation of Barbarians. Now is the proper time for you to get your selves Fame, by making* Rome *a Return for the Obligations she has heaped upon you. Her Enemies and her Conquerors give you an Opportunity to defeat them. Be not affrighted at the Name of Conquerors. It is by mere Accident only, that they became superior to the* Romans. *They entered an open City; but the* Capitol *is a Rock, which has already sunk their Courage. Upon their first Repulse before it, they retire, they are discouraged. Their Inconstancy makes them immediately ramble round about* Rome. *Their Thirst after your Wives diverts them from their Enterprize, and draws them into your Territories. What have we to fear from an undisciplined Army? These Men, who are formidable on no account but their Stature, go and lay themselves down to sleep every Night by a Rivulet, without so much as placing any Centinels by them, or throwing up any Entrenchments. There they lay buried in Sleep and Drunkenness, and their Success makes them even less circumspect now than usual. Will you then tamely submit to be enslaved by Men, who are themselves Slaves to Intemperance?* Ardeates, *never suffer this. Assemble your Youth together, as soon as the Day is closed, and let them follow me. I will lead them, not indeed to fight with the Enemy, but to cut them in pieces. If I don't deliver them into your Hands fast asleep, I submit to undergo the same Fate at* Ardea, *which I have met with at* Rome.

Livy, ibid.

This Speech prevailed on the *Ardeates.* All agreed, even *Camillus*'s Enemies not excepted, that he was the greatest Soldier *Rome* then had. His Offer was accepted; and some time after the Sun was down, the Militia of *Ardea* marched out of it in Battalia, and followed their Leader. *Camillus*'s Spies had informed him of the Place where the *Gauls* were to pass the Night. Being fatigued with their Marches, and full of Wine, they were laid down upon the Ground, in a confused manner; and there was a profound Silence among them. In the mean time, *Camillus* advanced without Noise, and being favoured by the Darkness, entered into the midst of these Men about Midnight, when they were in a deep Sleep. They were so fast, that the Sound of the Trumpets, and Shouts of the Aggressors, scarce waked them. Their Case was desperate, and they were exposed naked to present Death. Some of them in the most distant Parts ran away before they were well awake; whilst others ran undesignedly into the Mouth of the Enemy. Those who escaped being massacred in the Night, were either dispatched in the Day by the Peasants they had plundered, or were killed by the *Ardean* Cavalry, which came up with them. And Fame [67] soon spreading abroad the News of this Defeat, it

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

Liv. B.5. c.45.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

67 A great Number of the *Gauls*, according to *Livy*, being warmly pursued by the *Ardeates*, fled with Precipitation and Disorder, to escape Death. Several of them found themselves in the Territory of *Antium*, before they knew it. And these unfortunate Men, being exhausted with Fatigues, were surrounded by Peasants, who ran together from the neighbouring Districts. At the same time, adds the *Latin* Historian, the *Hetrurians* were desirous of taking Advantage of the Misfortunes of *Rome*. The melancholy Condition to which that City was reduced, gave them a favourable Opportunity of repairing their former Losses. They therefore laid the Country waste, and carried away a considerable Booty from it. Nay, they came and encamped in Sight of *Veii*, with Design to lay Siege to it, and thereby deprive the Republick of all Hopes of Relief. But the *Roman* Garrison could not see these Pillagers come and insult them, even to the very Walls of their City, without Grief and Resentment. On the contrary, they were so transported with Rage, that they were for going and falling on the Enemy immediately. However, *Cæditius* the *Centurion*, who did the Office of a Commander, restrained the Fury of the Soldiers, and prevailed upon them to delay their Revenge till Night. Then they carried on their Expedition with so much Prudence, that the *Hetrurians* were surprized, and met with the same Fate as the *Gauls* had done near *Ardea*. Those who escaped the Conqueror's Sword were made Prisoners. And the *Romans* having understood that another Body of *Hetrurians* were committing Hostilities on the Side of *The Salt-Pits of Ostia*, marched with Expedition that Way. The Night following, they surprized the Enemy defenceless, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Then they returned triumphantly to *Veii*, to carry thither the News of this double Victory. We omitted inserting these two Events in the Text, to prevent breaking off the Thread of the History of the Siege of *Rome*.

revived

revived the Courage of the *Romans*, who were diſperſed abroad in the neighbouring Cities, eſpecially thoſe who had eſcaped at the Defeat of the *Allia*, and taken Refuge in *Veii*. Scarce any thing was talked of, but the great *Camillus*. It was a Surprize to the World, that an Exile, and a Malecontent, ſhould retain ſo much Love for his ungrateful Country. The *Ardeates* were envied the Glory they had acquired. It was ſaid, *That* Camillus's *Abſence was the Cauſe of the Misfortunes of* Rome, *and that his Preſence had done Honour to the Place of his Retreat. Why don't we demand him of the* Ardeates, ſaid the People, *who ſtill keep him with them? Why don't we go ready armed, and put him at the Head of an Army, which has no Commander? We have now neither Governors, nor Country.* Camillus *can no longer be deemed an Exile from* Rome, *which is no more; nor can we be thought Citizens of a City which is deſtroyed.* Such were the Diſcourſes of the *Roman* Fugitives, after *Camillus* had given the victorious *Gauls* this firſt Overthrow.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIII. Q. Fabius, &c. Military Tribunes.

§. VIII. But ſtill the *Capitol* continued inveſted. The *Romans* had alſo ſpent all the Proviſions they had in it, and the *Gauls* kept a ſtrict Guard, to prevent freſh ones being carried thither. Theſe were indeed the only Hoſtilities which were exchanged on either Side. The Avenues of the Citadel were carefully watched, and no body permitted to go in or out. Nevertheleſs, one *Fabius*, ſurnamed *Dorſo*, was ſuffered to paſs the Guard the *Gauls* kept, in Safety. The Day came, on which he was to keep a Family-Feſtival, in Honour to his Domeſtick Gods: And as he had inherited the greateſt Part of the Eſtates of his Family, it was incumbent upon him to offer Sacrifices [68] to the Tutelary Gods of it. The Place for the Ceremony was fixed; it could be performed no where, but on the Hill *Quirinalis*. The pious *Roman* therefore went out of the *Capitol*, on this ſolemn Day, dreſſed like a Sacrificer, with his Robe girt about him, and carrying his Gods and ſacrificing Inſtruments on his Shoulders. The *Gauls* were very religious. The *Latin* Hiſtorian, who ſpeaks worſt of them, is forced to acknowledge it: They were moved with the Piety of the *Roman*. They let him paſs, offer his Sacrifices, and return to the *Capitol*. And ſince then, the Courage of the *Roman* is ſo much boaſted of by the *Roman* Hiſtorians, why have they not done Juſtice to the Moderation of the *Gauls*? It proceeded from the ſame Principle of Piety towards the Gods.

Cic. B. 2. de Leg.

Plut. & Val. Max. B. 1.

Liv. B. 5. c. 46.

§. IX. As for the *Romans*, they now grew daily more and more ardently deſirous of revenging the Cauſe of *Rome*, ever ſince *Camillus*'s Victory. There were then about 20000 Men at *Veii*, collected out of the ſcattered Remains of the Battel of the *Allia*. And ſome or other of their Allies came daily, eſpecially from *Latium*, in Bodies, to join them, and enlarge their Army. So that theſe Men, who were reſolutely bent on fighting, wanted nothing but a General to head them. They had indeed choſen a private Centurion, named *Cæditius*, to lead them againſt the *Hetrurians*, who ſeemed willing to take Advantage of the Misfortune of the *Romans*, and to have a Deſign of retaking *Veii*. But after all, *Cæditius* was not a Man fit to make Head againſt the General of the *Gauls*. *Veii* therefore put them in mind of *Camillus*, who had conquered that City; and the greateſt Part of the new Army had ſerved under that Hero: And *Cæditius* himſelf conſented to deſire him to accept of the Command, but proteſted it ſhould never be taken out of his own Hands, till *Camillus* accepted it. So that Deputies were ſent to this famous Exile, to prevail on him to take the Command of the Troops. And how ſurprizing is the Deference the brave *Roman* ſhewed to the Laws of his Republick! Tho' ill uſed by his Nation, he paid a great Regard to their ancient Cuſtoms, even at a time when the publick Confuſions ſeemed to make any thing lawful. *Camillus* would not accept of the Generalſhip, till the People aſſembled *by Curiæ* had legally conferred it upon him. He thought the publick Authority was lodged in the Hands of thoſe who defended the Citadel, and was ſhut up there with them. The Difficulty therefore was, how to find a Way to them, through the *Gauls* who beſieged it.

Zonaras, B. 7.

Liv. B. 5. c. 45.

68 There were both publick and private Sacrifices among the *Romans*. The former, ſays *Feſtus*, were offered up in the Name of the People, *Tribes*, and *Curiæ*, for fruitful Harveſts, &c. The private Sacrifices were ſuch as were peculiar to each Family, which had its tutelary Gods, as every *Curia* had, according to *Romulus*'s Inſtitution. But theſe private Feſtivals were neither permitted, nor thought Acts of Religion, unleſs authorized by the *Pontifices*, to whom it belonged to aſſign the Place and Day for theſe Family-Sacrifices. When this was done, the Obſervance of them became a religious and indiſpenſable Duty, the Obligation to which was always conveyed down to the Deſcendants, or next Heirs of the Family. *Cicero, B. 2. de Legib.*

Year of ROME CCCLXIII. Q. Fabius, &c Military Tribunes.

The *Romans* could not come even at the City itſelf. But whilſt they were deliberating, how to get the General which thoſe of *Veii* deſired, confirmed in the *Capitol*, one *Pontius Cominius*, a Man of mean Birth, but bold, and very ambitious of Glory, undertook to go thither. He would not indeed undertake to carry any Letters to the Senate, for fear he ſhould fall into the Hands of the Enemy, and thoſe Letters ſhould diſcover his Deſign. But he dreſſed himſelf in a plain light Dreſs, and providing himſelf with Cork, to keep the longer above Water, threw himſelf into the *Tyber*, above *Rome*, in the beginning of the Night, and ſuffered himſelf to be carried down with the Stream. At length he came to the Foot of the *Capitol*, at a ſteep Place, where the *Gauls* had not thought it neceſſary to poſt any Centinels: and there, climbing up with Difficulty, made himſelf known to the Guard, which was poſted on the Ramparts; and being received into the Citadel, was brought before the Magiſtrates. The Senate was inſtantly aſſembled; the Envoy opened his Commiſſion to them; they deliberated upon it, and a Decree was paſt, that the *Curiæ* ſhould aſſemble, and abrogate the Act of Condemnation which had been paſſed upon *Camillus*. In ſhort, the *Curiæ* nominated him *Dictator*; and *Cominius* returned without delay. The ſame good Fortune which attended him to the *Capitol*, accompanied him in his Return. He came ſafe to *Veii*, and filled all the City with Joy. And it was probably there, that the reſt of the *Curiæ* aſſembled, and thoſe of *Veii* confirmed the Decree of the Senate, and declared *Camillus Dictator* a ſecond time. So that, nothing was now thought on, but fetching him from *Ardea*. He had indeed been proclaimed *Dictator*, in his Abſence, contrary to Cuſtom. But this was a ſmall Defect, in point of Form only, which the Neceſſities of the State made very excuſable.

Liv. B.5. c.46.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

§. X. And whilſt the *Romans* were going to *Ardea* for their new General, the *Gauls*, rambling round the *Capitol*, perceived that ſome body had lately climbed up into it. They ſaw the Print of a Man's Hands and Feet on the Sand. They obſerved likewiſe that the Ground was freſh broken up in ſeveral Places, and that the Graſs had been trodden down. By theſe Marks they judged that ſome body had lately gone up to, and returned from, the *Capitol*. And the *Gauls* making a Report of this to *Brennus*, he immediately formed a Deſign, which he communicated to no body. After he had well examined the Nature of the Place, the King ordered a choſen Body of brave Men to attempt to take the *Capitol* the ſame Way which was there marked out for them. He commanded them to climb up two a breaſt, that one might ſupport the other, in getting up the ſteep Parts of the Precipice. It was on that Side of the Rock, which overlooked the Gate *Carmentalis*, that the *Gauls* endeavoured to carry on this nocturnal Expedition. And they proceeded in it with ſuch a profound Silence, that their March was neither perceived by the Centinels, who were upon Guard in the Citadel, nor even by the Dogs, which are uſually awakened with the leaſt Noiſe. Inſomuch, that the *Senones* had already gained the Foot of the Ramparts, and were drawn up in Battalia to ſcale them. But what had eluded the Sagacity of the Dogs, could not eſcape the Vigilance of the Geeſe. A Flock of theſe Birds was kept in a Court in the *Capitol*, in Honour to *Juno*, and near her Temple: And the Lives of theſe Animals had been ſpared, notwithſtanding the Want of Proviſions in the Garriſon, out of Religion; but they had been more ſparingly fed than in times of Plenty. Geeſe naturally hear very quick; and Hunger had made theſe more vigilant than ordinary. They therefore hearing ſome Noiſe, firſt with their cackling, and then with beating their Wings, awakened *Manlius*, a good Soldier, who, three Years before, had been *Conſul*. Upon this he ſounded an Alarm, and was the firſt Man who mounted the Rampart. As ſoon as he came thither, he found two *Gauls* already upon the Wall, one of which lifted up his Battel-ax to ſtrike him with it; but the *Roman* cut off his Right Arm at one Stroke with his Sword, and giving the other *Gaul* a ſtrong Puſh with his Buckler, tumbled him down from the Top of the Wall. He, in his Fall, beat down many others with him; and the reſt of the *Gauls*, who continued hanging on the Top of the Wall with their Hands, were ſtabbed by *Manlius*. In ſhort, the *Romans* then crowding to the Place, beat off the Aggreſſors with Stones and Darts, and preſerved the Citadel from being taken. The reſt of the Night was ſpent in as much Tranquillity, as could be enjoyed by Men who had juſt eſcaped a great Danger, which was ſtill before their Eyes.

Liv. B.5. c.47. and *Plut.* Life of *Camil.*

Liv. B.5. c.47.

Year of ROME CCCLXIII.
Q. FABIUS, &c. Military Tribunes.

It was the Cuſtom of the *Romans*, at that time, not to ſuffer any laudable Action to go unrewarded: And therefore the *Tribune Sulpicius* aſſembled his Troops the next Morning, in order to beſtow the military Rewards on thoſe, who the Night before had deſerved them. Among whom *Manlius* was firſt named; and in Acknowledgment of the important Service he had juſt done, every Soldier gave him a Part of the Corn, which he received ſparingly from the publick Stock, and a Meaſure of Wine, about five Ounces. An inconſiderable Preſent indeed in itſelf, but a very agrecable one, at that time, to the Perſon to whom it was made. And after the *Tribune* had rewarded the Brave, he puniſhed the Negligent. He condemned the Captain of the Guard, who ought to have had an Eye over the Centinels, to die; and he was immediately thrown down from the Top of the *Capitol*. But what is moſt ſurprizing, is, that the *Romans* extended their Rewards and Puniſhments even to the Animals. Geeſe were ever after had in Honour at *Rome*, and a Flock of them always kept at the Expence of the Publick. A golden Image of a Gooſe was erected in Memory of them, and a Gooſe was every Year carried in Triumph upon a ſoft Litter finely adorned: Whilſt thoſe dumb Guards, the Dogs, were held in Abhorrence by the *Romans*, who every Year empaled one of them alive, on a Branch of Elder.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

Plin. & Plut. de Fortunâ Rom.

§. XI. BUT to return; the Blockade of the *Capitol* had now been carried on between ſix and ſeven Months. So that the Famine began to be very ſenſibly felt both by the Beſieged and the Beſiegers. The latter no longer kept the Field, they durſt not appear in it any more, ſince *Camillus* was at the Head of an Army. Beſides, a Plague raged in their Camp: Being poſted in the Midſt of the Ruins of the City they had burnt, and lying confuſedly among the dead Carcaſſes of the *Romans* whom they had ſlain, and not buried, the infected Air bred a Contagion among their Troops. Which was increaſed by their Negligence, in not burying but burning their own Dead; by the Clouds of Aſhes, with which the Wind filled the Air; and by the Heat of the Climate, which theſe Foreigners were ſcarce able to ſupport. So great a Number of them died in one Quarter of the City, that it was afterwards called *Buſta Gallica*, or the Place where the dead Bodies of the *Gauls* were burnt. But in the mean time, the *Romans* in the *Capitol* were more pinched with Want than the *Gauls*. They found themſelves reduced to ſuch Extremities as the moſt ſteady Courage could not ſupport it ſelf under. And at the ſame time they were ignorant both of the lamentable Condition to which the Enemy's Army was reduced, and of the Steps *Camillus* was taking to relieve his beſieged Countrymen. This Great General had already gathered together near 40000 Men, half *Romans*, and half Allies to the Republick. He waited only for a favourable Opportunity to fall upon the Enemy; but he ſuffered them to pine away, for the preſent, in their infected Camp: For he knew nothing of the extreme Want the *Romans* ſuffered in the *Capitol*. They were ſo deſtitute of all Sorts of Proviſions, that they could no longer ſubſiſt. So that the Soldiers who mounted the Guard began to murmur. They were ſo weak that they could ſcarce carry their Arms. Theſe therefore inſiſted on the Neceſſity of capitulating: And their Complaints being brought to *Sulpicius* the *Military Tribune*, he thought them reaſonable. Accordingly, the Senate was aſſembled, and gave the *Tribune* Power to treat with the *Gauls*: And the Beſiegers made no great Difficulty in coming to Terms. They themſelves had long deſired to end the War, and raiſe the Siege. So that an Agreement was made, and ſworn to, in a Conference between *Brennus* and the *Tribune Sulpicius*, to this Effect, That the *Romans* ſhould pay the *Gauls* the Value of about 1400 Marks * of Gold, and the *Gauls* quit *Rome*, and all the *Roman* Territories. A terrible Mortification for the *Romans*, had the Agreement been performed! It would have been ſaid, in After-times, that the People who conquered the whole World, had redeemed themſelves at a very low Price.

Liv. B. 5. c. 48.

* About 45000 *l. Sterling.*

HOWEVER, I have Reaſon to believe, that after this Convention, there was a ſort [69] of Truce ſettled between the *Romans* and the *Gauls*, and a free Communication

69 *Livy* ſays, both Parties agreed on a Truce for ſome Days, to facilitate the holding their Conferences. And he adds, that in theſe Conferences the *Gauls* made ſome Jeſts upon the Want the *Romans* ſuffered during the Siege. But this the *Roman* Pride was ſhocked at, and made no Anſwer to theſe Raileries, otherwiſe than by throwing a great many Loaves into the Enemy's Camp, from the Top of the *Capitol*. This Air of Confidence ſurprized the Barbarians, and baffled their Hopes. *Manlius*, ſays *Florus*

Year of ROME CCCLXIII.

Q. Fabius, &c. Military Tribunes: *Plut.* Life of *Camil.*

cation opened between the two Nations. So that all that now remained to be done, was to pay the *Gauls* the Sum ſtipulated. But there were then neither any Gold nor Silver Coins in Being. Metals paſſed current only by Weight. On the Day appointed therefore, *Sulpicius* brought *Brennus* the Sum agreed on, and offered him Scales and Weights to weigh it. But it is ſaid, to the Shame of the *Gauls*, that their Weights were falſe, and their Scales not true. At leaſt it's certain *Sulpicius* complained of them: and the King, enraged at the Reproach, put his Sword and Belt likewiſe into the Scale where the Weights were. Upon which, the *Roman*, provoked at this barbarous Way of Proceeding, asked, *What he meant by it?* And *Brennus* haughtily replied, *I did it, to make you ſenſible, how miſerable a thing it is to be conquered.* And this haſty Expreſſion became afterwards proverbial. The noble-ſpirited *Sulpicius* felt the Sting of it, and had like to have broken off the Treaty. Some of the *Romans*, which attended him, were likewiſe for carrying back the Gold, and continuing the Hoſtilities. But the wiſeſt of them thought it more adviſeable to comply with the unjuſt Exactions of a Barbarian, which would turn to his own Shame; and judged it neceſſary to purchaſe the Deliverance of *Rome*, at a Price, which was in reality a very moderate one, and at the Expence of a little Shame, which the preſent State of Affairs made it neceſſary to bear. And whilſt they were diſputing this Matter, *Camillus* came with a Surprize upon them, attended with his principal Officers. The *Dictator*'s finding it ſo eaſy to enter the Gates of the City, was without doubt owing to the Truce. He had left his Army in the Neighbourhood of the City, with Orders to follow him ſlowly. However, his Preſence raiſed the Courage of the *Romans*, and lowered the Pride of the *Gauls*. *Take away theſe Inſtruments of an infamous Commerce*, ſaid the *Dictator*; Rome *muſt not be redeemed with Money, but with the Sword.* To which the *Gauls* anſwered in a Rage, *The Convention is confirmed by mutual Oaths. I grant it*, replied *Camillus*; *but it is of no Force notwithſtanding, becauſe it was made by an inferior Magiſtrate, without the Privity or Conſent of the* Dictator. *I, who am inveſted with the ſupreme Authority over the* Romans, *declare all Treaties made to the Diſhonour of* Rome *null; and I declare War with you. Have recourſe to your Arms, and let us come immediately to an Engagement.* Upon which it is ſaid, ſome Blows enſued; but whether there did or not, *Camillus* inſtantly rejoined his Troops, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus, *The time is now come, Fellow-Citizens, for you to reconquer your deſolate Country. Fight then for your Temples, yourſelves, your Wives, your Children, and your diſtreſſed Republick.* Indeed *Rome* itſelf was the Field of Battel, on which the Fate of the *Romans* was determined. *Camillus* drew up his Army within its Walls, amidſt the Ruins of the Houſes, and upon an uneven Piece of Ground, which was covered with Rubbiſh. But his Skill in military Affairs enabled him to provide againſt all theſe Inconveniences, and even draw Advantages from them. The *Gauls*, on the other hand, prepared to begin the Attack with their natural Fury and Impetuoſity, which their Rage augmented. However, the *Romans* received their firſt Onſet with Intrepidity. After which, the *Gauls* gave way, were repulſed, and put to flight, with as much eaſe, as the *Romans* had been, near the *Allia*. Their Loſs indeed was not great, but they left *Rome* the Night following, and encamped about three Leagues from it, in the Road to *Gabii*. And here the *Romans*, being perſuaded that the Gods and *Fortune* were now become propitious to them, came to

Liv. B. 5. c. 49. *Plut.* Life of *Camil.* *Livy*, ibid.

Liv. B. 5. c. 49.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

Florus the Hiſtorian, B. 1. c. 13. perſuaded the Garriſon to make uſe of this Stratagem, to tire out the Patience of the *Gauls*, who thought the Famine would ſoon oblige the *Military Tribunes* to ſurrender the Citadel. But *Lactantius*, B. 20. gives us a different Account of this matter. He ſays that when the *Romans* were reduced to Extremities, for Want of Proviſions, they were commanded in a Dream, by *Jupiter*, the tutelary God of the *Capitol*, to make all the Corn they had left into Bread, and then throw it into *Brennus*'s Camp, reſerving none to ſupply their own Wants. And this Artifice ſucceeded, continues *Lactantius*. The *Gauls*, deceived by this great Appearance of Plenty, deſpair'd of reducing the *Romans* by Famine, as they had expected, and raiſed the Siege. And *Rome* being at length delivered by the viſible Interpoſition of *Jupiter*, paid him particular Honours. In Memory of ſo ſignal a Bleſſing, the *Romans* erected an Altar to this God under the odd Name of *Jupiter Piſtor*, i. e. *Jupiter the Baker*. *Ovid* ſeems to countenance this Story, *Faſt.* B. 6.

Poſſe fame vinci ſpes excidit, hoſte repulſo,
Diſcam Piſtoris quid velit ara Jovis.

But the Account given by *Livy*, *Plutarch*, and the other Hiſtorians, is without Contradiction the moſt credible: And, whatever *Lactantius* may ſay of it, it is certain *Camillus* always had the Credit of having driven away the *Gauls*, and of deſerving, by that memorable Act, the Title of *Deliverer of his Country*.

another

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIII. Q. Fabius, *&c.* Military Tribunes.

another Battel, which was more bloody than the firſt. They found their *Roman* Bravery revive, under the Command of their new General. The Battel was long, and fought with great Bravery on [70] both Sides. But at laſt *Camillus*'s Valour made every thing give way before it. There was a great Number of the *Gauls* left dead on the Field of Battel, and the reſt were partly diſperſed, and partly put to the Sword, by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages. Thus ended a War, which ſeems very wonderful in all its Circumſtances. Strangers came from far, took and demoliſhed *Rome*, which to that time had ſeemed invincible to the moſt warlike Nations in *Italy*. An Exile became the Deliverer of his Country, which was then ſenſible of her Want of a Man, whom ſhe had thrown out of her Boſom.

§. XII. Nevertheless, it was *Camillus*'s Fate to be always an Object of Jealouſy. The unuſual Magnificence of a Triumph formerly drew upon him the Odium of the People. And now the Triumph itſelf, which was decreed him for his having delivered *Rome*, raiſed him up new Enemies. The Victor indeed affected nothing new in the Pomp of his Proceſſion; but it was not in his Power to command the Shouts and Applauſes of the *Soldiers* and People, who returned to the conquered City from all Parts. Wherever he came, they gave him the Appellations of *A ſecond* Romulus, and *A Deliverer of his Country*. And this gave the *Tribunes of the People* Suſpicions of a *Patrician*, their Enemy, who was going to become the Idol of the *Romans*. They therefore revived an old Quarrel, which the preſent Circumſtances of things made it eaſier for them to ſucceed in now, than formerly. They had ſome Years ago propoſed a Law, againſt which *Camillus* had declared himſelf. The *Tribunes of the People* had then been for dividing the Senate and Government of the Republick, between the Cities of *Veii* and *Rome*. But now, their View was to get the demoliſhed City of *Rome* entirely deſerted, and to make *Veii* alone the Seat of the Government, and ſole Capital of the Republick: And the People ſeemed readily enough inclined to leave a City, which was buried in its own Ruins. *Camillus*, whoſe Zeal for Religion was equal to his Merit in War, had indeed rebuilt the chief Temples of the Gods: and he had erected one new one, in Honour to that propitious God, who had revealed the near Approach of the *Gauls* to *Cæditius*. A new Name was coined for this unknown Divinity, and he was called *Aius Locutius*. The City had likewiſe been purified from all the Profanations committed in it. But when the Houſes of private Perſons came to be built, every one was ſenſible of the Difficulty of ſo burdenſome an Undertaking. The publick Treaſure had been exhauſted; the Goods of private Perſons had been expoſed to Plunder for ſix or ſeven Months paſt; and laſtly, their Strength of Body was diminiſhed, and the *Romans* wanted Reſt too much, to undertake ſuch painful Works. And this Reluctance in the Publick emboldned the *Tribunes of the People* to utter their ſeditious Harangues againſt *Camillus*. They repreſented him as an ambitious Man, who was very fond of acquiring the Honour of being the Reſtorer of *Rome*; and ſuggeſted, that his having had the Name of *Romulus* given him, was in effect threatning the Republick with a new King.

Liv. B. 5. c. 49.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

[70] According to *Livy*, the *Gauls* were terrified at their firſt Defeat, and made but a ſlight Reſiſtance. It was not, ſays he, ſo much a Battel as a Slaughter. The Enemy being intimidated, ſuffered themſelves to be cut in pieces, without Mercy. There was not one ſingle *Gaul* left to carry his Countrymen the News of this fatal Cataſtrophe. The Camp of the Barbarians was plundered; and *Camillus*, laden with Spoils, entred *Rome* in Triumph, attended with the Acclamations of his Army, and the People.

[71] The *Legionary* Soldiers marched after the triumphal Chariot, crowned with Laurel. They filled all Places with their Acclamations, and the Praiſes of the Victor. This numerous Train inceſſantly repeated the triumphal Song, *Io Triumphe! Io Triumphe!* And as the Soldiers thought they might take great Liberties on theſe publick Feſtivals, they mixed licentious Expreſſions, and often ſatyrical and injurious Reflections on the Conqueror himſelf, with their Shouts; perhaps to balance the Honours he enjoyed, with theſe poignant things, and to keep him within the Bounds of Modeſty, in the midſt of the Pomp which ſurrounded him. *Livy* ſeems to inſinuate, that this was done in *Camillus*'s Triumph: *Triumphans in Urbem redit: interque jocos militares quos inconditos jaciunt.* It is evident, ſays *D. Hal. B. 7.* by what was practiſed in Triumphs, that thoſe Diverſions, which were mixed with Ridicule were anciently in eſteem among the *Romans*. Thoſe who followed the triumphal Proceſſion, had Liberty to ſay what they pleaſed, and be as ſevere as they pleaſed, on the moſt deſerving Men. They did not ſpare even the Generals of the Army, like thoſe Buffoons at *Athens*, who rode through the Streets in Chariots, and inſulted thoſe who paſſed by, with ſevere Railleries. He adds, that the ſame thing was done in the Funeral Pomp of Perſons of Diſtinction. Choirs of Satyrs, adds he, attended them, and joined their Songs with the *Sicinnus*, which was a comical, merry Dance.

Year of ROME CCCLXIV. M. Furius Camillus, Dictator. *Liv. B. 5. Plut.* Life of *Cam.*

§. XIII. But the Senators would not come into the Measures of the *Plebeian* Faction, in this Instance. They were for *Camillus*, and desired to see *Rome* rebuilt. And in order to give the *Dictator* time to execute his own Designs, and disappoint those of the *Tribunes*, they continued him a whole Year in that Office; tho' the *Dictatorship* had hitherto always expired, at the end of six Months. No *Comitia* were therefore held as usual, for the Election of chief Magistrates. *Camillus* alone supplied the Place of *Consuls*, or *Military Tribunes*. None but inferior Magistrates were elected in *Rome*, all the Year; namely, such as *Quæstors*, *Tribunes of the People*, and *Ædiles*. So that *Camillus* being solely invested with the supreme Authority in the Republick, for some time, he made it his whole Business to extinguish the headstrong Desire the People had, of leaving *Rome*, to go and inhabit *Veii*. And in order to this, he commanded the *Curiæ* to be [72] assembled, and addressed himself to them thus. Romans, *your* Tribunes *are now reviving their old Bitterness and Rage against me, and endeavouring to put you upon pernicious Undertakings. I am not afraid to declare this to you. The Remembrance of my former Quarrels* *Liv. B. 5. c. 51.* *with the* Tribunes, *made my Abode at* Ardea *agreeable: and I should on that account never have returned to* Rome *again, if your distressed Condition had not drawn me from all the Pleasures I enjoyed in my Banishment. And even now, I would not open my Lips, could I think myself at liberty to be insensible of the Interests of my Country. But this would be shameful in any other Citizen, and criminal in* Camillus. *Alas! what Benefit will it be to me, that I have forced* Rome *out of the Hands of formidable Enemies, if we voluntarily abandon, what it has cost us so* *Liv. ibid.* *much Pains to conquer? Shall our Success prove more destructive to* Rome, *than our Adversity? The barbarous* Gauls *have indeed demolished some of the Houses in the City, but you would not willingly spare the* Capitol *itself! And has not this* Jupiter Capitolinus, *who has always protected us, now deserved greater Degrees of Zeal and Affection from us, than ever? It was through his Assistance, that we were enabled to recover* Rome. *And if you will look back to the earliest Times of the Republick, you will find, that our Prosperity has all along been owing to Religion. When we took* Veii, *were we not forewarned of this important Conquest, by a Prodigy? Did not the Gods foretell the Misfortunes with which* Brennus *threat-*

[72] According to *Livy*, the Senate was assembled by *Camillus*, as soon as he had been confirmed *Dictator*, and before this Assembly of the *Curiæ*. And the Senators, continues the *Latin* Historian, passed a Decree, which they drew up at *Camillus*'s Solicitation and Request, commanding, 1*st*, That the Temples which had been polluted by the Impiety and Robbery of the *Gauls*, should be purified with the usual Rites on such Occasions. 2*dly*, That the Ruins of the other Buildings dedicated to the Worship of the Gods should be repaired, and the Buildings made as large as before, and have no other Limits but those which the *Augurs* had originally marked out for them. 3*dly*, That the *Duumviri* should consult the Sacred Books, to know what Forms should be observed in the Expiations. And 4*thly*, That *The Right of Hospitality* should be granted to the Inhabitants of *Cære*, in Acknowledgment of the good Offices they had done the Republick, in giving the Priests, who had the Care of the Sacred Depositum, which they had carried away from *Rome*, to avoid the Fury of the *Gauls*, an hospitable Reception; and in permitting the *Romans*, who had taken Refuge among them, the free Exercise of their Religion. To which *Aulus Gellius* adds, that the People of that City were rewarded with the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens, only with these Provisoes, That they should have no Right of voting in the *Comitia*, or being elected into Offices, or bearing any Part in the Administration of Affairs. The Inhabitants of *Cære*, says that Author, were the first who were honoured with the Title of *Roman Citizens*, with these Limitations. And lastly, continues *Livy*, the Decree of the Senate commanded solemn *Games* to be celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of Thanksgiving for his having protected *Rome* when reduced to the last Extremity, and saved the *Capitol* when on the Brink of Destruction. *Camillus* also received a Commission from the Senate, to establish a College, the Members of which should be chosen out of those People who lived on the *Capitol* it self. The chief Business of this College, was to make all due Preparations for, and take Care that every thing was well performed in, the Celebration of these *Games*. After this Decree was obtained, the next Question was to know to what Use the Gold which had been taken from the *Gauls*, and the Riches which had been brought from other Temples to that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, to prevent their being seized by the Barbarians, should be applied. As these Things had been removed in a Hurry, amidst the Confusion occasioned by the Approach of the Enemy, they were all confounded together, and it was impossible to distinguish what belonged to each Temple. It was therefore resolved that these Effects should be put into the Sacred Treasury, in a Place under the Chapel dedicated to *Jupiter*. Lastly, there was a Deputation sent to the *Roman* Ladies, with Orders to thank them, in the Name of the Senate, for their Generosity in serving their Country, and supplying the Necessities of the State, at a time when the publick Treasury was exhausted, by chusing rather to strip themselves of all the valuable Things they had, than to suffer the Sum which the *Romans*, when on the Brink of Destruction, had agreed to pay the *Gauls*, (in order to induce them to leave *Rome*, and raise the Siege of the Citadel) to be taken out of the Sacred Treasury. And then, adds *Livy*, the *Roman* Ladies had the Privilege granted them of having Funeral-Orations spoken for them; an Honour which the Men only enjoyed before. But *Plutarch* refers the granting this Privilege to another Occasion, as we have observed above.

med

Year of ROME CCCLXIV.
M. Furius Camillus, Dictator.
Liv. B.5. c.51.

ned us? We indeed neglected their Admonitions, and they have punished us for it. But when our Misfortunes had made us wiser, we then had recourse to the Gods, and preserved the Capitol, *the Habitation of Great* Jupiter: *and our Victory was the Reward of our Piety. By which,* Romans, *you may easily judge, how enormous a Crime it would be in you, to reject those Protectors, who have never yet deserted you. Our City is full of them; it has had almost as many Temples as Houses, ever since its Foundation. Every Family has its* 73 *peculiar Gods, whose Worship cannot be performed, but in the Places appointed for it, and in* Rome. *Shall we then abandon them?* Fabius Dorso *was not afraid to pass through the midst of the Enemy's Troops, in the Heat of War, in order to offer Sacrifices in the proper Place. A noble Example of a steady Adherence to the Gods of our Fathers! And shall then our* Pontifices *be less scrupulously observant of sacred Customs in the publick Exercise of Religion, than a private* Roman, *in celebrating the Festivals of his domestick Gods? Nor let it be objected, that the Ceremonies of Religion may either be observed in* Veii, *or Priests sent from thence to* Rome, *to perform them here. How many Acts of Worship do we perform, which must necessarily be done within the Compass of these Walls? Did the sacred Bucklers fall from Heaven in any other Place but* Rome? *Will* Romulus *consent to our paying him that Homage at* Veii, *which is now paid him in a City founded by himself? Will* Mars *protect a People who do not reside within the Walls, which bear his Son's Name? Shall the Progress I have already made in Building the Temple of* Aius Locutius, *and repairing so many others, be all lost, and come to nothing? What,* Vesta, *will your Priestesses forsake you? Will the great Priest of* Jupiter, *for whom it is unlawful to leave* Rome *but for one Night, become an Inhabitant of* Veii? *Shall Foreigners share the Honours of the Priesthood with us? Can our* Comitia 74, *which are always consecrated by the* Augurs, *be held any where, but at the Foot of the Ramparts? Or shall we lay ourselves under a Necessity of coming into a desolate Country, if we would hold our civil Assemblies, or perform the Ceremonies of Religion, in a legal manner? How expensive, how inconvenient must it be, to come so often, and so far to* Rome? *But, say some, neither the publick nor private Persons are in a Condition to erect so many new Buildings: and* Veii *offers to supply us with more convenient Houses than we have here. But this is only the vain Pretence of restless Spirits! Would not your* Tribunes *have removed you to* Veii, *before the* Gauls *came, or* Rome *was destroyed? Were your Houses burnt down then? For my part, I am of opinion, that it would have been less inconvenient for us to have removed, before* Rome *was destroyed, than now. It might then perhaps have been for*

73 The *Roman* Families, such as the *Claudian*, *Æmilian*, *Julian*, and *Cornelian*, had their private Festivals, Expiations and Sacrifices, and a Time and Place were appointed for the Celebration of these Solemnities: As also their Anniversaries in Memory of their deceased Relations, in order to repeat annually the last Duties they owed them, according to the Ceremonies of Paganism. Every Year renewed the Remembrance of the Birth or Decease of some Head of a Family; or of the Success of some important Enterprize; or some Day of Prosperity or Misfortunes, of Joy or Sorrow, to these illustrious Families. Which were so many Obligations to return Thanks to the Gods, to invoke their Protection, appease them by Sacrifices, and lastly, to assemble together to worship them in private, under the Direction of the Father of the Family, who was indispensably obliged to preside at the Ceremony. This the *Romans* thought so essential a Duty, that *Fabius Maximus* the *Dictator* was called back to *Rome* by the *Pontifices*, when engaged in opposing *Hannibal*'s Army, in order to assist at a private Festival his Family was obliged to celebrate. And *Livy* tells us, *B.* 11. that *Sextus Digitius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, came from *Macedonia* to *Rome* on purpose to do the same thing. *Cicero* speaks of this Custom, *ch.* 15. *de Aruspicum responsis*, thus: ——*Multi sunt etiam in hoc ordine, qui Sacrificia Gentilia, illo ipso in sacello, statuto loco, anniversarii factitarint.* *Macrobius* confirms the Truth of this Custom, *Sunt præterea Feriæ propriæ familiarum, ut Claudiæ familiæ, vel Æmiliæ, seu Juliæ sive Corneliæ, & si quas ferias quæque familia, ex usu domesticæ celebritatis, observat; sunt singulorum, ut natalium fulgurumque susceptione.* The Celebration of these Festivals, tho' established according to the Will and Pleasure and Devotion of the Institutors, were thought indispensable Duties of Religion on every Family: So that the Son, who succeeded to the Rights and Possessions of his Father, contracted an Obligation at the same time to defray the Expences of these Solemnities. And so likewise did other Heirs. An adopted Child, whose Adoption gave him the Advantages of the Family, was likewise necessarily obliged to join in this Duty. *Marci Anci filius in Suffenatis familiam, & sacra transierat*, says *Val. Max. B.* 7.

74 The *Romans* made it an essential Part of Religion, to assemble the *Comitia*, whether those *by Curiæ*, or *by Centuries*, only in such Places as had been consecrated by the *Augurs*. For this Reason, they thought it not lawful to hold any *Comitia by Curiæ*, without the Inclosure, or *Pomærium* of *Rome*; the Bounds of which it was the *Augurs* Duty both to fix and consecrate. The *Campus Martius*, which was the usual Place for assembling the *Comitia by Centuries*, had likewise its Boundaries, which were settled and consecrated by the *Augurs*. The Case of the *Comitia by Tribes* indeed was otherwise: They were held indifferently, sometimes in the *Forum Romanum*, sometimes in the *Capitol*, and sometimes out of the City, because not subject to these religious Forms.

Year of ROME CCCLXIV.
M. Furius Camillus, Dictator.

our Honour, to have gone and taken Poſſeſſion of a conquered City. But now we cannot deſert Rome, *without magnifying the Victory of the* Gauls. *Our Flight would be imputed to them; and tho' we have in fact driven them away, they would nevertheleſs boaſt of having diſpoſſeſſed us of our City. And they would then have nothing to do, but to come and take Poſſeſſion again of a City, which they will have forced us to abandon. Or, if they ſhould not do this, perhaps the* Volſci *or the* Æqui, *will think it worth their while to make themſelves Maſters of theſe Ruins which you deſpiſe: And then, they will enjoy the Name of* Romans, *whilſt you are only called by that of* Veientes. *Ought we not then to chuſe to live in as poor Cottages, as that of our Founder* Romulus, *rather than ſuffer this Diſgrace? Our Anceſtors, who were content at firſt to live in mean Huts, ſoon after built themſelves tolerable Houſes: And yet we are not in ſo bad a Condition now, as they were then. The* Capitol *remains entire. The Temples of our Gods are reſtored. We have nothing more to do, but to rebuild our Houſes, which might as well have been conſumed by an accidental Fire, as deſignedly burnt by an Enemy. Let us therefore all do, what each of us would have done, had his Houſes been deſtroyed by Accident. If we were to remove to* Veii, *as you incline to do, could any Man be ſure of eſcaping ſudden Fires there? And muſt we in ſuch a caſe find out ſome third Place of Retreat? Where can we find more pleaſant Hills, or finer Air, or a more wholeſome Situation, than here? Does not the River, which waters our City, ſupply its Inhabitants with Plenty, and convey to us the rich Products both of Sea and Land? My greateſt Mortification in my Baniſhment, was, that I was forced to remove out of ſo delightful a Country. It is not without Reaſon, that both Gods and Men have pitched upon this Place to be the Capital of an invincible Nation. Have the* Æqui *and* Volſci *in conjunction, or has indeed all* Hetruria, *been able to ſhake, or even equal your Power, in War? Why then ſhould we go to try the Viciſſitudes of Fortune in another Place? Have not the Deſtinies promiſed, that the City which is overlooked by the* Capitol, *ſhall be the Miſtreſs of Nations? The perpetual Fire of* Veſta, *the Bucklers which fell down from Heaven, and the great Multitude of Deities which protect us, are infallible Aſſurances to us of it.*

The Multitude was much affected with the Motives mentioned in this Diſcourſe, but with none more than thoſe of Religion. The People ſeemed determined to recover *Rome* out of her Ruins: but it was neceſſary that this Reſolution ſhould be confirmed by the Authority of the Senate. The *Dictator* therefore himſelf reported the Affair to the *Conſcript Fathers*, and gave them all free Liberty of voting according to their Judgments. *Lucretius*, who was to ſpeak firſt, was juſt ready to begin, and all kept Silence in order to hear him, when it happened that a *Centurion*, who had been upon Guard, and was marching off his Men, cried out to them, *Stop here.* Which 75 Words being heard into the Place where the publick Council was held, they were interpreted to be dictated by the Gods themſelves: and the Senator, who was going to ſpeak, took Occcaſion to declare from thence, that the People muſt continue in *Rome*. In ſhort, a Decree was paſſed, for the rebuilding the ruinous City, with the unanimous Conſent of both Senate and People. So that *Camillus* carried his Point againſt the Faction of the *Tribunes of the People*. Nevertheleſs, they determined to exerciſe their Authority againſt another *Patrician* at leaſt, who certainly deſerved Puniſhment. This was *Q. Fabius*. He, when ſent on Embaſſy to the *Gauls*, with his two Brothers, had violated the Law of Nations, in killing one of the Generals of the *Gauls*, in a ſingle Combat; and had thereby brought all thoſe Misfortunes on *Rome*, which had like to have utterly deſtroyed her. As long as he continued *Military Tribune*, he was undiſturbed, out of reſpect to his Dignity; but as ſoon as *Fabius* had laid down his Office, and before *Camillus*'s *Dictatorſhip* was expired, the *Tribunes* cited him to appear before the People. His Crime was

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

Liv. B.6. c.1.

75 Theſe Words paſſed for an Oracle, or Admonition of the Gods: Which is what the *Romans* properly called *Omen*. How frivolous ſoever theſe Signs might be, which had often only an arbitrary Relation to the Event; the Perſons concerned took Advantage of them, to impoſe on the Credulity of the Simple. Theſe Preſages indeed may be ſo remarkable in themſelves, and bear ſo ſtrong a Relation to the Thing in hand, that no Body can deſpiſe them without Irreligion. This is *Cicero*'s Thought, when he ſays, *Men may indeed laugh at theſe Things, and ridicule them; but nevertheleſs, to deſpiſe the Admonitions of the Gods, is to disbelieve their Exiſtence.* His Words are, *Omina hæc poſſe contemni & videri præclare intelligo, ſed id ipſum eſt Deos non putare, quæ ab iis ſignificantur contemnere. B.1. De Divin.*

known;

known; and his ill Conduct had been the Cauſe of all the Calamities of the Publick. So that the Criminal had reaſon to fear the ſevereſt Puniſhment; but he died, ſo opportunely, to avoid Condemnation, that he was ſuſpected of having killed himſelf. And now *Camillus* had nothing more to do, but to cloſe this glorious Year, with laying down the *Dictatorſhip*; which he did, before the time came for electing new Magiſtrates. The time of his Abdication was about the end of *January*; and an *Interregnum* enſued. But *Camillus* was again nominated to take his Turn, in governing the State alternately, with *P. Cornelius Scipio*, as long as this *Interregnum* ſhould laſt. And it happened to fall to *Camillus*'s Lot to preſide at the Election of new ſupreme Magiſtrates for the Year enſuing.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIV.

M. Furius Camillus, Dictator.

§. XIV. The *Comitia by Centuries* placed ſix *Military Tribunes* at the Head of the Republick; whoſe Names [76] were, *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *L. Virginius Tricoſtus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *A. Manlius Capitolinus*, *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Poſthumius Albinus*. The firſt Care of theſe new Magiſtrates, was to collect all the ancient Monuments of the Religion and Civil Laws of *Rome*, which could be found, in this confuſed Heap of Ruins. The Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, and ſome of the Laws of the Kings, had been written on Braſs, and fixed up in the *Forum*; and the Treaties which had been made with ſeveral Nations, had been engraven on Pillars, erected in the Temples. Pains was therefore taken to gather up ſome Remains of theſe precious Monuments; and what could not be found, was ſupplied as well as it could be, by Memory. As for the Ceremonies of Religion, the *Pontifices* undertook the Re-eſtabliſhment of them. After which, a Liſt was made of lucky and unlucky Days; meaning by the latter, thoſe, on which it was not lawful to offer Sacrifices, adminiſter Juſtice, or begin any new Expeditions. Of this Number [77] was the eighteenth Day of *July*, which was remarkable for two unfortunate Actions; That in which the three hundred *Fabii* periſhed near the *Cremera*; and That, in which the *Romans* were beaten by the *Gauls*, upon the Banks of the *Allia*. In this Liſt of unlucky Days, was alſo the ſixteenth of [78] *July*, becauſe the Sacrifices offered the Gods by *Sulpicius* the *Military Tribune*,

Year of *ROME* CCCLXV.

L. Valerius Poplicola, L. Virginius, P. Cornelius, A. Manlius, L. Æmilius, and L. Poſthumius, Military Tribunes. *Liv. B.6. c.1.*

Liv. B.6. c.1.

76 *Lucius Val. Poplicola* was now promoted to the *Military Tribuneſhip* a ſecond time. *Aulus Manlius*, one of his Collegues, was Brother to *Marcus Manlius*, who defended the *Capitol* againſt the Attacks of the *Gauls*. This *L. Æmilius* was he who was honoured with the *Military Tribuneſhip* five times, and with the *Conſulſhip* twice. He is ſuppoſed to have been the Father of *Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas*. At leaſt, the *Faſti Capitolini* make the latter the Son of *Lucius*, and the Grandſon of *Lucius*. *L. F. L. N.* *Lucius Poſthumius*'s Father ſeems to have been that *Publius Poſthumius* who was killed by his own Army. It is evident *Macrobius* is miſtaken, when he gives the *Poſthumius* here ſpoken of, the *Prænomen* of *Aulus*. And he is no leſs miſtaken in the Number of *Military Tribunes*, which he makes to have been but four, for this Year. Upon the Credit of ſome ancient *Annals* of *Gellius*, and *Caſſius Hemina*, ſome put *Vigilius Mallius* in the room of *Lucius Virginius*, and read *Cælius* inſtead of *Cornelius*. This *Cornelius* may poſſibly have been the Son of *Publius Cornelius Coſſus*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year 338.

77 That is, *The fifteenth of the Calends of* Auguſt. *Plutarch* indeed fixes theſe two Events to *The ſixteenth of the Calends*, or the 17th Day of *July*. And *Tacitus* places them on *The ſeventeenth of the Calends of* Auguſt. *Cicero* in a Letter to *Atticus*, 9. 5. ſays, That among the *Romans*, the Day of the Battel of the *Allia*, was deemed a more fatal one, than that on which *Rome* was taken, inaſmuch as the latter was only the Conſequence of the former. *Allienſis Dies dicebatur apud Romanos obſcœniſſimi nominis*, ſays *Feſtus*. Upon which Occaſion, *Pliny*, *B.* 7. exclaims with reaſon, againſt the Blindneſs and Superſtition of Mankind; *who are*, ſays he, *ingenious in finding out Means to enſlave themſelves, and ſet Bounds to their Liberty.*

Vana Mortalitas eſt ad circumſcribendam ſeipſam ingenioſa.

78 Beſides *The ſixteenth*, or *The Day after the Ides of* July, *Livy* ſays, That the Days immediately following the *Calends*, *Ides*, and *Nones*, of every Month, were thought unlucky by the *Romans*, upon the Credit of an old Tradition: and *Verrius Flaccus* tells us in *Aulus Gellius*, *B. 5. ch.* 17. the Reaſon why the *Romans* reckoned theſe Days among the *Dies Atri*, i. e. *unlucky* Days. After the *Gauls* had been driven from *Rome*, ſays he, *L. Atilius* made a Report to the Senate, That *Quintus Sulpitius* the *Military Tribune*, when ready to engage the Enemy on the Banks of the *Allia*, offered a Sacrifice to the Gods, *The Day after the Ides*, before he gave Battel; That notwithſtanding this, his Army was cut in pieces; and That three Days after, *Rome* itſelf fell into the Hands of the Barbarians, the *Capitol* only excepted. To which, continues *Verrius Flaccus*, ſeveral of the Senators replied, That they had remarked, that the Sacrifices offered to the Gods, on *The Days after the Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, had always been followed by ſome fatal Event to the Republick. Upon which, the Examination into this Affair was referred to the College of the *Pontifices*, who determined, that no Sacrifices ſhould for the future be offered up on thoſe Days. And *Aulus Gellius* adds, that *The fourth of the Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, were *inauſpicious* Days; *Dies Inominales*. But he obſerves, That the ancient Annals mention nothing which could give Birth to this Superſtition; unleſs it were, that the *Romans*, according to *Claudius* the *Annaliſt*, loſt the Battel they fought with *Hannibal*, at *Cannæ*, on *The fourth of the Nones of* Auguſt. *Livy*, *B.* 6. calls theſe unlucky Days, *Dies Religioſi*; which *Aulus Gellius* explains, *B.* 4. *ch.* 9. *Religioſi Dies dicuntur triſti omine infames impeditique, in quibus & res divinas facere, & rem quampiam novam exordiri, temperandum eſt.*

Year of *ROME* CCCLXV.

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, *&c* Military Tribunes.

Liv. B.5. c.50. Plut. Life of *Camil.*

on that Day, by Way of Preparation for the Battel, were not propitiatory 79 and agreable; and to theſe ſeveral Days, were added ſome others.

THIS done, the Governors of the Republick applied themſelves wholly to repairing the Ruins of the Houſes. It has been already obſerved, that *Camillus* had begun with putting in hand ſome of the chief Temples. But as it was the Superſtition of that time, to fix the Dimenſions of ſacred Edifices with religious Ceremonies, it was found very difficult to diſcover the old Limits of each Temple ſo fully, as that it might be rebuilt exactly on the ſame Foundations. And an Accident then happened, which how fortuitous ſoever, paſſed for a Prodigy. *Romulus*'s *Augural* Staff was found not burnt, amidſt the Aſhes of the Temple of *Mars*, near the Hill *Palatinus*. The *Romans* inferred from thence, That their City would continue for ever; and That the ſame Fate which favoured *Romulus*, would preſerve it from all Misfortunes. But may it not be ſuſpected, that *Camillus* had Addreſs enough to ſubſtitute another *Augural* Staff, in the room of *Romulus*'s, which had hitherto been kept hid, to gain it the more Veneration? As to private Houſes, they were not begun to be built, till after the new *Military Tribunes* had entered upon their Office. The Expence of them was partly defrayed out of the publick Treaſure; and the *Ædiles* were commiſſioned to regulate, and haſten the Works. But they appear to have executed this Office with little Care, or little Taſte. They ſuffered every Man to chuſe what Spot of Ground he pleaſed, and to build his Houſe upon it, without any Symmetry, or Order, or even ſo much as obliging them to build in ſtrait Lines, that the Streets might be handſome, and the Croſs-ways regular. An Agreement was made with Undertakers, who obliged themſelves to finiſh the Houſes in a Year. The Timber and Shingles for the Roofs were paid for out of the publick Treaſury. All Proprietors of Lands were ordered to let any Man dig in their Quarries, and carry away what Stones he pleaſed from them *gratis*. And laſtly, every *Roman* was obliged to put his Hand to the Work, and no body exempted from Labour. The Common-ſewers, thoſe Maſter-pieces in Maſonry, were indeed placed at firſt directly under the Streets; but now the People built upon the Crowns of their Arches, as much as any where elſe, and they ſerved them for Foundations; ſo that the Sewers now ran under private Houſes. And indeed the *Romans* were too much in haſte with their Work, to conſult the Beauty of the new City. *Rome* was nothing but an Heap of Houſes, confuſedly ſcattered abroad in ſeveral Places; and the Streets wholly conſiſted of narrow Turnings: which made it neceſſary to go a great way about, and through Multitudes of difficult Paſſages, in order to come at any Place. This City was even leſs regular now, upon its being rebuilt, than it was originally in *Romulus*'s time. Nevertheleſs, it continued in this ſhapeleſs Condition, as long as the Republick ſubſiſted. And tho' in *Auguſtus*'s time, when *Rome* became the Capital of the World, the Temples, Palaces, and private Houſes were built in a more magnificent manner than before; yet even then, theſe new Decorations did not rectify the Faults of the Plan, upon which the City had been built, after its firſt Demolition.

Juv. Sat. 3.

BUT ſcarce was the City of *Rome* rebuilt, before its Inhabitants were oppreſſed with great Poverty and Want. And if we will give any Credit to Fables, they took a very barbarous Method to rid the Republick of a multitude of People whom they thought uſeleſs. That is, they threw all the Citizens who were above ſixty Years of Age, from the Top of the Bridge into the *Tyber*. Hence the Expreſſion of *Depontani* 80 *Senes*, which is ſaid to have became proverbial at that time; as the thing

Feſtus.

79 *Livy* ſays of *Sulpicius*, *Quod poſtridie Idus non litaſſet*; i. e. *Sulpicius*'s Sacrifice was not a fortunate one; and That the Entrails of the Victims had ſhewed him, that the Gods would not be propitious to him, but the Event prove fatal. This is the Meaning of *non litaſſet*, in oppoſition to *litare*, which is ſpoken of a propitiatory Sacrifice, which is acceptable to the Gods. *Virgil* uſes this Word in that Senſe.

Tu modo poſce Deos veniam ſacriſque litatis. Æn. 4.

And *Plautus*, agreeably to this, ſays,

Summe Jupiter!
Facias ut ſemper Sacrificem, & nunquam Litem.
Pœnul. 2.

80 *Manilius*, who is quoted by *Feſtus*, ſays, That the *Aborigines*, who firſt inhabited the Territory of *Rome*, had made a barbarous Law, whereby they were obliged every Year, to offer up in Sacrifice a Man, who, according to *Ovid. Faſt. B. 5.* was to be ſixty Years of Age, to *Pluto* or *Saturn*. And the ſame Author ſays, That *Hercules*'s Arrival put an end to this Cuſtom, ſome Remains of which Superſtition ſtill continued among them; and they ſubſtituted a Man made of Reeds, in the room of the real one, and threw this Figure into the *Tyber* from the Top of the Bridge; which occaſioned the calling Men of ſixty Years of Age, *Senes Depontani*; (from the Word *de*, which ſignifies *from*, and *Pons*, which

thing is ſaid to have been practiſed ever after. To which it is added, that the Piety of a Son towards his Father, prevented the entire Execution of ſo cruel an Ordinance. The Son concealed his Father, and hid him ſo that the Magiſtrates could not find him. And when he was accuſed of acting contrary to this Law, it is likewiſe affirmed, that he was abſolved by the Judges, and the Law revoked. But this Story, which is built on the Teſtimony of only one Author, and he not of the greateſt Credit, and is beſides ſo little probable in itſelf, would on no account have been thought worthy of being mentioned here, but merely to make the Hiſtory complete, and prevent the Charge of an Omiſſion.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXV.
P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, *&c.* Military Tribunes.

§. XV. THE many Misfortunes which befel *Rome*, drew the neighbouring Nations into a Confederacy againſt her. Before ſhe had recovered her Loſſes, the *Volſci* and *Æqui*, thoſe antient Enemies of the Republick, renewed their malicious Deſigns againſt her. The Merchants brought Information, that all the *Lucumonies* in *Hetruria* were aſſembled at the Temple of *Voltumna*, and had conſpired the Deſtruction of the *Romans*: And to complete their Misfortunes, their faithful Allies, the [81] *Latins* and the *Hernici*, were fallen off from their Alliances, and had joined the *Volſci*. The Republick therefore, under theſe Terrors, had recourſe again to *Camillus*. He was nominated *Dictator*, a third time; and he choſe *C. Servilius* [82] for his General of Horſe. The firſt War [83] the *Dictator* undertook, was againſt the *Latins*; who would fain have found out ſome Pretence for their Defection. They ſent, when they were already in Arms, to demand that ſome of

Liv. B.6. c.2.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXV.
M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, Dictator.
Plut. Life of *Camil.*
Macrob. part. 1. *ch.* 2.

which ſignifies *a Bridge*.) But *Dion. Hal. B.* 1. gives us a different Account of this Matter. In the firſt Ages, ſays he, Men were ſacrificed to *Saturn*, as was continually done at *Carthage*, as long as that City ſubſiſted, and as was formerly practiſed by the *Gauls*, as well as the Weſtern Nations. To which he adds, that *Hercules* being deſirous of aboliſhing theſe Sacrifices, erected an Altar on the Hill *Saturnius*, and there offered up Victims upon it, which were without ſpot, and purified with Fire. But, that he might at the ſame time ſhew ſome regard for the Religion of the People, who might have reproached him with having aboliſhed their old Ceremonies, he taught them how to appeaſe the Wrath of *Saturn*, without violating the Laws of Humanity. He perſuaded them to ſubſtitute the Figures of Men, inſtead of Men, which they uſed to throw into the *Tyber*, bound Hand and Foot. This Ceremony, continues *D. Hal.* the *Romans* always regularly performed on *The Ides of* May. On this Day, the *Pontifices*, *Veſtals*, *Prætors*, and all that had a Right to aſſiſt in the offering Sacrifices, came to the wooden Bridge; where, after they had offered up ſome Victims, they threw thirty Images of an human Figure into the *Tyber*: And theſe Images, ſays *Plutarch* in his *Roman Queſtions*, they called *Argivas*, in Alluſion to the Cuſtom of the firſt Inhabitants of the Country, who threw all the *Greeks* or *Argives*, who fell into their Hands, into the River. But *Sicinnius Capito*, and *Feſtus*, give us a more probable Origin of the Word *Depontanus*. They declare, that one Day, when the *Comitia* were aſſembled, the young Citizens pretended to exclude all thoſe, who were ſixty Years of Age, from a Right of Suffrage. In order to this, they conſpired together, to hinder the old Men from coming to the Place where the Tickets were diſtributed, and cried out at the ſame time, that all the Men of ſixty ought to be thrown *off* the *Bridge*, which the Citizens all paſſed over in their turns, either *by Tribes* or *Centuries*, in order to give their Suffrages. If we may believe *Nonnius* and *Varro*, *De Vita Populi Romani*, as to this Matter, it was cuſtomary among the *Romans*, for none to have Votes in the *Comitia* before they were ſeventeen, or after ſixty. *Nonnius*'s Words are theſe. *Sexagenarios per pontem mittendos maledice popularitas intellexit, cum Varro honeſtam cauſam patefecerit. Cum habebant ſexaginta Annos, tum erant a publicis negotiis liberi: ideo in proverbium quidam putant veniſſe, ut dicerentur, ſexagenarios de Ponte dejici oportere: id eſt, quod ſuffragium non ferant, quod per Pontem ferebant*, *Cicero* ſeems to ſuppoſe this was formerly a Cuſtom in *Rome*, when he ſays, in his Oration for *Roſcius Amerinus*, *Habeo etiam dicere, quem contra morem majorum, minorem annis* 60, *de Ponte in Tiberim dejecerit*. *Ovid* gives us the Origin of the Expreſſion, *Depontani Senes*, in *Faſt. B.* 5. in theſe Words:

Pars putat, ut ferrent Juvenes ſuffragia ſoli,
Pontibus infirmos præcipitaſſe Senes.

Macrobius mentions this Cuſtom, *Saturnal. B.* 1. thus: *Hiſne tam doctis viris adimere vis, in verborum Comitiis, Jus ſuffragandi? & tanquam ſexagenarios, majores de Ponte dejicies?* But whatever Authors may ſay of it, Hiſtory is ſo far from giving us any Footſteps of this Cuſtom, that it gives us an Account of ſeveral *Dictators* and *Conſuls*, who were very much advanced in Years, as particularly, *Quinctius Cincinnatus*.

81 *Livy* ſays, that from the time of the Battel of *Regillus*, the *Latins* and *Hernici* continued faithful to the *Romans*, for the ſpace of near an hundred Years. Now this Battel was fought about the Year 254. So that ſtrictly ſpeaking, there muſt have been a Miſtake in *Livy*'s Calculation, ſince from the Year 254, to this preſent Year 363, is 110 Years, and not barely 100; unleſs we date this 100 Years with *Glarean*, from the Peace granted to the *Hernici*, in the Year 266. Then indeed *Livy*'s Computation will be exactly true, ſince there was near 100 Years between that time, and the Year here ſpoken of. *Per annos prope centum, nunquam ambigua fide, in amicitia Populi Romani, fuerant.*

82 *Livy* gives *Caius Servilius* the Surname of *Ahala*. He ſeems to have been deſcended from the Family of the *Servilii*, who came to *Rome* after the Deſtruction of *Alba Longa*, and were ranked among the *Patricians*, by King *Tullus Hoſtilius*, together with the *Quintian*, *Geganian*, *Curiatian*, and *Cluelian* Families.

83 During the Commotions, which the Preparations for the Wars with the *Latins* and *Hernici* raiſed in *Rome*, *Livy* ſays, the *Dictator Camillus* ordered what the *Romans* called the *Juſtitium*, that is, *The Courts of Juſtice*, to be ſhut up. This was cuſtomary in *Rome*, in Times of Danger, and of Mourning. The *Latin* Hiſtorian adds, That the General inliſted only a choſen Body of young Men; and That the ſtrongeſt of thoſe, who had already ſerved the Time required by Law, offered their Service of their own accords.

Year of ROME CCCLXV.
M. Furius Camillus, Dictator.

the Daughters of the *Romans* might be given them in Marriage, thereby to ſtrengthen, as they pretended, the Friendſhip between the two Nations. They hoped, That either the Refuſal of the *Romans*, if the Demand was rejected, would juſtify them in treating them as Enemies; or elſe, That their Compliance, if they obtained the young Women, would furniſh them with ſo many Hoſtages to guard them againſt the Vengeance of *Rome*. The *Romans* plainly ſaw the Snare; but the Difficulty was, how to avoid it. And it is ſaid that a *Roman* Slave, named *Tutela*, or *Philotis*, extricated the Senate out of this Difficulty, by a Stratagem of her own Invention: She adviſed them to chuſe out among all their Women-Slaves, a Company of ſuch as had the genteeleſt Looks, and might, by their Appearance, paſs for Women of free Condition. *Tutela* put herſelf at the Head of this Company, and agreed on the Signals ſhe was to give the *Roman* Generals, if Occaſion offered. She entered into the Camp of the *Latins*, carrying her Company of young Slaves with her, artfully diſguiſed in their Miſtreſſes Cloaths. When they came there, they made the *Latins* believe, that this Day was a Feſtival with them, invited the *Latins* to come and rejoice with them, and gave them Entertainments, at which no Wine was ſpared. In the Dead of Night, the Drunkenneſs of the *Latins* made them ſleep very ſoundly: And then theſe Girls hid the Swords of the ſleeping Soldiers, whilſt *Tutela* climbed up into a *wild Fig-tree*, with a burning Flambeau in her Hand, and thereby gave the *Romans* a Signal, that it was time for them to approach. Upon this, they made haſte to march; but found ſome Difficulty in aſſembling their different Companies, under their proper Colours, in the Night-time. However, they arrived at laſt at the Camp of the *Latins*, ſurprized it, and few of the Enemy eſcaped the Slaughter. But as this Story is wholly founded on a popular Tradition, on account of a Feſtival, which was called [84] *The Feaſt of the wild Fig-tree*, and ſolemnized on the 17th Day of *July*; we mention it, without giving much Credit to it.

The beſt Hiſtorians relate the Matter otherwiſe. They ſay, That the *Latins* and *Volſci* joined their Forces together: And then the *Military Tribunes* formed a Camp to oppoſe their Enterprizes. But the Enemy exceeded the *Romans* in Number, and were preparing to force their Entrenchments. Which News being brought to *Rome*, the Republick had recourſe to its uſual Remedy, in this Extremity. *Camillus* was nominated *Dictator*; and he haſtily gathered together all the Youth which were left in the City, and forced thoſe likewiſe to march under his Command, whoſe Age exempted them from military Services. So that the new Levies were conſiderable enough to be divided into three Bodies. One was commanded by *Camillus* to encamp under the Walls of *Rome*, and *A. Manlius* appointed General of it. The ſecond he ſent near *Veii*, under the Command of *L. Æmilius*, with Orders to obſerve the Motions of the *Hetrurians*: Whilſt the *Dictator* himſelf haſtned at the Head of the third Body, to deliver the *Tribunes*, who were ſtreightly beſieged by an Army of *Volſci* and *Latins*. The Enemy was encamped

84 *Plutarch* adds, that by way of reward for this good Office, the Senate gave theſe young Slaves not only their Liberty, but Portions likewiſe out of the publick Treaſury. This Stratagem of *Philotis*, ſays *Plutarch*, in his *Lives of* Romulus *and* Camillus, gave Birth to a Feſtival, called *The Caprotine Nones*, from the Name of this wild Fig-tree, which the *Romans* called *Caprificus*. This Feſtival was kept on the 7th of *July*. On that Day, adds *Plutarch*, the People go out of the City in a confuſed Croud, bawling out different Names, ſome *Caius*, others *Marcus*, others *Lucius*, in Imitation of the Confuſion of thoſe armed Men, who marched out of the City without any Order, inviting one another to go and engage the Enemy. On this Day the Slaves walk round the City, very finely dreſſed. As they walk, they affect antick Poſtures, and take the Liberty of ſeizing upon any they meet. Then they engage with one another, and fight with Stones. Their Deſign in skirmiſhing in this manner, is to ſhew the Share they had in defeating the *Latins*. And laſtly, they are made to ſit down at Table, at an Entertainment prepared for them, without the City, in Arbours made of Branches of wild Fig-trees. *Macrobius*, *Saturn. B.* 1. ſays, that on this Day the Slaves offered Sacrifices to *Juno Caprotina*, and preſented her with ſome Milk drawn from the Leaves and Branches of a Fig-tree. Hence the Name of *Caprifica*, which was given to the Feſtival, as well as to her. But *Plutarch*, *Parall.* 313. ſeems to contradict himſelf, when he ſays, that this Stratagem of the Slaves was made uſe of againſt one *Atepomerus*, a Leader of the *Gauls*. He, ſays this *Greek* Writer, made War with the *Romans*, and would not conſent to make any Peace with them, but upon Condition that they would ſurrender up their Wives to him. Upon which Occaſion, a Slave named *Retana* played the *Gauls* the ſame Trick, as *Philotis* or *Tutela* played the *Latins*. The Authority *Plutarch* quotes for this, is *Ariſtides* the *Mileſian*. And *Ovid*, *de Art. Am.* ſeems to be of the ſame Opinion.

Porrige & ancillæ, quâ pœnas luce pependit
Luſa marítali Gallica veſte manus.

Theſe various Accounts therefore, give us Reaſon to doubt of the Truth of a Fact, which has likewiſe all the Appearance of a Fable in itſelf.

near [85] *Lanuvium*, on the Declivity of the Hill [86] *Marcius*. *Camillus* came and posted himself behind the Hill, and by lighting great Fires, gave the *Romans* notice, that he was come to their Relief. Upon which, the Enemy marched out of their Camp, with a Resolution to fight the new Army; but as soon as they understood that *Camillus* commanded it, their Boldness was turned into Fear. They shut themselves up in their Entrenchments, and fortified them with great Trees, which they cut down in haste, to make themselves a Barrier. And as soon as their Camp was thus fortified, both *Volsci* and *Latins* sent into their own Countries, and to the *Hetrurians*, for Succours. *Camillus* therefore thought it necessary to hasten the Attack of the Camp, lest whilst he was investing the Enemy, he should be invested himself by those new Reinforcements. And the *Dictator* observing, That the Inclosure which surrounded the Confederate Camp, was all made of green Wood; and That there arose a Wind every Morning, which would blow the Flame and Smoke on the Besieged, if it was set on Fire; he, for these Reasons, ordered two Attacks to be made at once, one on the Side from whence the Wind blew, and the other over-against it. Accordingly, at Break of Day, one Part of the *Roman* Army came to the Windward Side of the Camp, carrying Firebrands; and the other made a brisk Attack on the opposite Side of the Camp, Sword in Hand. The latter threw their Darts; the former spread the Fire (which by the Help of a brisk Wind, communicated itself, by degrees, to all Parts of the Inclosure) quite round the Entrenchments. By this means, *Camillus* not only opened himself a Way into the *Latin* Camp, but struck Terror into the Enemy, who were stifled with the Smoke, and terrified at the crackling of the green Wood. The *Latins* at first drew up close into Plottoons, and kept continually retiring from the Places where the Fire came. But afterwards, some escaped at those Places which the Fire had not yet reached: others ventured to leap through the Flames; and both found the Enemy ready drawn up in the Plain, who put all the Fugitives to the Sword. When the *Latins* were all gone out of their Camp, *Camillus* ordered the Fire to be put out, that his Troops might plunder it. He gave all the Booty they found to the Soldiers; which was the more agreeable Bounty to the Troops, because *Camillus* had been too rigid in all his former Wars, in assigning over the Spoils of the Enemy into the *Quæstors* Hands, for the Use of the publick Treasury. But *Camillus* did not give the Conquered a Moment's Rest. Leaving his Son in the Camp to guard the Prisoners, he entred the Country of the *Æqui*, ravaged it, and made himself Master of [87] *Bola*, their capital City. From thence he penetrated into the Territories of the *Volsci*. A less considerable Man than the *Dictator* could not have given the finishing Stroke to this turbulent People. But *Camillus* obliged the *Volsci* to surrender themselves up to the *Romans*, and forced them to become subject to the Republick, after they had harassed it with continual Hostilities for above 107 [88] Years. Nor was the *Dictator* content with this fine Conquest. He immediately marched his Army into the Territories of the *Hetrurians*. They had laid Siege to [89] *Sutri*, a City in Alliance with the *Romans*, and pursued it with Vigour. The Inhabitants had had recourse to the *Romans* in their Calamities, desiring their Assistance: and the Senate ordered the *Dictator* to march his Army to the Relief of *Sutri* without delay. But notwithstanding all the Expedition *Camillus* could use, he did not arrive in *Hetruria*, till the Place had capitulated. The *Sutrini* being oppressed with Famine, and exhausted with Labour, after having re-

Year of ROME CCCLXV.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, Dictator.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

Liv. B.6. c.2.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

Liv. B.6. c.3. *Plut.* Life of *Camil.*

85 The City of *Lanuvium* stood in *Old Latium*, on *The Appian Way*, eight Miles from *Antium*, and about 20 from *Rome*. It lay on the Confines of the Territory of the *Volsci*. The Natives at present give it the Name of *Civita Lavina*, or by Corruption *Civita Indorina*.

86 *Diodorus Siculus*, *B.*14. places the Hill *Marcius* 200 *Stadia*, *i.e.* 25 Miles from *Rome*, and consequently 5 Miles from *Lanuvium*. This Hill seems to have been one of those which were the Boundaries of the *Pomptin* Territory, and the Country of the *Volsci*. *Marcius Coriolanus* might possibly have encamped on this Hill, and given his Name to it. The *Latin* Interpreter of *Diodorus Siculus*, by an intolerable Mistake, puts *The Campus Marcius*, instead of the Hill *Marcius*.

87 *Bola* was one of the most considerable Cities of the *Æqui*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Latins*, and not far from *Præneste*, and *Labicum*.

88 If we reckon from the Year of *Rome* 227, in which *Tarquin the Proud* began the War with the *Volsci*; instead of 107 Years, we shall find it to be near 140. But if we reckon only from the Year 259, when the *Consuls Appius Claudius*, and *Publius Servilius* renewed the War with the *Volsci*, *Livy*'s Calculation is very exact.

89 This City, which stood in old *Hetruria*, 33 Miles from *Rome*, bears its first Name of *Sutri*, to this Day. It was then in Alliance with the Republick, whatever *Diodorus* may say to the contrary, who makes it to have been a *Roman Colony* at this time.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXV. M. Furius Camillus, Dictator.

ceived many Wounds, had ſurrendered to the *Hetrurians*; who had granted them nothing but their Lives, and the Cloaths they had on. In this deſtitute Condition therefore they had left their own Country, and were going in ſearch of new Habitations, when they met *Camillus*, who was leading an Army to their Relief. As ſoon as they ſaw the *Romans*, this unfortunate Multitude threw themſelves at the *Dictator*'s Feet. The Women wept; the Children cried; and *Camillus* was greatly moved at this melancholy Sight. *Stay*, ſaid he to theſe afflicted People; *take a little reſt here, and lay down your Burdens, and refreſh yourſelves. I will ſoon dry up your Tears, and transfer your Sorrows from you to your Enemies.* It was a Part of *Camillus*'s Character to be able to form an exact Judgment beforehand, of the Situation in which he ſhould find his Enemies at his Arrival, and to know how to make his Advantage of it. He ſuſpected, that the *Hetrurians* would give themſelves wholly up to plundering the City, and enjoying the Booty they ſhould find in it, without being upon their Guard, or obſerving any Diſcipline. And he was not miſtaken. The *Roman* Army paſſed through the Territory of *Sutri*, without finding any advanced Guard poſted, or any Scouts ſent out. The *Hetrurians* could not believe, that the *Dictator* could come ſo ſpeedily, from ſo great a diſtance, as to ſurprize them. Nevertheleſs, he was already at their Gates, which he found open, whilſt the Enemy was entirely taken up, either with plundering the Houſes, and carrying off the Spoils, or feaſting on the Proviſions they found in them. So that *Camillus* and his *Romans* marched into *Sutri* without any Oppoſition, and then ordered the Gates to be ſhut. And now the *Hetrurians* ſeemed to awake a little out of their Stupefaction. The greateſt Part of them ran in Crowds to the Gates, to eſcape out of *Sutri*; but all the Paſſages out of the City were ſhut up. Then ſome aſſembled together in Deſpair, and reſolved to die fighting: but the prudent *Dictator* [90] ordered Quarter to be offered to all that would lay down their Arms. Upon this therefore there was no more fighting: all ſubmitted to the Conqueror, and were well ſatisfied, that they had ſaved their Lives. So that the City of *Sutri*, which was twice taken in one Day, was immediately reſtored to its Inhabitants, who did not wait for the Performance of the *Dictator*'s Promiſes in vain. The Number of the *Hetrurian* Priſoners was ſo great, that *Camillus* was forced to canton them in the Villages round about *Rome*. And now, after theſe glorious Exploits, which were finiſhed in ſo little time, *Camillus* had nothing more to do, but to return home, and enter *Rome* in Triumph, a third time. This Honour was decreed him on three different Accounts. 1. For having conquered the *Volſci*. 2. For having taken the capital City of the *Æqui*; and, 3. For having retaken *Sutri* from the *Hetrurians*. Some Hiſtorians indeed make *Camillus* to have had three ſeveral Triumphs ſucceſſively, after this glorious Campaign: but it is a Miſtake. The greateſt Part of the Captives which graced his Proceſſion, were *Hetrurians*; who were all ſold, and Money enough raiſed thereby, to pay the *Roman* Ladies for all the Jewels which they had lent the Republick. And beſides this, three Vaſes of Gold were purchaſed with the Remainder, *Camillus*'s Name inſcribed on them, and they placed at the Feet of the Statue of *Juno*, in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Then was the Glory of *Camillus* bright enough to obſcure that of all his Rivals. Theſe envious Men had hitherto aſcribed the greateſt Part of his Victories to Chance. But after theſe three laſt Expeditions, againſt three different Nations, who were partly overcome by Force, and partly by Conduct, Envy itſelf was ſilent, and honoured the ſuperior Merit of the great *Camillus*. In his *Dictatorſhip* [91] the City was rebuilt, and repeopled. All the *Romans*, who had retired to *Veii*, to avoid the Trouble and Expence of rebuilding their Houſes, were ſummoned to return to the Capital. At firſt indeed they murmured at it, and their Grumblings fell little ſhort of a Sedition. But being at laſt ordered to return, and repeople their old Habitations, by a certain Day, on Pain of Death; their Fears made them obedient; and *Rome*, in a Year's time, made as good a Figure as before.

Eutrop. B. 2.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

90 According to *Plutarch*, the greateſt Part of the *Hetrurians* were ſurprized in the midſt of Wine and good Cheer, and were put to the Sword, in the Houſes, in *Sutri*.

91 *Livy* ſays, the Senate granted the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens, the ſame Year, to the *Veientes*, *Capenates*, and *Faliſci*, for their faithful Adherence to the Republick in the preceding War. They had all, continues he, fled to *Rome* for Refuge, and in Return for their Fidelity, Lands were aſſigned to every one of them.

§. XVI. When

§. XVI. When the time came for new Elections, the Republick again chose itself six Governors, with the Title of *Military Tribunes*; whose Names were, 92 *Q. Quinctius*, *Q. Servius*, *L. Julius*, *L. Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *Ser. Sulpicius*. But it's probable there was some Defect, in Point of Religion, in the *Comitia*, wherein they were elected. At least we shall soon see them laying down their Office, out of Scruples, which the late Misfortunes made yet more common among the *Romans*. Nevertheless, Affairs abroad prospered, under the new Administration. Some *Roman* Troops were sent into the Country of the *Æqui*; not indeed to make War with them; they were already subdued; but to punish them with a general Devastation, and put it out of their Power to revolt. As to the *Hetrurians*, the *Romans* marched an Army into the *Lucumony* of the *Tarquinienses*; and took two Cities there, *Cortuosa* 93 and *Contenebra*. These were both dismantled, and their very Names were so buried in Oblivion, that we don't find them mentioned by any Historians, or Geographers, who lived after they were destroyed. *Cortuosa* was taken by Surprize, and without any Opposition: but *Contenebra* sustained a Siege for some time; which the *Romans* pursued closely, Day and Night. They were divided into six Bodies, which relieved one another every six Hours, and gave the Besiegers no Respite. Being therefore worn out with the continual Attacks of so many Troops, which were always fresh, they at length surrendered. As to the Booty, the *Military Tribunes* intended to have appropriated it to the publick Treasury; but the Soldiers were too quick for them, and seized it.

As the *Romans* were now in a building Humour, it was thought proper to repair the *Capitol:* and new Works were added to those Parts of the Hill, which were never before covered with Stones, and where the *Gauls* had endeavoured to scale the Citadel; by which they were rendered utterly unpassable. This Edifice was thought a beautiful one, even in the time 94 of *Augustus*, after the City was full of pompous Decorations.

The *Tribunes of the People* had now continued silent for some time. But they renewed their seditious Harangues, as soon as *Rome* was reinstated in her former flourishing Condition. *Camillus*'s new Conquests furnished these factious Men with a Pretence for raising Disturbances. They revived the old Quarrels, about the Distribution of Lands. The *Pomptin* Territory, which had hitherto been struggled for, by the *Volsci* and *Romans*, was now no longer Matter of Dispute between them. *Rome* had taken Possession of it; but the *Patricians* had appropriated all the Lands of this new Conquest to themselves. The *Tribunes* therefore complained, *That the Nobility, ever covetous of appropriating Lands, which ought to be common, had taken Possession of them for themselves, exclusive of all others. At this rate*, said they, *we shall suffer more from the Usurpation of the* Patricians, *than we did from the Disputes we had with the* Volsci, *about the Property of this Territory. For we then, by Intervals, made Incursions into it, and brought away some Booty from it. But now these Lands are to be for ever plundered by* Patricians *only: And if we tamely suffer them to enjoy their Usurpations now, without demanding the Share which belongs to us, how can we ever hope to recover it afterwards?* However, these Declamations made but slight Impressions on the People. They were too much taken up with building their Houses, to attend to them, and came but in small Numbers to hear the Harangues of these Declaimers. Besides, the Citizens were so drained of their Money, that they had not enough left to cultivate new Farms, and stock them with Cattel: So that the *Tribunes* Project vanished. This was an ill chosen time for them to attempt to gain Weight and Authority among

Year of ROME CCCLXVI.
Q. Quinctius, Q. Servius, L. Julius, L. Aquilius, L. Lucretius, Ser. Sulpicius, Military Tribunes. *Liv. B. 6. c. 4.*

Liv. B. 6. c. 5.

92 In the *Fasti Capitolini* we read, *Quintus Servilius, Q. F. P. N.* that is, the Son of *Quintus*, and Grandson of *Publius*. He was now *Military Tribune* the fifth time, according to these *Fasti*, which give him the two Surnames of *Priscus* and *Fidenas*. *Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus* was the Grandson of the famous *Dictator* of that Name. Of the other four *Military Tribunes*, *L. Julius*, *L. Aquilius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *Servius Sulpicius*, the first is surnamed *Iulus*, the second *Corvus*, the third *Tricipitinus*, and the fourth *Rufus*. But *Diodorus Siculus* differs from the *Fasti Capitolini*, both as to the *Prænomen* of *Servilius*, whom he calls *Lucius*, and the Surname of *Lucretius*, whom he calls *Ancus*.

93 Authors have not told us enough of the old Situation of *Cortuosa*, and *Contenebra*, to enable us to say exactly where those Cities stood. All we know of them is, that they belonged to the *Hetrurians*, and were not far from *Tarquinii*.

94 *Livy* tells us, that this Building was so beautiful, in his Time, as to deserve every Body's Notice. *Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est, opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum.* B. 6. c. 4.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXVI. Q. Quinctius, &c. Military Tribunes.

among the Multitude. As for the *Military Tribunes* 95, they owned their Election had been defective; and left the Irregularities of the former *Comitia* should be continued in succeeding ones, they voluntarily laid down their Office. So that, after a short *Interregnum*, in which *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Serv. Sulpicius*, and *L. Valerius Potitus*, governed the Republick, the Elections of supreme Magistrates came on for the ensuing Year.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXVII. L. Papirius, C. Sergius, L. Æmilius, L. Menenius, L. Valerius, C. Cornelius, Military Tribunes.

§. XVII. When the six *Military Tribunes*, 96 *L. Papirius*, *C. Sergius*, *L. Æmilius*, *L. Menenius*, *L. Valerius*, and *C. Cornelius* were chosen, *Rome* was in Peace at home and abroad; and they were wholly employed in Works of Peace. In the time of the War with the *Gauls*, the *Romans* had made a Vow to erect a Temple to the God *Mars*: and *T. Quinctius*, one of the *Duumviri*, who presided over the Affairs of Religion, was now nominated to dedicate it. After this, the Number of the *Roman Tribes* was increased. The Right of Citizenship had indeed very lately been granted to the *Veientes*, *Capenates*, and *Falisci*, who had adhered to the *Romans*: but this was not all. The Republick assigned them Lands in the conquered Parts of *Hetruria*. And as there had hitherto been but 97 few *Roman Tribes*,

95 The *Romans*, terrified at the very Remembrance of their late Calamities, accused themselves of Negligence in the Worship of their Gods, and the Observation of those Ceremonies in which their Religion chiefly consisted. The Fear of provoking the Gods, and drawing down fresh Misfortunes on themselves for Want of Care in religious Concerns, made them carry their Cautions even to Superstition. The new *Military Tribunes* being prepossessed with these Notions, abdicated the Magistracy, out of an Opinion that their Election had been made against the Will of the Gods; that is, under inauspicious Omens. Indeed, the holding the *Comitia* was always preceded by, and attended with, some religious Observances, which were as follow. *1st.* The Magistrate who presided in the Assembly, went to the *Capitol*, or some other Place within the *Pomœrium*, or Inclosure of the City, and there, attended by the *Augur*, consulted the *Auguries*, before he went to the *Campus Martius*. And if the Observations were fortunate, the People were assembled to proceed to the Election of new Magistrates. If not, the *Comitia* were postponed to some other Day. *2dly.* The Candidates were obliged to wait for the *Augur*'s Answer. *Those who are to enter upon any Office*, says *Dion. Hal. pass the Night in Tents, whence they go out at break of Day the next Morning, to repeat some Prayers in an open Place. Then the* Augurs *come and tell them what manifest Proofs Heaven has given of its rejecting or approving of their Election.* This Custom of consulting the Will of the Gods by *Auguries*, had long subsisted: But in the *Greek* Historian's Time it was nothing more than a mere Shadow of what it had been. The *Romans* being grown less scrupulous, had shaken off the Yoke of so troublesome a Law, which was a Restraint upon the Ambition of the Great. The *Augurs* were then consulted only for Form's sake: And they always return'd a favourable Answer, without making any Observations. But the Devotees among the Pagans lamented this disorderly Practice. They thought it the only Source of the Misfortunes with which the Republick was afflicted, from Time to Time, in the midst of its Prosperities. *3dly.* As the *Comitia by Curiæ*, and *by Centuries*, were both thought religious Assemblies by the *Romans*, they therefore prepared themselves for them, by Prayers, and publick Sacrifices, in order to secure the Protection of the Gods. *4thly.* The *Comitia* either *by Curiæ*, or *Centuries*, were interrupted, and postponed to another Day, if either any Person fell down of the Falling-Sickness, or the Thunder grumbled, or a Storm or Tempest happened, at the Time of their Deliberations. And lastly, the Assemblies of the People, and Elections of Magistrates were both subject to many trifling Observances before they could be deemed legal, the Folly of which the *Romans* themselves acknowledge. But at the Time we are speaking of, all these were esteemed Parts of Religion; and ever since the taking of *Rome*, the People being become more fearful, multiplied their religious Duties, in Proportion as they advanced in Superstition. *In civitate plena religionum, tum etiam ab recenti clade superstitiosis Principibus, ut renovarentur auspicia, res ad interregnum rediit*, says *Livy*, *B. 6. c. 5.*

96 Neither *Livy* nor *Diodorus* give *L. Papirius* any Surname. *Pighius* and *Sigonius* say he was surnamed *Cursor*, and was the same with the *Censor L. Papirius Cursor*, who took the last *Census* of the People. *Diodorus* is mistaken in putting *Caius Servilius*, instead of *Caius Sergius*; as he also is, in making *L. Mallius* one of these *Military Tribunes*, instead of *Lucius Menenius Lanatus*. He likewise strikes *Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus*, who was now *Military Tribune* the second time, out of this List; and puts *Quintus Fabius* in his room. In the old Editions of *Livy*, we don't find the Name of *Caius Cornelius*, surnamed *Cossus*. He seems to have been the Son of *Cneius Cossus*, who had been twice *Military Tribune*. *L. Valerius Poplicola* was now created *Military Tribune* the third time, according to *Livy*; and *Diodorus* gives him the Name of *Valerius Aulus*.

97 Besides the four *City-Tribes*, whose Extent and Situation we have already observed, *Servius Tullius* established also fifteen *Country-Tribes* in the *Roman* Territory. So that the whole Number, in his Reign, amounted to nineteen. And if we add to these nineteen, two others which *Livy* says were established in the Year 258. *Romæ Tribus una & viginti factæ*, they will then be twenty one. To which if we add likewise the four new ones mentioned by the *Latin* Historian in this Place, that will bring them to twenty five, agreeably to the Remark of the same Writer, *Eæque viginti quinque Tribuum numerum explevere*. The Names of the *Country-Tribes*, according to their Seniority, as near as we can judge, are these. 1. The Tribe Romulia, which, according to *Festus* and *Varro*, lay West of the *Tyber*, in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. It contained the first Lands which *Romulus* gained by Conquest from the *Hetrurians*, and reached from the *Janiculus* to the Sea: *Diodorus* and *Strabo* agree, in giving it this Situation. 2. The Tribe Lemonia, on the East Side of the *Tyber*. It took its Name from a Village near *Rome*, on the Side of the Gate *Capena*, on the great Road to the Country of the *Latins*. 3. The Tribe Pupinia was in *Latium*, on the East Side of the *Tyber*, and at a little distance from the City, according to *Livy*, *B.* 36. and in the Neighbourhood of *Tusculum*, according to *Festus*. 4. The Tribe Claudia, was one of the most ancient. It took its Name at first from the

Tribes, beyond the *Tyber*; which had a Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia*; there were four new ones now created, under the Names of the *Tribes*, *Stellatina*, *Tromentina*, *Sabatina*, and *Narnienſis*. We may remember, that *Servius Tullius* inſtituted nineteen *Tribes* at firſt, four in the City, and fifteen in the Country: and we have ſeen, that two others were created in the Time of the Republick. So that if we add theſe four to the one and twenty ancient *Tribes*, the Number of the whole will be five and twenty, which all enjoyed the ſame Rights and Privileges. Thoſe in the Country had as much Authority as thoſe in the City; and all together made up that Body, which was called *The* Roman *People*, and *The Comitia by Tribes*. But in the mean time, the *Tribunes of the People* revived the Quarrel about the Diſtribution [98] of Lands. The Citizens were now more at leiſure; ſo that they aſſembled to hear their *Tribunes*, in greater Numbers than they had done the Year before: and yet, which may ſeem very ſtrange, no popular Faction then aroſe. Nevertheleſs, the Senate was divided into Parties. They received Advice, that the *Latins* and *Hernici* had taken up Arms, but they did not think them formidable enough to have a War declared with them; and were more intent upon the Motions of the *Hetrurians*, whoſe Ruin they were projecting.

Year of ROME CCCLXVII. L. PAPIRIUS, &c. Military Tribunes.

§. XVIII. THE Expectation therefore of an approaching War, made the *Centuries* chuſe *Camillus* again, for one of the ſix *Military Tribunes*, for the next Year. The

Year of ROME CCCLXVIII. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, SER. CORNELIUS, Q. SERVILIUS, L. QUINCTIUS, L. HORATIUS, P. VALERIUS, Military Tribunes.

the Place in which it lay: but afterwards it changed it, for the Name of the *Claudian* Family; which was incorporated into this *Tribe*, when the Head of that Family, *Actius Clauſus*, ſince called *Appius Claudius*, retired to *Rome*; with his Attendants, who obtained of the Republick, Lands for them to cultivate, in one of the moſt antient *Tribes* beyond the *Teverone*. 5. THE TRIBE PAPYRIA, and its Territory, lay on the Side of *Tuſculum*, near the *Tribe Papinia*. At leaſt, *Feſtus* tells us, That theſe two *Tribes* were ſo near one another, that they often came to Blows about their Limits. THE TRIBES 6. ÆMILIA, 7. CORNELIA, 8. FABIA, 9. MENENIA, 10. POLLIA, 11. VOLTINIA, 12. GALERIA, 13. HORATIA, 14. SERGIA, and 15. VETURIA, loſt their old Names, which they had taken from the Places in which they lay, to aſſume thoſe of the Families, which were as it were the Patrons, and moſt conſiderable Members, of them. All we know of their Situation, is, that they lay in the *Roman* Territory, ſome in *Latium*, others in *Sabinia*, and ſome in a Canton of *Hetruria*, which bordered upon the *Tyber*, and was called *Septem Pagium*, that is, *The ſeven Villages*; which the *Lucumony* of the *Veientes* had formerly yielded to *Romulus*. They lay between *Veii*, the *Tyber*, the Sea, and the River *Aron*. 16. THE TRIBE CRUSTUMINA, ſo called from the City of *Cruſtuminum*, in the Country of the *Sabines*. *Feſtus* indeed places it in *Tuſcany*, near a City of the ſame Name; but his Teſtimony is not of more Weight than *Livy*'s, who makes *Spurius Liguſtinus* ſpeak thus, *B.* 42. *Spurius Liguſtinus, Tribus Cruſtuminæ, ex Sabinis ſum oriundus*. 17. THE TRIBE VEIENTINA, beyond the *Tyber*, in that Part of *Tuſcany*, which the *Romans* had made themſelves Maſters of, before the Conqueſt of *Veii*. *Veientina Tribus, a Veiis Urbe dicta, licet nondum eſſet a Romanis oppugnata . . . . Feſtus*. 18. THE TRIBE STELLATINA, was ſo called from the Name of a little Country in *Hetruria*, near *Capena*, a little beyond *Veii*, which the *Romans* had already conquered ſome Years ſince. They, who place it in the Neighbourhood of *Stellata*, a City of *Campania*, don't conſider, that the Republick had not yet extended its Conqueſts ſo far. *Stellatina Tribus dicta non eſt a Campo, qui eſt in Campania, ſed eo qui eſt in Etruriâ, Regione Capena, ex quo Tuſci profecti illum Campum Stellatem appellaverunt . . . . . Feſtus*. 19. THE TRIBE TROMENTINA. We know not either the true Situation of this *Tribe*, or of the *Tromentin* Territory, or Field, which gave Name to it. All we know, is, that it was a Part of *Tuſcany*. *Tromentina Tribus a Campo Tromentino dicta. . . . . Feſtus*. 20. THE TRIBE OF THE NAR, *Tribus Narnienſis*. In moſt Editions of *Livy*, we read *Tribus Arnienſis*, THE TRIBE OF THE ARNE. But it's certain the *Romans* had not penetrated ſo far as to the River *Arne*. For this Reaſon, modern Authors have put *Narnienſis*, inſtead of *Arnienſis*. Nevertheleſs, if they would juſtify their Correction, they ought to have ſhewn, that the Republick already reached to the Banks of the *Nar*; but of this neither do any of the Hiſtorians of old *Rome* furniſh them with any Proof, nor can they draw any from old Inſcriptions, wherein we don't find *The Tribe of* Nar ſo much as once named. Some therefore gueſs, it ſhould not be *Arnienſis*, but *Axienſis*, THE TRIBE AXIA: which, ſay they, lay near a City of that Name, in the Territory of *Tarquinii*. Whilſt others pretend, that the *Tribe Livy* here ſpeaks of, was THE TRIBE OF THE ANIO, *Tribus Anienſis*, and not *Arnienſis*. 1. Becauſe the Copyiſts might eaſily miſtake, in putting one of theſe Words for the other, ſince they are ſo very much alike. 2. Becauſe it is certain the *Romans* had Lands on the Banks of the *Anio*, at that time. 3. Becauſe all Authors agree, that *The Tribe of the* Anio was one of the thirty five *Tribes*, whereas they don't mention *The Tribe of the* Nar. 4. Becauſe it is certain there was another *Tribe*, which bore the Name of *Arnienſis*. Now it appears, that the *Romans* had not yet made any Conqueſts on the Banks of the *Arne*, in the Year 367. This *Tribe* therefore was of later Date than *The Tribe of the* Anio. 5. Becauſe, ſay the Authors of this Opinion, *The Tribe of the Arne* was the laſt, and fartheſt diſtant from *Rome*, of any of the *Country-Tribes*; grounding themſelves upon this Paſſage of *Cicero*, againſt *Rullus*: *A ſuburrana uſque ad Arnienſem*. Whence it will follow, that it was of later date than *The Tribe of the* Anio. But the Reader is left to his own Judgment in this Matter. Our Rule, amidſt this Confuſion, was to follow the moſt correct Editions of *Livy*. 21. THE TRIBE SABATINA poſſeſſed a Part of *Tuſcany*, between *Sutri*, and the Sea, near the Lake formerly called *Lacus Sabatinus*, now *Lagodi Bracciano*. Some Authors mention a City of *Sabatum*, ſituated on the ſame Lake: but there are now no Footſteps of it remaining. *Sabatina Tribus, a Lacu Sabatino qui eſt in Etruria, juxta mare, ad quinque millia*. We ſhall ſpeak of the ten other *Tribes* which were added to the twenty five here mentioned, in their proper Place, according to their Date.

98 The Diſtribution here ſpoken of, was the Diſtribution of the Lands in the *Pomptin* Territory. *L. Sicinius*, then *Tribune of the People*, was the moſt zealous Proſecutor of this Affair in favour of the Commons.

Year of ROME CCCLXVIII.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, *&c.* Military Tribunes.

five Collegues they gave him, were 99 *Serv. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *L. Quinctius*, *L. Horatius*, and *P. Valerius*. They were all Men of Moderation, who knew how to do both themſelves and *Camillus* Juſtice. We have obſerved, that it was already reſolved to turn the Arms of the Republick againſt the *Hetrurians*. But News came from the *Pomptin* Territory, which altered that Deſign. Thoſe *Romans* who had made themſelves Maſters of it, had been obliged to quit it, and brought Advice to *Rome*, that the *Antiates* had entred it in Arms, and the *Latins* permitted their Youth to come and commit Hoſtilities there. And the Republick was not yet in a Condition to neglect the leaſt Motions towards a War. However, it rejoiced exceedingly, that *Camillus* was in the Adminiſtration; becauſe if he had not been *Military Tribune*, there would have been a Neceſſity of creating him *Dictator*. Indeed *Camillus* became ſo now in effect; tho' he had not the Title, he diſcharged the chief Part of that Office. His Collegues agreed, that it was neceſſary to inveſt him with the ſole Management of Affairs in time of War; and declared they thought it no Diſhonour to themſelves, to transfer their Honour, and all their Power, into the Hands of ſo great a Man. It was in full Senate, that the five *Military Tribunes* thus ſacrificed their own Intereſts to the Glory of *Camillus*, and the Good of the Publick. But he, who did not expect this, was confounded at the Deference they paid him, and replied; *What Obligations are you now laying me under*, Conſcript Fathers! *and what a Weight are you, my illuſtrious Collegues, loading me with! This is putting me under a Neceſſity of making new Attempts at leaſt to improve my paſt Labours and former Vigilance, in order to anſwer the Expectations of the Republick, and the Eſteem of the City and the Senate. I am well ſatisfied, we have not much to fear from a War with the* Antiates; *but I am at the ſame time convinced, that this is not a time for* Rome *to neglect any thing, conſidering to what her late Misfortunes reduced her, and her later Victories have raiſed her. Hatred and Jealouſy ſurround us; and one Army is not ſufficient to preſerve us. We muſt divide our Forces, and form ſeveral Camps, in order to oppoſe the Attempts of the ſeveral Nations which are our Enemies.* This ſaid, the new *Dictator*, if we may call him ſo, immediately allotted each of the five *Military Tribunes* his Collegues, a different Employment, ſuitable to his Rank. He choſe to join *P. Valerius* with himſelf, in the Command of the Army he was going to lead againſt the *Antiates*. *Q. Servilius* was placed at the Head of a Body of Troops, which were to continue in *Rome*, and be in continual readineſs to march upon the firſt notice, either againſt the *Hetrurians*, or the *Latins* and *Hernici*, in caſe they began to move. The third Army wholly conſiſted of old Men, and thoſe Citizens 100, whoſe Infirmities excuſed them from taking the Field: and the Command of them was given to *L. Quinctius*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to guard the Walls of the City. *L. Horatius*'s Office was to furniſh the Troops with Arms, Ammunition, and Proviſions. And laſtly, the Superintendency of civil Affairs, the *Comitia*, the Laws, and Religion, was left to *Serv. Cornelius*. So that, none of the *Military Tribunes*, who had in ſome ſort diveſted themſelves of their Power in favour of *Camillus*, was left without an Employment: and they all joyfully accepted the Provinces *Camillus* aſſigned them. Only *P. Valerius* refuſed to put himſelf upon an equal Foot with *Camillus* in the Command of the Army. *You ſhall be my* Dictator, ſaid he to him, *and I will ſerve under you, as your General of Horſe.*

THIS great Complaiſance, which was founded in the vaſt Eſteem *Camillus* was then in, turned to the Advantage of the Republick. He marched againſt the Enemies of *Rome*, and was abſolute Maſter of his Troops. The *Antiates*, in Con-

Liv. B. 6. c. 7.

99 This was *Camillus*'s fourth *Military Tribuneſhip*, and not his fifth, as ſome Authors compute it to be. *Servius Cornelius*, ſurnamed *Maluginenſis*, was now elected the ſecond time. *Q. Servilius Priſcus* was now made *Military Tribune* the ſixth time. The Surname of *Fidenas* was tranſmitted to him from his Father *Q. Servilius Priſcus*. The latter had been twice *Dictator*, and acquired that Surname by the Conqueſt of *Fidenæ*. *Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus* is ſuppoſed to have been the Brother of *T. Cincinnatus*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year 366. *L. Horatius* has the Surname of *Pulvillus*, in the *Faſti Conſulares*. *Publius Valerius Poplicola*, was the Son of *L. Valerius Potitus*, who was *Conſul* with *Marcus Manlius*, and General of Horſe, in *Camillus*'s ſecond *Dictatorſhip*. *Diodorus* mentions but four *Military Tribunes* for this Year, *Ser. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *M. Furius*, and *L. Quinctius*.

100 The Soldiers who were diſmiſſed the Service on the account of Sickneſs, were called *Cauſarii Milites*; whereby they were diſtinguiſhed both from thoſe, who had ſerved their full Term of Years, and had a Right to retire; and from thoſe who were turned out of the Army, with Diſcharge.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXVIII. M. Furius Camillus, &c. Military Tribunes.

junction with the *Latins* and *Hernici*, were assembled near *Satricum*. Their Army was numerous, because their Youth were greatly multiplied during the Peace: and this prodigious Number of Enemies gave the *Romans* at first some Terror. The inferior Officers of the Army perceived it. They saw, by the Words and Looks of the Soldiers, as they were drawing them up, that they were terrified: Which being told *Camillus* the General, he instantly mounted his Horse, rode through all the Ranks of his Army, and looking his Soldiers in the Face, said to them: *Fellow-Soldiers, why don't I see that Joy and Desire of fighting in your Looks, which you used to have? Have you forgotten who I am, who you yourselves, and who your Enemies, are? Have not the* Volsci *and* Latins *been the Occasions of your gaining immortal Fame? Have you not conquered* Veii, *beaten the* Gauls, *and delivered* Rome, *under my Command? Did you not, in the very last Victories you gained under me, vanquish these very* Volsci *you are now afraid of, and the* Hetrurians *with them? Am I not* Camillus, *because I have not the Title of* Dictator? *Be assured, neither Honours nor Banishment make any Alteration in me. I am still* Camillus, *you are* Romans, *and our Enemies are* Volsci. *The War is the same with former ones, and why then should the Success be different? Do you but attack the Enemy, and we shall succeed, as usual. You will conquer, and they will fly.* As soon as he had said this, *Camillus* dismounted, took the next Standard-bearer to him by the Hand, led him towards the Enemy, and cried, *Soldiers, advance.* A noble Example, which raised all their Courage! They were ashamed not to follow through any Danger, a General who was already advanced in Years, and exposed himself to the first Attack. The *Romans*, after they had made a great Shout, came to the Charge, and mutually encouraged one another to fight; crying, *March, Follow the General.* Nor was this all. A Standard was thrown into the middle of the Enemy's Battalions, by *Camillus*'s Order: which made the Soldiers who were fighting in the first Ranks earnest to recover it. Then the *Antiates* gave way on the Right; and their Fears, spreading from Line to Line, affected even the *Corps-de-reserve. Camillus*'s Presence, who appeared every where, terrified the Enemy more than all the Bravery of his Soldiers. Wherever he came, Victory followed him. But whilst he was in the Right Wing, his Left suffered; he therefore mounted his Horse again, hasted thither, shew'd himself there armed with a Foot-Soldier's Buckler, and told his *Romans* the Advantages his Right Wing had gained. Upon this, the Battel was renewed, and the Enemy were ready to disperse, when suddenly a Storm came upon them; and was the sole Occasion of the *Romans* not reaping the Fruits of a complete Victory. The Enemy was so pent up, that it was difficult for them to make their Escape; and the *Romans* were so fatigued, that they were not able to kill the Fugitives. *Camillus* therefore sounded a Retreat, and in the Night, some of those of his Enemies, whom the Sword had spared, fled. The *Latins* and *Hernici* separated from the *Volsci*, returned home, and by their sudden leaving the Confederacy, shewed that their ill Success had made them repent of their ill Designs. The *Volsci* alone continued in their Camp, and had no other Refuge, but to retire to some Place of Safety. The City of *Satricum* therefore being near at hand, they took Refuge there: but its Ramparts were too weak Obstacles to stop the General's Progress. He immediately surrounded *Satricum*, and threw up Lines of Circumvallation about it. And then finding that the Besieged had neither Courage enough to make Sallies, or to be brought to a Battel, he hastned the taking of the City. *Romans*, said he to his Soldiers, *have you a mind to make this Siege as tedious as that of* Veii *was? Let us subdue the Place immediately. It is easy to do so, if your Courage be as great as the Fears of the Enemy. Camillus* is believed and obeyed. The *Romans* scale the Walls on all Sides, and the City is soon taken by Assault. The *Volsci* throw down their Arms, and surrender at Discretion.

The General had also formed a more important Design than this, which was to besiege the rebellious City of *Antium*, which had been the Occasion of the War: but he wanted Ammunitions and Machines for so great an Enterprize. He therefore quitted the Army, left it under the Command of his Collegue *Valerius*, and returned to *Rome*, to sollicit the Senate's Consent for going on this designed Expedition, and to get Provisions and proper military Instruments for it. But whilst he was proposing this Affair to the Senate, some Deputies arrived from

Nepete

Year of ROME CCCLXVIII. M. Furius Camillus, &c. Military Tribunes.

Nepete [101] and *Sutri*, two Cities in Alliance with *Rome*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Hetrurians*. They demanded Succours againſt the *Hetrurians*, who were aſſembled together under Arms, in order to invade theſe two Frontier Towns. Theſe Places were as it were the Keys of *Hetruria*, and the Bulwarks of the *Romans*. So that theſe new Difficulties made it neceſſary to employ the Troops of the Republick, and *Camillus*'s Valour, on that Side. Nothing more was ſaid of *Antium*. The Senate prevailed on the General to march an Army againſt the *Hetrurians*, and the Troops aſſigned him were thoſe which *Servilius* [102] had commanded in *Rome*, and kept in a readineſs to march on any Emergency. *Camillus* would much rather have led the ſame Army into *Hetruria*, which had juſt been victorious under his Command; but he ſubmitted to the Inclinations of the Senate, with this only Proviſo, that *Valerius* ſhould likewiſe be joined with him in the Command of the new Body of Troops committed to his Conduct. So that [103] *Quinctius* and *Horatius* were put at the Head of the victorious Army, which *Camillus* had left in the Territories of the *Volſci*.

CAMILLUS and *Valerius* ſet out for the new War: and upon their Arrival they found *Sutri* not only beſieged, but half taken. The *Hetrurians* had made themſelves Maſters of ſome of the Gates; and the Inhabitants in the Heart of the City, had no other Way left to defend themſelves, but by the Barricadoes which they had made in the Streets. The Enemy had taken Poſſeſſion of all the Avenues behind them: So that the *Sutrini* were ſcarce in a Condition, either of holding out any long time againſt the Enemy, or of receiving any Succours from their Allies. But nevertheleſs, as ſoon as they heard *Camillus* was come to their Relief, the very Name of ſo great a General gave them new Life, whilſt the *Hetrurians* on the other hand preſſed upon the Beſieged with leſs Vigour than before. *Camillus*, in the mean time, divided his Army into two Bodies. With one of theſe he ordered *Valerius* to march round the Walls, and make a Feint of ſcaling them; not with any real Intent to enter the City that Way, but only to terrify the *Hetrurians*, and by attacking them in Front, to force them to give the *Sutrini* (who were attacked by them) time to breathe. With the other, *Camillus* himſelf undertook to charge the Enemy in the Rear, force his Way into the City, and ſhut in the Enemy between the Beſieged and Him. A Deſign, which was not only very prudent in itſelf, but executed with equal Expedition. The *Romans* appeared ſcaling the Walls on one Side of the City, and at the ſame time entring it, in Order of Battel, on the other. Upon which, the Fright of the *Hetrurians* was general. They fled away in Crowds through a Gate which was not inveſted. *Camillus*'s Troops made a great Slaughter of them within the City; whilſt *Valerius* put great Numbers of the Fugitives to the Sword, in the Country; and continued cutting them in pieces, till the Night hid them from him.

Then, from reconquering *Sutri*, *Camillus* fled to the Deliverance of *Nepete*. But this ſecond Enterprize ſeemed more difficult than the former. *Nepete* had voluntarily ſurrendered to the *Hetrurians*, and was become abſolutely ſubject to them; before which it had been a free City. So that it was neceſſary, in order to proceed equitably, that *Camillus* ſhould begin with Negotiations, before he came to open Violence. And therefore a Meſſage was ſent to the chief Men of the Country, to know of them, whether they preferred their old Alliance with the *Romans*, to the late Treaty they had made with the *Hetrurians*, or not. To which they returning

101 *Nepete*, now *Nepi*, lay on the Borders of the Countries of the *Faliſci* and *Veientes*. It ſtood in that Part of old *Hetruria*, which is now Part of *The Patrimony of St.* Peter.

102 According to *Livy*, the Troops aſſigned over to *Camillus*, were thoſe which had been before commanded by *Quinctius* the *Military Tribune*, and not thoſe which had been under *Servilius*'s Command. But this is evidently a Miſtake of the Copyiſt, who took *Lucius Quinctius* for *Quintus Servilius*. The Body commanded by *Quinctius*, conſiſted, according to *Livy*'s own Account, only of old Men, and ſuch Soldiers as were very unfit to ſupport the Fatigues and Labours of military Services, by reaſon of their Infirmities. It is not therefore probable, that the Senate ſhould make ſo odd a Choice, for ſo important an Expedition, as that which the Republick was propoſing to carry on againſt the *Hetrurians*, and had much at heart. But the moſt rational Account to be given of it, is, that *Camillus* had the Conduct of thoſe Troops committed to him, which had continued in *Rome*, under *Servilius*'s Command, in order to be ready to march on the firſt Summons, either againſt the *Hetrurians*, or againſt the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. Beſides, it is evident from what follows, that *Quinctius* was ſent againſt the *Volſci* with *Horatius*.

103 *Quinctius Horatiuſque ſucceſſores Valerio in Volſcis miſſi*, ſays *Livy*, *B. 6. ch. 9.* This confirms our Obſervation above. It is probable, *Quintus Servilius* took the Command of the Troops, which were before commanded by *Quinctius*.

only

Year of *ROME* CCCLXVIII.
M. Furius Camillus, *&c.* Military Tribunes.

only this ambiguous Anſwer, *We are not our own Maſters, the* Hetrurians *are in Poſſeſſion of our Gates and Ramparts:* the *Romans* began with laying their Territory waſte. But theſe Hoſtilities did not move the Inhabitants. They appeared to be better affected to the *Hetrurians* than the *Romans*. It was therefore neceſſary to bring up the Troops againſt this faithleſs City. Accordingly, Faſcines were cut in a neighbouring Foreſt, the Ditches filled with them, and the Walls ſcaled. And the Ardour of the *Romans* was ſo great, upon the firſt Shout they made to encourage one another to the Attack, that the City was almoſt as ſoon taken, as aſſaulted. But the *Hetrurian* Garriſon, and the Citizens, were very differently treated. The *Hetrurian* Soldiers were all put to the Sword, without Diſtinction. As for the *Nepeſini*, the Citizens who had had no hand in ſurrendring the City, had their Lives and Effects given them. The Authors of the Revolt died by the Axes of the *Lictors*. Such was the glorious Campaign, which continued to aggrandize the Name of the illuſtrious *Camillus:* But tho' it was diſtinguiſhed by Victories and Conqueſt, no Triumph followed. Which we are doubtleſs to aſcribe to the Modeſty of the General, who was not forward in asking an Honour which he could not ſhare with his Collegues, whoſe Eſteem and Moderation had contributed ſo much to his Glory. Nevertheleſs, this was a great and memorable Year for the Republick; inſomuch, that the People at *Rome* readily declared, that if they had always had ſuch Magiſtrates as *Camillus* and his Collegues, they ſhould never have been under any Neceſſity of creating *Dictators*.

§. XIX. But as well eſtabliſhed as *Camillus*'s Reputation was, he had a Rival in *Rome*. *M. Manlius*, who was ſurnamed *Capitolinus*, for two Reaſons, both becauſe his Family lived in the *Capitol*, and becauſe he had preſerved this Citadel from being ſurprized by the *Gauls*, could not bear to ſee his Glory obſcured by that of *Camillus*. Nay, *Manlius*'s Ambition carried him ſo far, as to make him deſirous of becoming abſolute Maſter of the Republick; but the Superiority he was for aſſuming, was oppoſed by a greater Hero than himſelf. The artful *Manlius* had already attempted to ſeduce the People, and bring them into his Meaſures, before *Camillus*'s Office expired. He was become the Protector of all People over-run with Debt. As the neceſſary Expences of rebuilding their Houſes had exhauſted every Man's Purſe, ſeveral were forced to live upon Credit. And all Debtors (who were innumerable) found a ready Help in the Patronage of this illuſtrious *Patrician*, who either paid their Debts, or gave Security for them. Theſe were the firſt Steps *Manlius* took toward that Tyranny which he attempted to uſurp. His Deſign appeared indeed but faintly, in this fourth *Tribuneſhip* of *Camillus*; but it afterwards became more notorious, and we ſhall ſee it at laſt puniſhed by that very Hero, whom he intended to involve in the ſame Ruin with the Republick.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

However, *Camillus*'s *Tribuneſhip* did not end till he had obtained Satisfaction of the *Latins* and *Hernici*. Theſe old Allies had lately given but too plain Proofs of their Unfaithfulneſs, by taking up Arms againſt *Rome*. They were therefore ſummoned to ſhew Cauſe, why they had for ſome Years neglected to ſupply the Republick with the Number of Troops they were obliged by their Conventions to furniſh. Upon which, the Diets of both Nations were aſſembled. The *Roman* Deputies complained to them, that their Youth had joined with the *Volſci*, in committing Hoſtilities againſt the *Romans:* And their Fears dictated to the two Nations, the following ſubmiſſive Anſwer. *The ungovernable young Fellows who followed the Standards of the* Volſci, *did it, without either the Authority, or the Conſent, of the Publick. And they have accordingly ſuffered the Puniſhment they deſerved. Not one of them is returned to his Father's Houſe. And if our Troops have not ſerved in the* Roman *Armies in the late Wars, as uſual, it was only becauſe they were wholly taken up with preſerving our own Lands from the Invaſion of the* Volſci. *The Neighbourhood of theſe People has been an inceſſant Plague to us.* The Senate were very willing to accept of this Excuſe, tho' they thought it but a Subterfuge. There was indeed juſt Cauſe given for a War with theſe faithleſs Allies; but this was not a Time for the Republick needleſly to multiply Enemies. Thus ended one of *Camillus*'s *Military Tribuneſhips*, which brought him as much Honour as the moſt glorious of his *Dictatorſhips*.

Liv. B.6. c.10.

Year of ROME CCCLXIX.
A. MANLIUS, P. CORNELIUS, T. QUINCTIUS, L. QUINCTIUS, L. PAPIRIUS, and C. SERGIUS, Military Tribunes.
Liv. B.6. c.11.

§. XX. The next Year the *Romans* chose six other *Military Tribunes* to govern the Republick, whose [104] Names were, *A. Manlius, P. Cornelius, T. Quinctius, L. Quinctius, L. Papirius,* and *C. Sergius*. And now, the factious *Manlius* thinking this Administration less formidable than the preceding, openly vented his Spleen against *Camillus*, and made fresh Attempts upon the Republick. He gave his Jealousy its free Course. He complained, that *Camillus* only had been at the Helm of Government, and the Head of Armies. *His Collegues*, said he, *were no more than Subalterns to him, and subject to his Will and Pleasure. And after all, his greatest Glory is his having recovered* Rome *out of the Hands of the* Gauls; *which he could never have done, if I had not first saved the* Capitol. *So that his Glory is founded upon mine. Nor did he conquer the* Gauls, *till they had been tired with a long Siege, and were taking Money to retreat. But I repulsed them from the* Capitol, *when they were most flush'd with Success. A whole Army shared* Camillus's *Victory with him*; Manlius *had no Companion in his.* To which Words, he added seditious Actions. When he thought his Credit sufficiently established, he entered into the Faction of the *Tribunes of the People.* Tho' a *Patrician*, he was no longer a zealous Advocate for the *Patrician* Party; but was now become wholly *Plebeian*. He inveighed against the Nobility. He was captivated with the Love of Applause, and no longer hearkened to Reason. He little regarded a good Reputation, provided only he became popular. He espoused the Cause of the Citizens, against the Nobility, in the Affair of the Distribution of Lands. And lastly, *Manlius* still continued to relieve all those who were kept in Slavery for their Debts. He opposed the Rich, whenever they seized their Debtors; and set at Liberty those who were already in Chains. So that he was always attended by a Company of ruined, insolvent, and factious People.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

THESE Steps therefore made *Manlius*'s Conduct suspected: and it being necessary to stop him in his Career, and prevent the ill Consequences of his Proceedings; the Senate, in order to this, created a *Dictator*. Indeed the Army which the *Volsci* had just then raised, furnished them with a specious Pretence for taking these Measures; but the true Cause of this new Creation, was the Disturbance *Manlius* had made. The *Dictator* [105] chosen, was *Aul. Cornelius Cossus*, who made *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus* his General of Horse. By which it appears, that the *Manlian* was not the only Family which had the Surname of *Capitolinus*. Probably a Branch of the *Quinctian* Family had also a House upon the *Capitol.*

Liv. B.6. c.11.

THEN *Cossus* and *Quinctius* set out from *Rome* to make War on the *Volsci*. It is indeed surprizing, that a Nation which had been so often beaten, and so often subdued, should not yet be exhausted of Soldiers. But it may be said, that their Obstinacy supported them: And it is probable, That each of the Cantons of this little Country must have been exceeding populous; and That they never brought all the Forces of the whole Nation into the Field together; but let one Part rest, and recover its Losses, while the other went to War. The *Rendez-vous* the *Volsci* appointed for their Troops was in the *Pomptin* Territory; where they were to meet a Party of those very *Latins* and *Hernici*, who had not dared declare themselves Enemies to *Rome* in a national Body, when *Camillus* was in Office. Some *Circenses*, and some of the Inhabitants of *Velitræ* had likewise joined the *Volsci*, whose Army was by this means considerably more numerous than that of the *Romans*. Nevertheless, the *Dictator Cossus* came and encamped in the *Pomptin* Territory; and gave himself but one Day's time to form his Camp, before he came to a Battel. The next Day, after he had consulted the *Auguries*, and offered Sacrifices to the Gods, he assembled his Soldiers, to whom he had given notice of the Battel overnight; and bespoke them thus. *If the Diviners can foretel future things, the Victory is ours. Let then this certain Hope raise your Courage. You need not make use of your Javelins and Darts against so weak an Enemy; use only your Swords. Let us keep our Ranks close and in good Order, and receive their first Onset without*

104 *Aulus Manlius Capitolinus, Publius Cornelius Cossus, Lucius Papirius Cursor*, and *Caius Sergius*, who is surnamed *Fidenas*, in the *Fasti Capitolini*, were now raised to the Dignity of *Military Tribunes* a second time. The *Fasti Capitolini* give both *Titus Quinctius* and *Lucius Quinctius*, the Surname of *Capitolinus*.

105. Which shall we believe, *Livy*, or *Plutarch*? According to the former, *Aulus Cornelius Cossus* was created *Dictator*; according to the latter, *Quinctius Capitolinus*. But the Authority of the *Fasti Capitolini*, which agrees with *Livy*, takes away all Doubt which Opinion to receive.

Year of ROME CCCLXIX.
A. Manlius, &c. Military Tribunes.

ſtirring. After that, let us brandiſh our Swords, and cut our Aggreſſors in pieces, as ſoon as they have thrown their Javelins. As for you, Quinctius, *do you reſtrain the Ardor of your Cavalry, till the firſt Attack is over. Don't ſuffer them to ſtrike a Stroke, till the Enemy has already taken a Fright, and is eaſily ſuſceptible of freſh Terror: and then break into the intimidated Battalions.* Accordingly the General's Orders were exactly obſerved; and the Succeſs was anſwerable to the Expectations he had given his *Romans*. The *Volſci*, whoſe whole Dependance was on the Multitude of their Soldiers, engaged inconſiderately, and retired as haſtily. They, by their Shouts, expreſſed ſome Ardor for fighting, when they firſt began to throw their Darts; but it abated when they came within reach of the Enemy. The Looks of the *Romans*, the Fire which ſparkled in their Eyes, their Intrepidity, and their Skill and Experience in handling the Sword, filled the *Volſci* with Terror. Their firſt Line was immediately diſordered, and the Fright communicated itſelf to the hindmoſt Ranks. Then the *Roman* Cavalry began to move. The Enemy's Battalions were broken through, and all the *Volſcian* Army gave way. All fled, threw down their Arms, and diſperſed. The Slaughter which was made of them in the hindmoſt, as well as the foremoſt Ranks, produced a general Rout. Upon which *Quinctius* ordered his Horſe not to loſe time in killing the Fugitives, but only to wheel round them, incloſe them in Circles, and give the victorious Infantry time to come up, and complete their Victory. In this manner the *Volſci* were purſued by ſome, till Night came on; whilſt others forced their Camp, and plundered it. All the Booty taken in it was given to the Soldiers, except the Priſoners, who were ſold for the Benefit of the Publick. And now the unfaithful Proceedings of the *Latins* and *Hernici*, and the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Circenſes*, and the Inhabitants of *Velitræ* were diſcovered. There were great Numbers of them among the Captives; and theſe not only looſe young Fellows, and mercenary Soldiers, but Officers and Leaders. They were all ſent to *Rome*; and by interrogating them, it appeared, that their whole Nations and entire Cities had revolted.

§. XXI. The *Dictator* therefore would fain have left his Troops in the Country of the *Volſci*; but the Diſturbances the factious *Manlius* raiſed in the City, called him back thither without delay. It was neceſſary to examine into the Deſigns of an ambitious Man, whoſe Popularity became dangerous. It had lately happened, that a Creditor had ſeized an old *Centurion* for Debt, who was a Man of Courage, but inſolvent: And as the Officer was leading him to Priſon, according to his Sentence, *Manlius* and his ſeditious Company met them. Upon which, he began with inveighing againſt the Pride of the *Patricians*. Then he exclaimed againſt the Rich, who lent Money upon Intereſt. He exaggerated the Miſery of the People: but expatiated more upon the Merit of this poor Debtor. *What ſignifies my having ſaved the* Capitol, ſays *Manlius, if more cruel Enemies than the* Gauls *are ſuffered to rob me of a brave and faithful Companion in Battel, and reduce him to Slavery?*

Nor did *Manlius* confine himſelf to Words. In the Preſence of the Officer and five Witneſſes, he paid the Debt the *Centurion* owed. And he, as ſoon as delivered out of his Creditor's Hands, was admitted to be one of that ſeditious Company which was *Manlius*'s Guard; and his Gratitude to his Benefactor made him more turbulent than any of the reſt. He was continually ſhewing the People the Wounds he had received in Battels with the *Veientes*, the *Gauls*, and the *Volſci*. *I was ruined myſelf,* ſaid he, *whilſt I was defending your Houſes and Eſtates. The Intereſt I was forced to pay, ſunk me; and the Uſury which was extorted from me, continually diſabled me from paying what I had borrowed. I had been utterly loſt, if* Manlius *had not reſtored me my Patrimony. To him I owe the free Air I breathe, and the Light I enjoy. To him only therefore I devote the Remainder of my Life and Strength. I transfer over to him all the Right my Country or my Houſhold Gods have in me.* Theſe too warm Proteſtations of a blind Devotion, gave Umbrage in a Republican State, where People were always upon their Guard againſt any thing that tended to Monarchy. But beſides this, *Manlius* made a ſtill greater Diſcovery of his Deſigns, by a yet more extravagant Act of Popularity. He had ſome Lands in the Territory of *Veii*, which were his Patrimony. Theſe he ſold by Auction, and declared to the People, that he would apply the Whole to paying the Debts of all inſolvent Perſons.

These

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIX. A. Manlius, &c. Military Tribunes.

These Bounties made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion on the Multitude, that they ſeemed ready to back him in any Enterprize he ſhould undertake, how unjuſt ſoever. Beſides which, all his Diſcourſes in his own Houſe tended only to decry the *Patricians* and the Senate. He did not trouble himſelf about the Truth of the Crimes he laid to their Charge, provided he did but make them odious. *Is it not enough,* ſaid he, *that the Nobility rob the People of their Right to a Share in the conquered Lands? Muſt they likewiſe hide from them the Treaſures, which were going to be paid the* Gauls, *and which our Citizens are diſappointed of? The Sum the Enemy demanded, was raiſed by publick Contributions. But this Gold has ſince diſappeared. The Senate conceals it, in order to make it their own Booty. I will, in a proper time, ſhew you the Place where they avaritiouſly keep it in Store.* Manlius indeed, by promiſing to ſhew the Place where the Money was hid, expoſed himſelf to great Danger from the Senate, if this Declaration ſhould prove falſe; and was ſure of gaining as much Honour among the People, if it proved true. But this ſeditious Man did not conſider Things in this Light. It ſerved his preſent Purpoſe, to impoſe on the People for a Time, and he did not regard diſpleaſing the Senators.

This was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when the *Dictator Coſſus* returned thither. He therefore poſtponed his Triumph, till after he had re-eſtabliſhed the publick Tranquillity. He made it his firſt Buſineſs to aſſemble the Senate; and found *The Fathers* much inclined to ſuppreſs *Manlius*'s Inſolence. Upon which, the *Dictator* exhorted them to ſtand by him in the Enterprize he was going upon. Attended by the Senators, he ordered his Tribunal to be placed in that Part of the *Forum* where the *Comitia* were held, and ſent a Summons to *Manlius* to come and appear before him. Accordingly, this Mover of Sedition obeyed; but not without his uſual Attendants, whom he deſired to prepare for an Engagement. In this manner he appeared before his Judge. The Aſſembly looked like two Armies drawn up in Battalia againſt one another. On one hand, the People's Eyes were wholly fixed on *Manlius* their Head: whilſt the *Patricians*, on the other, looked very ſtedfaſtly on *Coſſus*. When Silence was made, the *Dictator* thus addreſſed himſelf to *Manlius*. *I heartily wiſh it was as eaſy to put an end to the Diſputes between the Senate and People, as to that I am now going to enter into with you. One plain direct Anſwer will compoſe our Differences. You have been heard to ſay, that the Senate conceals the Sum formerly collected to redeem the* Capitol, *and that it would be eaſy to diſcharge the Debts of our inſolvent Citizens with that Money. And I am far from deſiring to hinder ſo great a Benefaction to the People. On the contrary, I adviſe you to do this great Piece of Service to the Republick. You ſay, you have found out an effectual Way to extricate Debtors out of their Difficulties. Put it in Practice then. Declare who are the Perſons which have concealed that Money which is hid from us. If not, you muſt expect to be carried to Priſon, either as an Accomplice in a Robbery you are privy to, or for being the Author of a falſe Report. I will not ſuffer the People to be abuſed with vain Hopes any longer.* Manlius heard this Diſcourſe with Compoſure, and coldly replied: *I find I was not miſtaken, in being of opinion, that the Republick nominated a* Dictator, *not ſo much to act againſt the* Volſci, *as againſt* Manlius. *The foreign War was only a Pretence for it; and is ſoon ended, with a View to falling upon me. The* Dictator *openly eſpouſes the Uſurpers Cauſe, to the great Detriment of the People. The Affection the People have for me, is charged upon me as a Crime. Why does not* Coſſus *himſelf, why don't the Senators employ their Wealth alſo, in relieving the Miſeries of the Multitude, and deliver theſe great Numbers of miſerable Debtors from Priſon and Slavery, with their Superfluities? But what am I ſaying? You need do no more than reduce what theſe Inſolvents owe, to their principal Sums. You will then be attended by as numerous a Company as I am. You ſay, I am the only Man the Multitude follows. True; and was not I the only Man who ſaved the* Capitol? *The ſame Zeal which prompted me to fight then for the Good of the Publick, excites me to conſult the Intereſt of Individuals. You ſay, you would have me declare exactly where the Treaſure is hid, which was collected to deliver us from the* Gauls. *But does it belong to me, or yourſelves, to anſwer this Queſtion? You enquire of me concerning a Matter, which you beſt know your ſelves. You keep it in your own Hands, and would have me produce it. The more you preſs me to declare the Place where you conceal it, the more Reaſon I have to fear that you*

have eluded my Diligence, and removed it to another Place. You therefore, and not I, ought to be compelled to discover the secret Place where you have laid it up in Store.

Year of ROME CCCLXIX.

A. MANLIUS, &c. Military Tribunes.

BUT this Discourse appeared to be no better than an Evasion to shift the Question. The *Dictator* therefore pressed *Manlius*, either to perform his Promise to the People, or confess that he had unjustly calumniated the Senate: And he replying, *Shall I then be silly enough to say what my Enemies would have me?* the *Dictator*, upon these indiscreet Words, immediately ordered him to Prison. And then the ready Submission of the *Romans*, in the Presence of a lawful Magistrate, was surprizing. This People, who were so seditiously devoted to *Manlius*, took no one Step to hinder the Execution of the Sentence. There was not an angry Expression heard, or a threatning Look seen, in the whole Assembly. The *Tribunes of the People* themselves, were wanting in no Instance of Respect to the *Dictator*. Only *Manlius* addressed his Complaints to the Gods. He turned towards the *Capitol*, which he had so gloriously saved, and said, *O* Jupiter, *supreme King of the Gods, O* Juno, *Queen of Heaven, Thou* Minerva, *and all Ye Divinities who are worshiped in the* Capitol! *will you suffer such a Dishonour to be put upon your Defender? Shall these Hands, which were victorious over the* Gauls, *be locked in Chains?* But even these Lamentations raised no Disturbances among the Multitude. They did not shew their Love for this Mover of Sedition, till he was in Prison; then indeed the People changed their Habits, went into Mourning, and neglected their Hair and Beards, as in Times of publick Calamity. Many crouded round the Prison Doors, and lamented his Misfortunes. And in this Time of Affliction, the *Dictator Cossus* received the Honours of a Triumph. But the Sight did not recover him the Affection of the Malecontents. They were heard to say publickly, that *Cossus* did not so much triumph over the *Volsci*, as over the oppressed *Manlius*. *Nothing*, said they, *remains to complete the General's Triumph, but to have him led before his Chariot in Chains.*

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

Liv. B.6. c.16.

In order to appease the People therefore, the Senate thought it necessary to shew them some Indulgence. They assembled, and of their own Motion, without any Petition, ordered a *Colony* of *Roman* Citizens to be sent to *Satricum*, and allotted every Man two Acres and an half of arable Land. But this unexpected Bounty was so far from satisfying the Malecontents, that the Remedy only increased the Disease. Besides that the Liberality of the Senate reached to only a small Number of the Citizens, they all believed this to be merely an Artifice of the *Patricians*, to induce the Citizens to desert *Manlius*. So that the Sedition gained Ground. The People in the City gave fresh Proofs of their Concern at his Imprisonment: And the Fury of his Partizans increased yet more, when *Cossus*'s *Dictatorship* expired. The Seditious, being now free from the Dread of a Magistrate from whom there was no Appeal, no longer kept within any Bounds, but openly inveighed against the *Patricians*; and all publick Places rung with such audacious Discourses as these. *What? will the* Plebeians *never raise any of their Defenders to the highest Pitch of Hope, but only to make their Fall the greater? Did not we desert both* Sp. Cassius, (*who so zealously contended for a Distribution of the Lands among us,*) *and* Sp. Mælius (*who releived us under the greatest Extremities*) *when they were in the utmost Danger? And shall we suffer the generous* Manlius *also to continue under Oppression, who has employed his Substance to rescue us from the Violence of our Creditors? Shall he have enrich'd the People, only to fall a Sacrifice to his Liberality? What is his Crime, but his not being able to give an immediate Answer to the* Dictator's *captious Question? Nay, suppose he has imposed upon us, and told us a Lie, as is pretended; is this an Offence great enough for a* Patrician, *who was formerly* Consul, *to be imprisoned for it? Is even a Slave put into Irons, only for a Lie? Surely when* Manlius *was condemned, that terrible Night which had like to have utterly abolished the* Roman *Name, was entirely forgotten. Could any then have remembered the* Gauls *climbing up the* Capitol, *and* Manlius *covered with Sweat and Blood, preserving* Jupiter *himself from their Attempts? Or was the half Pound of Meal, which every Man gave him, a sufficient Reward for so great a Benefaction? Shall we suffer an Hero, whom we have in some measure put upon an equal Foot with* Jupiter *himself, by surnaming him* Capitolinus, *to linger away his Life in a Dungeon, and be at the Mercy of a Jaylor? Shall he have been able of himself*

Year of *ROME* CCCLXIX. A. Manlius, &c. Military Tribunes.

to preſerve us, and ſhall not all the People together be able to deliver him? Thus ſpake the People: And ſurrounded the Priſon Day and Night, threatening to break it open. But a Decree of the Senate prevented this Act of Fury. Their dear *Manlius* was reſtored them; tho' his Deliverance proved to be only giving a mutinous Populace a Leader.

§. XXII. But during theſe Seditions, Ambaſſadors came to *Rome* from the Territories of the *Latins*, the Country of the *Hernici*, and the Cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ*, to demand the Reſtitution of the Priſoners the *Dictator* had taken from them, in his laſt Battel: And the different Reception which was given to them, ſhews the Diſtinction the *Romans* always made between Nations in Alliance with them, and [108] *Roman Colonies*. *Circæi* and *Velitræ* were upon the Foot of *Colonies*; the *Latins* and *Hernici* were only in Alliance with *Rome*. The latter enjoyed their own Laws, the former were ſubject to the Laws of the *Romans*. The Allies might ſend Ambaſſadors to the Senate, as being independent on its Decrees: But the *Colonies* were a Part of the Republick, becauſe originally *Romans*. The *Latins* [107] therefore, and the *Hernici* demanded by their Ambaſſadors, That all the Priſoners of their Nations ſhould be delivered up to them, to be puniſhed by them, according to their own Laws. And tho' the *Romans* did not grant their Requeſt, yet neither did they diſpute their Right of ſending an Embaſſy. But the Deputies from the *Circeienſes*, and from *Velitræ*, were forbad appearing before the People, and ordered to depart the City in all haſte. The Citizens of *Rome* had indeed no Right to paſs for Strangers, and ſcreen themſelves under the venerable Name of Ambaſſadors. And it appears, that the *Latins* and *Hernici*, as well as the *Circeienſes* and People of *Velitræ*, which had been taken in the War, were all continued in the Slavery they had deſerved; the former, by their Breach of their own Treaties; the latter, by their Revolt.

Liv. B.6. c.17.

106 It was cuſtomary with the *Romans*, even from *Romulus*'s Time, to place a Part of their Citizens in the Cities they conquered. They were either choſen by the chief Magiſtrate, or by Lot; and each Family was aſſigned a Portion of Land for its Subſiſtence. To this Cuſtom the *Roman Colonies* owe their Riſe, according to *Gellius*'s Obſervation, *B.* 16. *Colonias fuiſſe civitates ex civitate Romana, quodammodo propagatas.* Theſe new Eſtabliſhments were attended with conſiderable Advantages in Point of Policy, and *Rome* may be ſaid to have paved the Way for the Conqueſt of the World, by this very Means. 1. The Republick, by thus diſperſing its Subjects in different Countries, got rid of a turbulent Multitude, who were always ready to raiſe Seditions in the City. 2. It was not eaſy for the City of *Rome* it ſelf to maintain a very great Number of Citizens, eſpecially in the firſt Ages. It had then no Commerce with foreign Countries. The Produce of the Earth and Fruits were all it had to maintain them with. 3. The *Colonies*, by carrying with them them their Love to *Rome* into other Places, thereby both enlarged and ſtrengthened the Power of their own Country. They were ſo many advanced Guards, which kept the Frontier Provinces in Order. 4. The Lands belonging to the Cities ſubdued by Force, were generally both the Reward and Maintenance of the old Soldiers. This was a ſtrong Attractive for the common People, who were very fond of bearing Arms, becauſe they ſaw it attended with ſure Advantages. But before *Colonies* were ſent out, the Ceremonies of the *Auſpices* and *Luſtrations* were always performed. We find ſome Traces of this Cuſtom in *D. Hal. B.* 1. and in *Tully*, *Phil.* 2. and *De Divin.* 1. And Sacrifices were likewiſe uſed to obtain the Protection of the Gods for the new *Colony*. The *Roman Colonies* enjoyed the Privileges of the old *Roman* Law, with reſpect to Contracts, Wills, Tuitions, Adoptions, Marriages, the Power of Fathers over their Children, and of Maſters of Families over their Slaves. But whether they retained the honorary Right of the Citizens of *Rome*, that is, the Right of voting, and of ſtanding for Offices, is uncertain. Hiſtorians differ ſo much, and ſpeak ſo ambiguouſly as to this Matter, that it is difficult to come at any Certainty about it. It is true indeed, that none could give their Suffrages, but what were incorporated in one or other of the 35 *Tribes*. Their being *Roman Colonies* did not of it ſelf entitle them to this Privilege, unleſs the Republick made a particular Grant of it to any of them. But this we ſhall examine into more particularly hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the *Municipal* Cities, of thoſe who had *The Right of Latinity* granted to them, and of thoſe who enjoyed only *The Right of Italy*. And we will then ſettle the different Privileges of them, as well as of the *Roman Colonies*.

107 *Livy* ſays, the Inhabitants of *Circæi* and *Velitræ*, made the ſame Demand as the *Latins* and *Hernici* did: And his Account occaſions ſome Perplexity. He ſuppoſes that the *Circeienſes*, and the People of *Velitræ*, had their own Laws. And yet, in three Lines after, he repreſents the Senate as reproaching theſe People with Treachery, in having conſpired againſt *Rome*, tho' they were *Roman* Citizens. So that it ſeems pretty probable that theſe two Cities had preſerved the Enjoyment of their own Uſages and Cuſtoms. And what confirms the Conjecture is, that the Colony of *Circæi*, which was ſettled by *Tarquin the Proud*, conſiſted not only of *Roman* Citizens, but likewiſe of ſeveral Strangers, who came from the neighbouring Countries, and enlarged that *Colony*. Beſides, after this City was taken by *Coriolanus*, this *Roman* General drove out all the old Inhabitants of *Circæi*, deprived them of their Lands, which he gave the *Volſci*, who ſettled there, and formed a new *Colony* upon the Ruins of the old. Theſe therefore, were in all Probability maintained in the Rights of *Roman* Citizens, which their Predeceſſors had enjoyed, and continued at the ſame time to govern themſelves in ſome meaſure, by the Laws and Cuſtoms of their own Nation. Or perhaps the Cities of *Circæi* and *Velitræ* were comprehended in the Treaty *Caſſius* had formerly concluded with the People of *Latium*: and conſequently were conſidered by the *Romans*, as in ſome meaſure upon the ſame Foot with the *Latin* Cities, which had their own Laws and Privileges.

§. XXIII. Upon

Year of *ROME* CCCLXX.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, SERV. CORNELIUS, P. VALERIUS, SERV. SULPITIUS, C. PAPIRIUS, T. QUINCTIUS, Military Tribunes. *Liv. B.6. c.18.*

§. XXIII. UPON the Close of the Year, *Rome* changed her Magistrates; and it was doubtless owing to the Interest of the *Patrician* Party, that the illustrious *Camillus* was chosen *Military Tribune* a fifth time. The Republick wanted a Governor of his Reputation, to stem the Tide of the present Troubles. His Collegues were [108] *Serv. Cornelius, P. Valerius, Serv. Sulpitius, C. Papirius*, and *T. Quinctius*. Four of these had already enjoyed this Post more than once. The Peace which reigned abroad was equally agreable both to the Mutineers and the Senate, who were intent upon destroying *Manlius*'s Faction. The Levies which must have been raised among the People, if there had been a War, must have lessened the Strength of the *Plebeians* in the City; and they now hoped to be able, by the Assistance of their Leader, to stop the Prosecutions of their Creditors effectually, and moderate at least the unjust Gains of the Usurers. Whilst the *Patricians*, on the other hand, thought the Tranquillity of the Publick gave them a favourable Opportunity of calming and appeasing the Minds of the Factious. Nevertheless, the Disturbances of the Debtors became daily more violent. *Manlius*'s House stood on the *Capitol*; and there the Conspirators assembled. Conferences were held there Day and Night, in which *Manlius* spoke his Mind freely, and without any Reserve. The Affront he had received, in having been cast into Prison, exasperated him exceedingly; and the Weakness of the Senate, which had been forced to release him, increased his Confidence. Besides, the Plot for invading the Citadel of *Rome*, and declaring *Manlius* King, was already formed. *Manlius*'s Creatures were encouraged by the *Dictator Cossus*'s Remissness, in not punishing him, as another *Dictator* had formerly done *Sp. Mælius*. His Discourses to them were very extravagant. *Romans*, said he, *you know your own Strength. Count your Adversaries. As many Clients as you see attend one Patron, so many* Plebeians *you have to one* Patrician. *Upon the first Signal given for War, the Senate will apply to you for Peace. Either therefore resolve to take up Arms unanimously, or else don't expect to have Justice done you. Why should you suspect me? I will never desert any of you in your Distress: but then, neither do you surrender me up to the Inconstancy of Fortune. When my Enemies thought fit, your Defender was left at the Mercy of those who envied him. I broke off your Chains, and they loaded me with them. What will become of me, if my Enemies should prevail? Have not I reason to expect the Fate of* Cassius *or* Mælius? *I am sensible you abhor the Thoughts of it, and I hope the Gods will preserve me from it; but am I to expect that the Gods will come down from Heaven to relieve me? They have committed to you the Care of my Defence, as they inspired me with the Thoughts of protecting you. But what am I saying? Will so numerous a Body only have Courage enough to restrain the Excesses of the Senate, and not enough to destroy that Senate, which is guilty of such excessive Acts of Injustice? This is the Tyranny of Custom. Your Bravery has no Bounds against a foreign Enemy, but is very moderate against Enemies at home. The Reason of this is, that the* Romans *have been used not to suffer Foreigners to make any Attempts upon their Liberty; and have at the same time been accustomed to defend themselves but feintly against domestick Oppressors. And yet have not you always succeeded, as oft as you have ever thought fit to rise? Let therefore your present Views extend yet farther. As you have experienced how far my Valour and Affection for you will carry me; try now, how far your own Good-Fortunes will go. You will now find it easier to place a Man over the Heads of the proud* Patricians, *than it formerly was, barely to resist them. Let us destroy the Senate,* Dictatorship, *and* Consulship *together. Put an effectual stop to all Prosecutions of you, for Money lent upon Usury. I declare my self the Head and Protector of the People. I have long since deserved these Appellations. And if you think fit to honour me with a more awful Title; the more powerful you make me, the more happy you will make yourselves.*

Zonaras, B. 7.

THE plain Tendency of this Speech of *Manlius* was to make himself King: And the Senators, on the other hand, who suspected the Plots of this seditious

[108] *Diodorus* reckons up but four *Military Tribunes* for this Year. He omits *Camillus* and *P. Valerius*. *Livy* calls this *Servius Cornelius*'s second *Tribuneship*; but it is a Mistake. The *Fasti Capitolini* call it, his *third*. But both *Fasti Consulares* and *Livy*, agree that this was *Camillus*'s fifth *Tribuneship*; and that *P. Valerius*, *Servius Sulpicius*, and *T. Quinctius*, were now raised to that Honour a second time.

Man,

Year of ROME CCCLXX. M. Furius Camillus, &c. Military Tribunes. *Liv. B.6. c.19.*

Man, met to deliberate what was to be done in relation to theſe Aſſemblies of People at *Manlius*'s Houſe, in the *Capitol.* They were affrighted at the Danger which threatned the Republick. Some thought, that in this Extremity *Rome* ought to employ another *Servius Ahala*, to put an end to this inteſtine Sedition at one Blow. The Reſult of their Deliberations had like to have been, the enjoining the Magiſtrates to provide for the publick Safety, upon any Terms whatſoever: which would have been giving them an abſolute Power to act againſt the Factious in any manner they thought fit; and to take any effectual Meaſures to fruſtrate their Deſigns. But at length the *Tribunes of the People*, who were at the Aſſembly, and whoſe own Intereſt then united them to the Senate, propoſed an Expedient, which was embraced. All, except them, were for nothing leſs than aſſaſſinating *Manlius*. But the *Tribunes* propoſed more moderate Proceedings; which were, to deſtroy him by Form of Law. The two Authors of this Advice were *M. Mænius* and *Q. Publilius*. They foreſaw that an Attempt could not be made upon *Manlius*'s Life, without ſhedding a great deal of *Plebeian* Blood. *Why then,* ſaid they, *ſhould we run the hazard of a cruel Battel, in order to kill one pernicious Citizen? Why don't we make the very Multitude which protects him, the Rebel's Executioners? The Name of King is odious to the People. We will proſecute* Manlius *for attempting to uſurp the Regal Power. As ſoon as he ſhall appear before the* Comitia, *the Scene will be inſtantly changed. The People will conſider their true Intereſt, when they ſee their* Tribunes *become his Accuſers. And they then, from being* Manlius's *Defenders, will become both his Enemies, and his Judges. His very Birth will be a Diſadvantage to him. The* Plebeians *will be ſhocked to ſee a* Patrician *upon the point of uſurping a Crown: And their Love for Liberty will prevail at laſt over any other Paſſion.* This Advice being approved, the two *Tribunes of the People* cited *Manlius* to appear, and anſwer a Charge of Treaſon againſt the State. They had indeed their own private Views in it. There was an end of their *Tribuneſhip*, if the Criminal had made himſelf King. However, there was ſome ſlight Diſturbance among the People, when *Manlius*, upon his being proſecuted as a Criminal, changed his Habit, and went into Mourning, as uſual. But it was obſerved, that neither any of the Senators, nor any of the Relations of the Accuſed, not even his two Brothers, *Titus* and *Aulus Manlius* [109], changed their ordinary Dreſs; which was always done by the Friends or Relations of a Perſon under great Affliction. As for *Manlius*, he was allowed twenty ſeven Days, according to Cuſtom, to prepare for his Defence, before he appeared: and on the Day appointed, the People were aſſembled, not *by Tribes*, but *by Centuries*. So that the *Comitia* were held in the *Campus Martius*. The Heads of his Accuſation, which were moſt inſiſted on, the Hiſtorians have not told us. In all Probability *Manlius*'s Charge was, his having aſſembled the People together at his own Houſe, uttered ſeditious Words, given Bounties with an ill Deſign, and invented falſe Stories, on purpoſe to bring an Odium upon the Senate. But the chief Part of it was, his having endeavoured to uſurp a Kingly Power. And the Proofs of his wicked Attempts muſt have been very full, ſince it was the Circumſtance only of the Place where he was tried, that made the People, who were ſtrongly inclined to favour him, delay his Condemnation. They could ſee the *Capitol*, which *Manlius*'s Valour had preſerved, from the *Campus Martius*, where his Sentence was to be pronounced; and this Sight alone abated the Heat of their Reſentments againſt the Criminal. So that the People, who could neither reſolve to condemn, or acquit him, delayed proceeding to a Sentence more than once; and poſtponed his Affair every time, for three Market-Days. In the mean while, *Manlius* omitted nothing that could move his Judges. He produced above 400 *Plebeians*, whoſe Debts he had paid, or whom he had delivered out of the Hands of their Creditors. He

[109] We have already obſerved, that among the *Romans*, the Perſons who lay under any Accuſation appeared before their Judges in a negligent Dreſs, with a diſtreſſed Countenance, long Beard, and their Hair in Diſorder. By theſe melancholy Appearances, the Offenders ſhewed both their Fear, and their Grief. The Criminal hoped, by this ſuppliant Manner of Behaviour, to raiſe the Compaſſion of his Judges. And the Clients, Friends, and Relations of the Accuſed, all attended him in the ſame mournful Dreſs. Which was the Reaſon why Perſons accuſed of any Crime were called *Sordidati*. They then were thought to be *in reatu*. This Cuſtom made *Martial* ſay,

Si dat iniqua tibi triſtem Fortuna reatum,
Squallidus hærebo, Pallidiorque reo. Epig. 2. 2

ſhewe

Year of ROME CCCLXX.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, *&c.* Military Tribunes.

shewed the [110] People two Suits of Armour, the Spoils of two Enemies. He had been the first *Roman*, who had deserved a *Mural* Crown, by fighting on Horseback. He had been honoured with six *Civic* Crowns, and had had seven and thirty Prizes given him by his Generals, as Rewards of his Valour. *Manlius* likewise shewed on his Body the Marks of three and twenty honourable Wounds. He had saved in Battel the Life of *Servilius*, who was then General of Horse; and had been wounded in the Shoulder, and the Thigh, in the same Action. But his greatest Glory was, his having solely defended the *Capitol* against the Attack of the *Gauls*: And this very great Piece of Service supported the Criminal, notwithstanding the evident Proofs of his Crime. The People cast their Eyes on the Citadel, and could not resolve with themselves to condemn the Man who delivered it, to die. And *Manlius*'s affecting Discourses increased the Compassion of the Multitude. He compared his real Services with his unguarded Expressions. He turned towards the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and prayed That God to inspire the *Romans* with the same Concern for his Preservation, as *he* had had for the Deliverance of *Rome*. *Camillus* had been hitherto the main Spring of all the Proceedings against the Criminal: and he fearing lest the People's Dilatoriness in condemning him, should turn to the Prejudice of the Republick, now thought of an Expedient which succeeded. This prudent *Military Tribune* removed the Assemblies from the *Campus Martius*, where there was too open a Prospect of the *Capitol*. He assembled the *Comitia* in a Place, called [109] *The Peteline Wood*, at the Bottom of the Hill *Viminalis*, without the Gates of *Rome*: and thereby deprived *Manlius* of the only Refuge he had left. As soon as the *Capitol* was out of the People's Sight, they thought of nothing but revenging the Attempts made on their Liberty. They forgot all the Tyrant's Glory, and remembered only his Crime. But nevertheless, they could not determine to pass Sentence of Death on the Accused, without Reluctance. However, the publick Interest at last gained the Ascendant over their Gratitude. The *Romans* by their Suffrages assigned over a factious Man into the Executioner's Hands, who had preserved them only to enslave them. *Manlius* was led up to the Top of the *Capitol*, and though pitied by his very Judges, was thrown down from it. Thus the Scene of his Glory became the Place of his Punishment: Which shewed the *Romans*, that great Qualities and important Services, were not sufficient to screen the ambitious Subverters of the Republican State, from the Censures and Condemnation of the People. As to the Rebel himself, his Memory was odious to all, but especially his own Family. They met together, and resolved that no *Manlius* should ever after bear the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. And as the Tyrant's House had been on the [112] *Capitol*, and had been somewhat instrumental in promoting the late Troubles, a Law was made, which the People confirmed, *That no* Patrician *should ever live in the Citadel again*. But how strangely inconstant is the Multitude! They were scarce delivered from their Danger, before they lamented the Loss of the Author of it. A fresh Fit of Gratitude made them wish for their seditious Benefactor: and the Plague which followed, increased the Grief of Multitudes of his Friends. They imputed it to *Manlius*'s Death, and thought that *Jupiter* sent it to revenge his Blood on those who had shed it. Such is the Levity of the People, when in Power. They can never be brought to any fixed steady Measures: the Sea itself is not more inconstant, than either their Friendship, or their Hatred.

Liv. B.6. c.20.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

Liv. B.6. c.20.

110 *Livy* says, *Manlius* had carried off thirty of these Spoils, from as many Enemies, whom he had killed with his own Hands. And adds, that his Generals had given him the military Rewards, which were usually given to Men of distinguished Valour, forty times. Among which Marks of Distinction, continues he, were two *Mural* Crowns, and eight *Civic*. But this slight Difference between the two Accounts given by *Pliny* and him, does not affect the Substance of the Story; so that the Reader may adopt which Relation he pleases.

111 The *Peteline* Wood, was but at a small Distance from the City, without the Gate *Flumentalis*. So that it is probable, that the Height of the Trees, and Thickness of the Wood, was what hindered the *Capitol* from being seen there.

112 *Livy* adds, that in his Time, the Temple of *Juno Moneta* stood in the same Place where *Manlius*'s House had formerly stood. And *Plutarch* tells us this House was razed. At least, the *Romans* usually demolished the Houses of those who had been guilty of Treason.

THE Roman History.

BOOK XIV.

Year of ROME CCCLXXI.

A. MANLIUS, L. VALERIUS, SERV. SULPICIUS, L. LUCRETIUS, L. ÆMILIUS, M. TREBONIUS, Military Tribunes.

§. I. THE Puniſhment of the ſeditious *Manlius*, neither injured his Relations nor leſſened their Intereſt. On the contrary, his Brother *A. Manlius* was choſen *Military Tribune* the next Election; and the five Collegues which the Republick gave him were *L. Valerius*, *Ser. Sulpitius*, *L. Lucretius*, *L. Æmilius*, and *M. Trebonius*. The Plague ſtill continued to rage in *Rome*, and its Neighbourhood: And to complete the Misfortune, the *Romans* were threatened with ſeveral Wars. The *Volſci* were their indefatigable Enemies, whom Heaven ſeems to have made uſe of to keep their Valour in continual Exerciſe. Nor was this all. The ancient *Colonies* ſeemed ready on all hands to riſe up againſt the City, from whence they originally came. The *Circeienſes* and Inhabitants of *Velitræ* continued in their Revolt. *Lanuvium* it ſelf, which was formerly ſo ſteady in her Fidelity, declared againſt *Rome*; and all the Cities of *Latium* ſeemed ready to riſe in their Turns. Then the Senate judged, That the Impunity of *Velitræ* had drawn Contempt upon the Republick; and That the other Colonies inferred from thence, that the Capital was not in a Condition to puniſh the Defection of the inferior Cities. And this made it neceſſary to prevail on the [2] People to conſent to a War, and make a Law for it. In order to which, the Commons were promiſed that the Lands of the *Pomptin* Territory ſhould be divided among them, and five Commiſſioners were nominated to regulate the Diſtribution of them. Three others were alſo appointed to lead a *Colony* to *Nepete*; but the Execution of this Deſign *Vel. Pat. B.1.* appears to have been deferred no leſs than nine Years. However, the *Comitia by Tribes* were aſſembled, and unanimouſly agreed, that a War ſhould be declared with all theſe different Enemies to *Rome*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the *Liv. B.6. c.21.* *Tribunes of the People*. In the mean time, the Slowneſs of the Proceedings of the *Romans* gave the rebellious *Colonies* time to return to their Duty. The Senates of theſe Cities were inclined to ſend Deputations to the Senate of *Rome*, to avert their Anger: But the moſt criminal Part of the Inhabitants oppoſed the Advice of the more prudent. They were afraid that the Anger of the *Romans* would fall only upon them, and imagined that they alone ſhould be the Citizens which their Colony would ſacrifice to a Reconciliation. Nor was it enough for theſe Incendiaries, to fruſtrate the Counſels of Peace; they likewiſe ſtirred up their Countrymen to make Incurſions on the *Roman* Lands. By this means, all Hopes of a Re-

1 *Diodorus the Sicilian* is again defective in the Number of the *Tribunes* for this Year 371. He reckons but four, and their Names are ſo diſfigured, that it is very difficult to know them. *Aulus Manlius*, ſurnamed *Capitolinus*, *Servius Sulpicius Rufus*, and *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, are ſaid to be now made *Tribunes* the third time, both by *Livy*, and the *Faſti Capitolini*. But *Livy* differs from the *Faſti Conſulares*, when he ſays that *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus* was now nominated the third time to the *Tribuneſhip*. He had yet born that Office but once. *Lucius Valerius Poplicola* was now elected the fourth time.

2 The People aſſembled *by Centuries* were the proper Judges of Peace or War.

3 The *Colonies* and *Municipia*, had each its own Senate. The Members of which theſe Senates conſiſted were called *Decuriones*; becauſe they had been *ſet down*, or *enrolled*, in the Liſt of the Senators who were appointed to govern the new *Colony*. The *Latin* Word *Decuriare*, is indeed ſynonimous to *Deſcribere*, *in ordinem redigere*, *i. e.* to *ſet down*, or *place in order*. Their Number was fixed by the *Triumviri*, whom the Republick appointed to ſettle the new *Colony*, as appears from *Tully*, *Agr.* 2. We are not therefore to imagine that they were Councellors *of ten*, and were therefore called *Decuriones*. The Opinion of ſome Moderns is contradicted by the *Roman Orator*, who in his *ſecond Oration on the Agrarian Law*, reckons up no leſs than 100 *Decuriones* in the *Colony* of *Capua*.

conciliation vaniſhed. The Time ſeems to have been come for exterminating theſe Rebels; but the Plague ſuſpended the Vengeance of *Rome*. The *Military Tribunes* durſt not lead their Troops into the Field; ſo that the Revolters continued yet unpuniſhed. Add to this, that the Inhabitants of *Præneste* followed the bad Examples of the other *Colonies*. The *Gabini*, *Tuſculani*, and Inhabitants of *Labicum*, who maintained their Fidelity, brought Complaints to the Senate, of the Hoſtilities the *Prænestini* had committed in their Diſtricts. But the Senate pretended not to believe them; chooſing rather to diſſemble with them, than take up Arms in ſo unhappy a Seaſon. Thus *Rome* ceaſed to be formidable to her Neighbours and Allies for ſeveral Years, after the Overthrow the *Gauls* had given her; and her *Colonies* themſelves had a contemptuous Opinion of a Republick, whoſe Valour had once deſerted it.

Year of ROME CCCLXXI. A. MANLIUS, &c. Military Tribunes.

§. II. BUT the *Romans*, who ſcarce ever let any Attempts againſt their Republick eſcape unpuniſhed, only deferred the War till the preſent Calamity was blown over. As ſoon as the Plague ceaſed, they choſe [5] ſix new *Military Tribunes*; which were *Sp. Papirius*, *L. Papirius*, *Serv. Cornelius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Serv. Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*. And tho' the two *Papirii* were now promoted to this Office the firſt time, and two of their Collegues the fourth, yet the former were pitched upon to command the *Roman* Forces. The reſt continued in *Rome*, with ſome Troops, to be in a readineſs to defend the City, and march againſt the *Hetrurians*, upon the firſt News of their being in Motion. Now that *Rome* was grown weaker than ever, and deſerted both by her Allies and *Colonies*, ſhe grew jealous of every body. The Troops commanded by the *Papirii* advanced towards *Velitræ*. The Inhabitants of *Præneste* were come to aſſiſt this rebellious City, and were more numerous than thoſe they came to protect. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* gave Battel with Succeſs. The Action being in the Neighbourhood of *Velitræ*, the Nearneſs of an Aſylum made the Enemy immediately turn their Backs. They fled into their City for Refuge, and ſheltered themſelves under their Ramparts. In order therefore to make the Victory complete, it was neceſſary to take *Velitræ*; but the Generals thought it not adviſable, either to attempt a doubtful Siege, or to carry Hoſtilities ſo far, as to exterminate a *Roman Colony*. The Senate alſo was of opinion, that it was more neceſſary to purſue the War with Vigour againſt the *Prænestini*, than the People of *Velitræ*. What provoked the *Romans*, was this; that the Inhabitants of *Præneste* had joined the *Volſci*, and were making Preparations with them to attack the new *Colony* of *Satricum*, which they took by Force the next Year, and ſhewed the Conquered no Mercy.

Year of ROME CCCLXXII. SP. PAPIRIUS, L. PAPIRIUS, SERV. CORNELIUS, Q. SERVILIUS, SERV. SULPICIUS, L. ÆMILIUS, Military Tribunes. *Liv. B.6. c.22.*

§. III. THESE Expeditions therefore, which were yet to be undertaken, made the aſſembled *Centuries* caſt their Eyes again upon the invincible *Camillus*, to place him at the Head of the Republick. He was now promoted to the *Tribuneſhip* a ſixth time. But the Hero, who was content to ſpend the reſt of his Days in Tranquillity, in a very infirm old Age, was afraid of embarking again in publick Affairs. He was apprehenſive of the Viciſſitudes of *Fortune*. He dreaded the ill Offices ſhe might do him, after a Life of ſo much Glory; and therefore excuſed himſelf from undertaking the Employment the People were deſirous of beſtowing upon him. His chief Excuſe, was a ſlight Fit of Sickneſs, which he then was ſeized with. Nevertheleſs, he preſerved the Vigour of his Mind entire, and his Strength of Body was not wholly worn away in ſo great a Number of Years. The People therefore would not hearken to his Repreſentations. *We don't expect*, ſaid they, *that* Camillus *ſhould perſonally engage either a-Foot, or on Horſeback; or that he ſhould join the Bravery of the private Soldier to the Wiſdom of the General. All we now deſire of him, is, that he would aſſiſt our Armies with his Counſels, and command them: this is enough to make them victorious.* And the Deſires of the

Year of ROME CCCLXXIII. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, A. POSTHUMIUS, L. POSTHUMIUS, L. FURIUS, L. LUCRETIUS, M. FABIUS, Military Tribunes. *Plut.* Life of *Camil.* *Liv. B.6. c.22.*

4 *Diodorus* again mentions but four *Military Tribunes* for this Year. Among whom are, one *Quintus Craſſus*, and one *Fabius Albus*, whoſe Names are not mentioned among theſe Magiſtrates in the old *Conſular* Liſts. Only the two *Papirii* are there called by the Surname of *Craſſus*. *Livy* gives *Sulpicius* the *Prænomen* of *Caius*. And the Order of the *Tribuneſhips*, as ſet down in the *Faſti Capitolini*, make us believe, that the *Military Tribuneſhip* was not conferred on that *Sulpicius*, but another. For which Reaſon we diſtinguiſh him by the *Prænomen* of *Servius*, and the Surname of *Prætextatus*. We ſhall hereafter ſee him exerciſe the Office of *Tribune*, a ſecond, third, and fourth time. Which has made *Pighius* conclude, that his firſt Promotion was in this Year. The *Quintus Servilius* here ſpoken of, has the two Surnames of *Priſcus* and *Fidenas*. He was probably the Son of *Q. Servilius*, who was honoured with the *Tribuneſhip* ſix times.

People

Year of ROME CCCLXXIII.

M. Furius Camillus, &c. Military Tribunes.

People were a Law, which it was neceſſary to comply with. Accordingly, *Camillus* [5] was choſen *Military Tribune*, with *Aul.* [6] *Poſthumius*, *L. Poſthumius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius*. But *Camillus* was not choſen by Lot to command the Army againſt the *Volſci*; he was expreſſly named, for carrying on that Expedition: And it fell to *L. Furius* to be his Collegue in it, by Lot; whoſe Name would lead us to judge him to have been of the ſame Family with *Camillus*; but he fell very ſhort of him, as in Age, ſo in Experience in the Art of War. Nevertheleſs, *Furius* had according to the Laws of *Rome*, an equal Authority over the Troops with *Camillus*. Theſe Generals commanded an Army of four *Legions*, conſiſting of 4000 Men each. The Troops were ordered to *rendez-vous* near the Gate *Eſquilina*, the next Day; and from thence they ſet out for *Satricum*. There the *Volſci* and *Prænestini* had already formed a Camp; and as they were more numerous than the *Romans*, they waited for them without Fear. Beſides, theſe Enemies were yet flushed with their late inhuman Expedition againſt the Inhabitants of *Satricum*. As for *Camillus*, he contented himſelf with encamping within reach of his Enemies, that he might have his Eye continually upon them; and was not in haſte to come to a Battel. He either waited to recover better Health, or to receive ſome new Reinforcements for his Army. In the mean time, the *Volſci* appeared drawn up in Order of Battel, and provoked the *Romans* to fight. *Our Enemies*, ſaid they, *depend entirely on their General; but what will his Stratagems ſignify to us? As we are ſo much ſuperior in Number, we are not afraid to attack them.* Upon which, the *Romans* were no leſs deſirous of fighting than their Enemies; and their Ardour was increaſed by *Furius*'s Diſcourſes. *Camillus* alone reſtrained their Zeal by the Force of his Reaſonings; and waited for ſuch a favourable Opportunity, as might put his Forces, and thoſe of the Enemy, upon an equal Foot. But the leſs in haſte he ſeemed to be, the more Pains the *Volſci* took to exaſperate him. They not only marched out their Men upon their own Ground, near their Camp, but advanced with them into the open Fields, and carried on their Lines almoſt to the *Roman* Camp. This therefore was ſuch an Inſult, as neither the General *Furius*, nor his Soldiers, could bear. The former had none of *Camillus*'s Flegm, and depended too much on the Hopes the Ardour of his *Romans* gave him. Beſides, *Furius* was but young. To which we are to aſcribe the inconſiderate Expreſſions which dropped from him, in Derogation of his Collegue's Authority: tho' after all, he could not caſt the leaſt Blemiſh upon his Character, on any account but that of his great Age. *Young Men only*, ſaid he, *are fit for War. As ſoon as the greateſt Men are paſt the Flower of their Age, their Courage abates. This illuſtrious* Camillus, *who in his Youth took Cities as ſoon as he appeared before them, now amuſes himſelf within his Camp, and his Dilatorineſs makes us loſe great Opportunities. Why do we poſtpone fighting any longer? Will his Delays procure us any Reinforcements from the City, or leſſen the Enemy's Troops? He waits for a favourable Moment! This is but the vain Pretence of a Man, whoſe Age has chilled his Blood in his Veins.* Camillus *has already reaped a plentiful Harveſt of Glory, and is ſatisfied with it. But why do we ſuffer the Reputation of* Rome, *which ought to be immortal, to fall into Decay, and decline with a ſuperannuated General?* This Diſcourſe had its Influence on the *Romans*; all the *Legions* deſired leave to fight: And the young General addreſſed himſelf to *Camillus* in this manner. *It is no longer poſſible to reſtrain the Eagerneſs of our own Soldiers, or bear the Inſults of the Enemy. Our Delays have already increaſed the Confidence of the latter; and we are like to extinguiſh the Ardour of the former. You only are for yet longer Delays. Comply with the Deſires of the Multitude, who wiſh for an Engagement. Haſten your own Glory, by giving us leave to reap a certain Victory, without more Loſs of Time.* But *Camillus*, with a lofty Air, which his paſt Succeſſes had given him, and with that Prudence which never deſerted him, made this Reply. *As long as I commanded Armies alone, I am bold to ſay*, Rome *never had any reaſon to be diſſatisfied, either with my Conduct or Succeſs. But now*

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

5 This was the ſixth time the Great *Camillus* was promoted to the *Tribuneſhip*, according to *Plutarch*, and the *Faſti Capitolini*; and not the ſeventh, as it is ſaid in ſome Editions of *Livy*.

6 *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus* had been *Tribune* twice already. His Collegues *A.* and *L. Poſthumius*, are both diſtinguiſhed in the *Faſti Capitolini*, by the Surnames of *Albinus*, and *Regillenſis*. *Marcus Fabius* is there ſurnamed *Ambuſtus*; as *Lucius Furius* is, *Medullinus*.

Year of ROME CCCLXXIII.
M. Furius Camillus, &c. Military Tribunes.

indeed I have a Collegue joined with me, of equal Authority, tho' younger than I. Nevertheleſs I muſt after all confeſs, I never yet learned to obey, in Armies. I have had the ſole Command of them too long, for ſuch a Submiſſion. However, if I cannot reſtrain the Impetuoſity which hurries you to an Engagement; yet this at leaſt I muſt inſiſt on, that I will not act the Part of a young Soldier, by expoſing myſelf in the foremoſt Ranks. I don't refuſe to aſſiſt the Republick with the beſt Advice an old Soldier can give: And I pray the Gods to proſper your Undertaking. But inſtead of this, as *Furius* had not hearkened to *Camillus*'s Advice; ſo neither did Heaven hear this great Man's Prayers. The young General drew up the firſt Lines of the Army in Order of Battel; and the old General made it his Buſineſs to prepare a *Corps-de-reſerve* to aſſiſt his Collegue, in caſe of Diſtreſs. *Furius* charged with the uſual Vigour of Men of his Age; and the *Volſci* gave way; but their Flight was feigned. By giving ground, they drew the *Roman Legions* half way up the Hill, on which their Camp was ſituated: and then ſallying out with freſh Troops who had the Upper-ground, they tumbled the *Romans* down the Hill, and recovered the Advantages they had loſt. The Diſorder was now transferred from the *Volſci* to the *Romans*, who were overpowered with new Troops. And then thoſe *Volſci*, who had pretended to fly, returned to the Charge. Upon which the *Romans* were defeated. It was no longer a Retreat, but a Rout. Theſe brave *Legions*, which were ſo deſirous of fighting, now thought of nothing but regaining their Camp. As for *Camillus*, it is ſaid, that being yet weak, and not recovered of his Sickneſs, he was laid on a Bed: But upon the News, that the *Romans* were worſted, he immediately quitted his Tent, and haſtened to the Gate of the Camp with his Troop. He could not mount his Horſe without Help; but as ſoon as mounted, he immediately applied himſelf to ſtop the flying *Legions* with his *Corps-de-reſerve*; and cried out to them, *Is this then,* Romans, *the fine Battel you were ſo very deſirous of? What God or Man can you blame but yourſelves? You have hitherto followed another General; now follow* Camillus, *and conquer with him. No; you ſhall not return to your Camp this Day, unleſs Victors.* At firſt Shame put a ſtop to the Flight of the Troops: and when they ſaw the braveſt Men among them face about towards the Enemy, and *Camillus* marching at the Head of his *Corps-de-reſerve*, the Cowards could no longer forbear to follow the Example of ſo renowned an Officer, and ſo wiſe an old Man. They all mutually excited one another to renew the Fight, and rally again, under their proper Colours. And by this means, they repulſed the Enemy at leaſt, and ſtopped their Progreſs: Which indeed was all they could do that Day. But the next Day, *Camillus* drew up his Troops again in the Plain. *Furius* no longer commanded in chief; he was ſenſible of his Fault. *Camillus* had put him at the Head of the Cavalry: and as *Furius* was a Man both of Probity and Valour, he behaved himſelf in the ſecond Battel, like one who ſincerely loved his Country, and was reſolved to recover his Reputation. He regained the Eſteem of the Cavalry, by applying himſelf with Modeſty to them, and rather intreating, than commanding, them. He prayed them to exert themſelves to ſave his Honour. *Notwithſtanding the direct Prohibitions of my Collegue,* ſaid he, *I yeſterday choſe rather to follow the Raſhneſs of the Multitude, than his prudent Advice. Whatever therefore becomes of this ſecond Battel,* Camillus's *Reputation is ſafe. But mine is utterly loſt, if the Cavalry don't recover it.* Then *Furius*'s Cavalry, who were remarkable both for their Arms and Courage, out of regard to the Intreaties of their Commander, diſmounted, and flew to the Support of the Infantry. The Foot were hard preſſed; but upon this Reinforcement, both the Officers and Soldiers fought with equal Courage; and the Succeſs ſhewed what Wonders Valour can effect. That numerous Army of *Volſci*, whoſe feigned Flight had almoſt gained them the Victory the Day before, was now forced to fly in good earneſt. The Slaughter made of them was as great, after they were routed, as in the Battel itſelf. In ſhort, their Camp was alſo taken, and the Number of the Priſoners exceeded that of the Dead.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

Liv. B.6. c.24.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

Liv. B.6. c.24.

§. IV. When the Priſoners came to be numbered, there were ſome *Tuſculani* found among them, who were in Alliance with the *Romans*. Theſe were therefore ſeparated from the reſt, and brought before the Generals: and upon Enquiry into the Cauſe of their Defection, they told the Generals, that they had not taken up Arms, but with the Conſent, and by the Orders, of the Magiſtrates of their City.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXXIII.

M. Furius Camillus, *&c.* Military Tribunes.

Then the prudent *Camillus* was alarmed at the ill Diſpoſition of the *Tuſculani* towards the Republick; and thought a War with ſo near Neighbours a Matter of great Importance. He therefore declared to the Army, that he would conduct theſe Priſoners to *Rome* himſelf, and repreſent to the Senate the Danger the State was in, from theſe new Enemies. In ſhort, he told his *Legions*, that with their Conſent he would leave them ſolely to the Conduct of his Collegue. *Furius* was now grown prudent, by the ill Succeſs of his late Attempt. But nevertheleſs, it was the Opinion of the Army, that *Camillus* was going to accuſe his Collegue, and would never forgive him the Affront he had received from him, and the Injury he had like to have done the Republick. They did not yet know, how far the Magnanimity of the great *Camillus* would carry him. And as it was well known at *Rome*, that *Furius*'s Precipitation had like to have ruined his Country, and that *Camillus* alone had ſaved it from Deſtruction: every body therefore expected that the Conqueror was come to demand, that the raſh General ſhould be puniſhed. Inſomuch, that it was a great Surprize to the Senators, to hear him talk of nothing but the Defection of the *Tuſculani*. He brought the Priſoners before them; and when by their Relations, the Senators were convinced, that the whole City of *Tuſculum* had been wanting in Fidelity to *Rome*, *Camillus* was ordered to go and puniſh it. And by way of Diſtinction to ſo great a Man, the Republick gave him leave to chuſe which of his five Collegues he pleaſed to command with him. Upon which, they all made Intereſt to go and learn the Art of War, under ſo great a General: And never were People more ſurprized than the *Romans* were, to ſee him chooſe that very *Furius* with whom he had had ſome perſonal Miſunderſtandings. But *Camillus* took more pains to conceal the Shame of his Enemy, than to purſue the Dictates of Revenge. An Example of Moderation, which did him great Honour: for he gained more Eſteem by conquering himſelf, than by conquering the Enemies of his Country.

Plut. Life of *Cam.* *Liv. B.6. c.25.*

After this, the two Generals began their March, to puniſh the *Tuſculani*: and either the Artifice of theſe Rebels, or their true Repentance, gave the wiſe *Camillus* a freſh Opportunity of ſignalizing his Moderation. They had taken care to ſend their Husbandmen into the Fields to work, as uſual. When *Camillus* entred the Territory of theſe faithleſs Allies, there was not the leaſt Appearance of War: And when he came within reach of *Tuſculum*, the Magiſtrates went out to meet him in Form, and received him as the Head of the Republick. Proviſions were alſo ſent him both from the City and the Country. Nevertheleſs, *Camillus* pitched his Camp in the Neighbourhood of *Tuſculum*; and being deſirous of knowing whether the ſame Tranquillity reigned there, as in the Country, he went thither. When he came, he found the Citizens, and their Wives and Children, walking in the Streets, without any manner of Appearance of Fear or Surprize. Then *Camillus* looked about him, to ſee if he could diſcover any Signs of Preparations for War, but could perceive none. The Shops were open, the Markets full, and the publick Schools had never been ſhut up. The General therefore was well pleaſed to find his Enemies returned to their Duty: and after having aſſembled the Senate of *Tuſculum*, he beſpoke them thus. *You have found out the true Secret of diſarming the Reſentment of the* Romans: *The Arms you have made uſe of, are more effectual than Reſiſtance and Obſtinacy could have been. Go to* Rome, *and preſent yourſelves before the Senate. They are the proper Judges, whether your preſent Conduct is a ſufficient Expiation for your paſt Faults. I won't anticipate their Decrees in your Favour: but will give you time to apply to them in a ſuppliant manner, in order to obtain a Pardon.* Accordingly, the Deputies of *Tuſculum*, with their *Dictator* at the Head of them, came in Mourning, to deſire the Senate to admit them to an Audience; which was granted. And upon the bare Sight of them, all the Senators were moved with Compaſſion towards them, by the ſuppliant Condition to which they ſaw their Allies, who had hitherto continued faithful, reduced. So that the Reception they met with, looked more like Hoſpitality, than the rigorous Treatment of ſevere Judges. The Head of the Deputation was their Speaker, and addreſſed himſelf to the Senate in theſe Words:

Liv. B.6. c.26.

Ibid.

The Generals you ſent againſt us, Conſcript Fathers, *found our Republick as little diſpoſed to maintain a Defection, as we here ſeem to be, at the Door of your Auguſt Senate-Houſe. Nor ſhall you ever find us in Arms, unleſs when obliged to fight*

in Obedience to your Commands. We are very thankful to your Generals, because they have had the Wisdom to give more Credit to what their own Eyes saw, than to false Reports: and have committed no Act of Hostility in our Territories. Do you therefore entertain the same pacifick Dispositions which were found in us. Carry the War elsewhere. If you will make War with us, you shall find no Enemies to fight with at Tusculum. *We stand resolved to receive your Attacks unarmed, and without Resistance. And may the Gods confirm us in the Resolution we have taken, and make it as fortunate as it is pious. We are indeed accused of Breach of Faith. But open Facts shew the Falshood of this unjust Calumny. Nay, if we had entred into any Measures prejudicial to* Rome, *so speedy a Repentance ought to have effaced the Remembrance of it. And our Prayer to the immortal Gods is this, That whenever any Injuries shall be done you, they may be followed by as speedy a Satisfaction as ours has been.* At which Words the Senate was softned, readily forgave the *Tusculani*; and to make them entirely *Roman*, soon after granted them the Privileges of *Roman* [7] Citizens. Thus ended the sixth *Military Tribuneship* of the incomparable *Camillus*. At the close of every Year's Administration, it was always questioned, whether the last had not brought him more Honour than any of the former. As to that we are now speaking of, he distinguished it by the noblest and most unparalleled Acts of Valour, Moderation, and Clemency.

Year of ROME CCCLXXIII. M. Furius Camillus, &c. Military Tribunes.

Liv. B.6. c.26. Val. Max. B. 6. c. 3.

§. V. The *Military* [8] *Tribunes* the *Centuries* chose to succeed him, were *L. Valerius, L. Menenius, C. Sergius, Sp. Papirius, Serv. Cornelius,* and *P. Valerius*; whose Administration was disturbed by unforeseen Accidents, domestick Seditions, and a foreign War. *Sp. Posthumius*, one of the *Censors*, who usually continued five Years in their Office, died [9]: and there had been a Law formerly made at *Rome*, that if either of them died, during the Exercise of his Office, the Survivor should not have any new Collegue chosen, to supply his room. The surviving *Censor* therefore laid down his Office: So very fatal a Presage was that thought to

Year of ROME CCCLXXIV. L. Valerius, L. Menenius, C. Sergius, Sp. Papirius, Serv. Cornelius, P. Valerius, Military Tribunes.

Liv. B.6. c.27.

7 He only was a *Roman* Citizen, in the most extensive Meaning of the Expression, who had a Right of having a House in *Rome*, of giving his Suffrage in the *Comitia*, and of standing Candidate for any Office; and consequently, who was incorporated in one of the *Tribes*. The *Freed-men* did not enjoy all these Privileges. Tho' they were incorporated in the *Roman Tribes*, yet they were excluded from Dignities. The *Municipal* Towns, and *Roman Colonies* likewise enjoyed some of the Privileges and Immunities annexed to the Title of a *Roman* Citizen, which was called a Right of Citizenship: And the Nations of *Italy* reaped so great Advantages from it, that they often demanded it Sword in hand. This was the Policy of the *Romans* to draw those Nations into Alliances with them. They put them upon the same Foot as the Inhabitants of *Rome*; so that they all made but one People. Being therefore united together by their common Interests, they mutually assisted each other, and thereby became formidable to their Enemies Abroad. But this Right of Citizenship had sometimes more, sometimes fewer, Privileges annexed to it. The *municipal* Cities enjoyed it by a particular Grant from the People and Senate, without impairing their own Laws by it, or being obliged to change their old Form of Government. But there was this Difference between them, that some of them could neither give their Votes, nor stand Candidates for Offices in the *Comitia*; whilst others were incorporated into the *Tribes*, and consequently had both a Right of voting in the Assemblies of the People, and of standing for Offices. And this last Privilege, say the *Civilians*, *Paul*, and *Ulpian*, was what gave the Citizens of these *Municipia*, the Name of *Municipes*; *quod munera caperent*. This Account of the Difference between the *Municipia*, is confirmed by ancient Writers, especially *Livy*, who acknowledges there were two Sorts, as we have already observed, in our Remarks on the *municipal* Privileges granted to the Inhabitants of *Cære*. And the same Author speaks in another Place of *Fundi* and *Formiæ*, two *municipal* Cities, which did not obtain the Right of Suffrage, till after much Application was made for it, tho' they already had the Right of Citizenship. As for the People of the *Roman Colonies*, they enjoyed more or less of the Honours and Exemptions peculiar to *Roman* Citizens, in Proportion to their Fidelity, and the Services they did the Republick. But a Subject so obscure, and so little treated of as this, will often give Occasion for critical Remarks, which will naturally arise out of the Subject-Matter of this History.

8 Neither *Diodorus* nor *Livy* give *Papirius Cursor* his *Prænomen* of *Spurius*. *Servius Cornelius*, surnamed *Maluginensis*, and *L. Valerius Poplicola*, were now made *Military Tribunes* the fifth time. *Publius Valerius Potitus*, who was also surnamed *Poplicola*, and *Caius Sergius Fidenas*, now entered upon this Office, the third time; as *L. Menenius Lanatus* did, the second. *Diodorus* reckons up eight *Military Tribunes* for this Year. He includes *Marcus Fabius* and *Lucius Æmilius* among them. But this is a manifest Mistake, and demonstrated to be so by the *Fasti Capitolini*.

9 The Death of the *Censor* was by the *Romans* thought a fatal Presage, which foreboded great Misfortunes to their Republick. They had taken up this superstitious Opinion, upon the Death of the *Censor, Caius Julius*, which happened in the Year 361, before his Office expired. *Marcus Cornelius* was chosen to succeed him, and it had been observed, that before this *Lustrum* ended, the City was taken by the *Gauls*. This was enough to fill the Minds of the People with extravagant Prejudices. They made it Matter of Religion, not to fill up the Place of the deceased. On the contrary, the surviving *Censor* chose to abdicate his Office, as if the Gods had declared, by the untimely Death of one of them, that they disapproved of the Creation of both. After this, the People proceeded to a new Election. We have this Account from *Livy*. *Caius Julius Censor decessit. In ejus locum Marcus Cornelius suffectus. Quæ res postea religioni fuit; quia eo Lustro Roma capta. Nec deinde unquam in demortui locum Censor sufficitur.*

be

Year of ROME CCCLXXIV. L. VALERIUS, & Military Tribunes.

be to the Republick! Nevertheleſs, nothing was then more neceſſary for the State, than to have *Cenſors*, to take an exact Account of the People, and make a juſt Report of every particular Perſon's Circumſtances. This was the only means of putting a ſtop to the Complaints the Debtors were always renewing againſt the exceſſive Uſury of their Creditors. And *Poſthumius*, and his Collegue *Sulpitius*, had already begun theſe Enquiries, which muſt certainly have ended in the Relief of the poor People, and to the Diſadvantage of the rich Uſurers. But the Death of one of the *Cenſors* both ſuſpended the Hopes of the Debtors, and revived the Perſecutions of their Creditors. The former exclaimed openly againſt the Injuſtice of the latter; the latter as ſtrongly denied the Complaints the *Tribunes of the People* made of their Avarice. Whereas a *Cenſus* would have diſcovered all the Myſteries of this Iniquity. The *Romans* therefore proceeded to create new *Cenſors*; but there either really was, or at leaſt it was knaviſhly pretended that there was, ſome Defect diſcovered in their Election. From whence, the *Patricians*, who were afraid of a *Cenſus*, and the Conſequences of the Diſcoveries it would make, took occaſion to declare publickly, that it was againſt the Will of the Gods, that *Rome* ſhould have any *Cenſors* that Year. Whilſt the *Tribunes of the People*, on the other hand, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to bring on a new Election of *Cenſors*, as ſoon as poſſible.

THE *poſtponing it*, ſaid they, *is nothing but an Artifice of the Uſurers. They are afraid, that an Enquiry into all Mens Eſtates, will diſcover to the Publick, that one Part of the* Roman *People ſwallows up the other. The Senate keep the People always engaged in Wars, and encamped at a great diſtance from the City, only to make them forget the Injuſtice of the Rich. All Opportunities are diligently ſought for, of breaking the Peace with our Allies and Neighbours. Preparations are making for a War with* Antium, *with* Velitræ, *and with* Tuſculum. *The* Latins, *the* Hernici, *and the* Prænestini, *are all treated as Enemies: Whereas in reality,* Rome *declares War with the* Roman *People, under their Names. The great Fear is, that if the Citizens ſhould continue at home, and enjoy their Reſt, they would then be mindful of their Liberty. For this Reaſon, they are removed into a Camp, at a diſtance from their* Tribunes, *and out of the hearing of their Harangues, And there they are lulled into a Forgetfulneſs of the exceſſive Intereſts which the Rich exact of them at their Return. If then,* Romans, *you have any of that Love of Liberty, which your Anceſtors had, rouze yourſelves, and ſhake of this Oppreſſion. Suffer no body to be enrolled, till you are firſt aſcertained what your Debts are, and till the Exactions of the Uſurers are reformed. Know exactly what you have left, and eſtabliſh Rules for aſcertaining your Debts, and don't leave yourſelves always at the Mercy of a Creditor. Will you reſt ſatisfied to be continually under juſt Apprehenſions of a Jail, by letting it wholly depend on the Humour of your Creditors, whether you ſhall be impriſoned, or not?*

WHEN the *Tribunes of the People* had ſhewn the Multitude how much it was their Intereſt to mutiny, it was no difficult Matter to bring them to it. A favourable Opportunity offered itſelf. The Debtors were treated with great Rigour, and at the ſame time the Senate ordered Troops to be raiſed for the War with the *Prænestini*. But the Commons, by the Advice of the *Tribunes of the People*, oppoſed both one and the other. They would neither ſuffer the Perſons of the Debtors to be ſeized, nor Levies to be made. Whilſt indeed the *Conſcript Fathers* were much more uneaſy about raiſing the Troops, than the Impriſonment of the poor Debtors. The *Prænestini* were already come into the Neighbourhood of *Rome* with an Army haſtily raiſed, upon the firſt News of the Diſſentions in the Republick; and had pitched their Camp very near the Gate *Collina*. Nevertheleſs the Danger did not terrify the *Tribunes of the People*: They thought it might be made to turn to the Advantage of the Debtors, againſt the covetous *Patricians*. But at length, the Devaſtations the Enemy committed in the Country, and their inſolent Advances even to the Foot of the Walls of *Rome*, filled the City with Terror. It was then viſible, that *Rome* was not out of the reach of her Enemies; and that her Dominion did not yet extend very far. The Apprehenſions therefore of what might happen from abroad, appeaſed the Tumults at home. Recourſe was had to the uſual Expedient in great Extremities. *Titus Quinctius* was in all haſte nominated *Dictator*; and he choſe *A. Sempronius* to be his General of Horſe.

Year of ROME CCCLXXIV. T. QUINCTIUS, Dictator.

Year of ROME CCCLXXIV.

T. Quinctius, Dictator. *Liv.* B. 6. c. 28.

Horſe. Upon which, the Remedy had its due Effect immediately. The *Præneſtini* no ſooner underſtood that *Rome* had created a *Dictator*, but they removed farther off; and Troops were raiſed in the City without Oppoſition.

§. VI. *QUINCTIUS* ſoon completed his Army, whilſt the Enemy were encamped on the Banks of the *Allia*. The *Præneſtini* thought it would be lucky to them, to make this Place the Field of Battel. *It is to be hoped*, ſaid they one to another, *that we ſhall here gain as great a Victory as the* Gauls *did. If the* Romans *think the Day on which the Battel was fought in theſe Plains unlucky; how much more apprehenſive will they be of the Place itſelf, on which they were routed? When they come to engage here, they will fancy they again ſee thoſe frightful Strangers, and hear their terrible Shouts.* Vain Hopes! Nevertheleſs, the *Præneſtini* fed themſelves with them, and all their Expectations of Succeſs were founded in the imaginary Influences of a Place which had formerly proved fatal to *Rome*. Whereas, the *Romans* had much ſurer Foundations to build their Hopes of Victory upon. *We have none but* Latins, ſaid they, *to fight with; that is, none but Men who have been forced to keep in Alliance with us for theſe hundred Years; and who were formerly defeated near the Lake* Regillus. *So far will the Banks of the* Allia *be from leſſening our Courage, that the Shame of our former Defeat there, will raiſe it. Shall there be that Place in the World, where* Rome *deſpairs of Conqueſt? If the* Gauls *themſelves offered us Battel there, they ſhould find the ſame Treatment on the Banks of the* Allia, *as they met with at* Gabii; *not one of them ſhould return home alive.* Theſe Diſcourſes raiſed the Courage of the Soldiers in both Armies: And when the *Dictator Quinctius* was come and encamped within reach of the *Præneſtini*, he ſaid to *Sempronius: You ſee our Enemies have no Dependence on any thing but the Field of Battel. The Gods give them no other Hopes of Victory. Go draw out your Horſe, and charge them briskly. After the firſt Shock, I will advance with my Infantry. O ye Gods, who are Witneſſes to the Treaties, of which you are Guarantees, revenge your own, and our Cauſe, and puniſh the faithleſs* Præneſtini! *Sempronius* obeyed: and the Enemy could not ſupport the Attack of the *Roman Legions*. The *Præneſtini* were put into Diſorder upon the firſt Onſet; and were at length utterly routed, and not able ſo much as to regain their Camp. They fled with ſuch Precipitation, that they never ſtopped, till they came in ſight of *Præneſte*: and then durſt not enter the City, for fear of leaving their Fields open to be plundered. So that they encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Præneſte*, whilſt the *Romans* were plundering their former Camp near the *Allia*. But upon the *Dictator's* Arrival, the ſecond Camp was likewiſe forced; and then the Vanquiſhed had no Place to retire to, but their City. However, the *Romans* deferred the beſieging it for the preſent; and immediately fell upon nine Caſtles in the Territory of *Præneſte*, which were all taken in a few Days. And then the General appeared before *Præneſte* itſelf, which capitulated. Thus ended *Quinctius's* Campaign, who gained himſelf much Honour by his uncommon Expedition. He returned to *Rome*, enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph; and the Statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which he brought from *Præneſte*, was an eternal Monument of his Glory. It was placed in the *Capitol*, between *Jupiter Capitolinus* and *Minerva*, with an [10] Inſcription, which is yet preſerved. But the moſt ſurprizing Circumſtance is this, that *Quinctius* was *Dictator* but twenty-five Days, and laid down that Office as ſoon as he had triumphed.

Liv. B. 6. c. 29.

§. VII. After this, the popular Clamours and Complaints of the inſolvent Debtors, which ſtill continued, made an Alteration in the Elections. Whether the aſſembled *Centuries* divided the *Military Tribuneſhip* between the *Patricians* and

[10] This Inſcription, ſays *Livy*, B. 6. was drawn up almoſt in theſe Words. *Jupiter atque Divi omnes hoc dederunt, ut Titus Quinctius Dictator oppida novem caperet:* i. e. *Titus Quinctius, under the Protection of Jupiter, and all the Gods, took nine Cities.* But *Feſtus* ſays, that *Titus*'s having dedicated to *Jupiter* a Crown of Gold, weighing two Pounds and one third, out of Gratitude for his having conquered nine Cities in nine Days (excluſive of *Præneſte*, which he obliged to ſurrender) was mentioned in the Inſcription. *Trientem Tertium pondo coronam auream dediſſe Jovi donum ſcripſit Quinctius Dictator, cum per novem dies, totidem urbes, & decimam Præneſte, cepiſſet.* Which led *Pighius* to believe, that *Livy* had not given us the whole Inſcription; and he had Recourſe to the Paſſage in *Feſtus* to complete it. *Gruter* has given it us in the Text of *Livy*, thus. JUPITER ATQUE DI OMNES HOC DEDERE UT T. QUINCTIUS DICT. OPPIDA NOVEM DIEBUS, IX, CAPERET. X, PRÆNESTE IN DEDITIONEM ACCIPERET. EARUM RERUM ERGO, TRIENTEM TERTIUM PONDO CORONAM AUREAM JOVI. D. D.

Year of ROME CCCLXXV.

P. MANLIUS, C. MANLIUS, L. JULIUS, C. SEXTILIUS, M. ALBINIUS, L. ANTISTIUS, Military Tribunes.

Liv. B.6. c.30.

Plebeians, voluntarily, or by Conſtraint, is uncertain: but it is certain [11] they choſe three *Military Tribunes* out of the Nobility, and three out of the People. The *Patricians* were *P. Manlius*, *C. Manlius*, and *L. Julius*; the *Plebeians*, *C. Sextilius*, *M. Albinius*, and *L. Antiſtius*. At this time, the Republick was almoſt reduced to the ſame Condition ſhe was in at her firſt Eſtabliſhment. Her Allies had deſerted her, and many of the *Colonies* had declared againſt her. So much did ſhe ſtill continue to be weakened by the Blow ſhe had received from the *Gauls*! It was therefore become neceſſary to ſubdue thoſe *Latins* by Force, who though formerly faithful, and Sharers with the *Romans* in many Victories, had now joined the *Volſci*. The Army, which was raiſed to act againſt the Confederates, was, by way of Diſtinction, committed to the Conduct of the two *Manlii*. Three of their Collegues were but *Plebeians*; and *Julius*, whoſe Birth put him upon a foot of diſputing the Generalſhip with them, was not ſo agreable to the People as the *Manlii* were. He was not ſo much as ſuffered to draw [12] Lots for the Command of the Troops. But *Rome* had ſoon Cauſe to repent of the Choice ſhe had made, and the Preference ſhe had given the *Manlii*. Each led his Part of the Army againſt the Enemy; and they encamped within reach of one another. And it happened, that they ſent out their Cavalry to forrage, without having a ſufficient Knowledge of the Country. Upon this, the Enemy did not think proper to ſurround the Forragers; but embraced the Opportunity, which offered itſelf, of drawing the whole *Roman* Army into an Ambuſcade. In order to this, they hired a *Latin* Soldier to put a Cheat upon the *Roman* Generals. He dreſſed himſelf like a *Roman*, came in a great Fright to the *Roman* Camps, and ſaid, *Your Forragers are inveſted by the Enemy, and muſt inevitably be loſt, if not immediately relieved.* This was giving a general Alarm to the *Romans*; who all marched into the Fields with Precipitation, and in Diſorder. The Generals did not ſo much as think of detaining the Meſſenger who brought this falſe News. They ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed on by the Cheat, and hurried into unpaſſable Places, where the *Volſci* were laying in Ambuſh for them. And then the *Romans* were indebted to their Bravery alone, for preſerving them from an entire Defeat. They fought without Officers, and without any Order; and Deſpair made them invincible. But whilſt they were defending themſelves in narrow Paſſes, againſt one Part of the Enemy, the reſt of the *Volſci* ran to beſiege the *Roman* Camps, which were taken and plundered, without Reſiſtance. Thus was the Republick brought to the very Brink of Ruin, by the ill Conduct and Ignorance of the two *Manlii*. It was deliberated at *Rome*, whether a *Dictator* ſhould be nominated: but it was at laſt reſolved to recall the Army, and its Commanders. The *Romans* thought, by the Appearance of the Enemy, that they would not have the Confidence to make any uſe of their Victory, or attempt any greater Enterprize. But this ſingle Blow they received made their Allies more inſolent. The *Præneſtini*, ſubdued as they were, drew the whole Body of the *Latins* into a Revolt. So that *Rome* was obliged to reinforce the *Colony* of [13] *Setia* which wanted Men; and at the Requeſt of the *Latins*, to ſend them *Romans* to increaſe the Number of their Inhabitants. Nevertheleſs, the City had Reaſon to think itſelf happy, in the Peace which reigned there, during theſe Commotions abroad. The three *Military Tribunes*, which had been choſen out of the People, put a ſtop to all domeſtick Broils, and gained the Government all due Reſpect and Eſteem from the *Plebeians*.

11 *Diodorus of Sicily* reckons up eight *Military Tribunes* for this Year, as he did for the preceding one. In this Number he includes one *Publius Trebonius*, and one *Caius Erenucius*. But theſe are two *Tribunes* too many, and ought to be blotted out of *Diodorus*'s Liſt. He gives *Julius* the *Prænomen* of *Tiberius*: But *Livy* and the *Faſti Capitolini* agree in giving him that of *Lucius*. His Surname is *Iulus*. He was now made *Military Tribune* the ſecond time. The ancient *Tables* do alſo give *Albinius* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*; but *Diodorus* calls him *Lucius*. And he is as much miſtaken in changing *Caius Sextilius*'s Name into that of *Caius Sextius*.

12 The Command of the Armies belonged of Right to one of the *Conſuls*, or one of thoſe who exerciſed the *Conſular* Authority. And to avoid Diſputes, it was often determined by the People, or by Lot, which of them ſhould have it.

13 The ancient City of *Setia*, formerly ſtood in that Canton of *Latium* where *Sezza* now ſtands on the Brow of a Hill, at a little Diſtance from the *Pomptin* Marſhes. It's Territory produced excellent Wines, according to old Authors, particularly *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Juvenal*, *Martial*, and *Silius*. *Livy* tells us, *B.* 7. that this City was called *a Roman Colony*: And *Velleius Paterculus* places the ſettling of this *Colony* in the eighth Year after the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. *Poſt ſeptem annos quam Gallis urbem ceperunt, Satricum deducta Colonia eſt, & poſt annum Setia.*

§. VIII. Bu

Year of ROME CCCLXXVI.
Sp. Furius, Q. Servilius, C. Licinius, P. Cloelius, M. Horatius, L. Geganius, Military Tribunes.
Fast. Capit.

§. VIII. But the next Year was not so peaceable. The *Centuries* chose only *Patricians* for *Military Tribunes*; which were, [14] *Sp. Furius, Q. Servilius, C. Licinius, P. Cloelius, M. Horatius,* and *L. Geganius*. The People therefore did not pay due Deference to their Authority in all Cases. They were too much concerned in Interest, to free themselves from the Oppressions of the Rich, by the excessive Usury they exacted of the Poor. The Commons got two *Censors* chosen; who were, *Servilius Priscus* and *Cloelius Siculus*: and they applied themselves to the main [15] Business of their Office. They took an exact Account of the *Romans*, and their Effects, in a *Lustrum*, which the *Fasti Capitolini* call the 19th from their Institution. So that nothing now remained for the *Censors* to do, unless to put an end to the Disputes between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, by relieving the poor Debtors, who were continually oppressed by their avaritious Creditors. But a sudden War frustrated their Designs. News was brought to *Rome* in all haste, that the *Volsci* were entered into the *Roman* Territory, and committing Ravages there. Nevertheless, this Report affrighted no body but the *Censors*. They indeed left the Business of settling the Disputes between the Debtors and Creditors unfinished, under Pretence that it was of more Consequence to the State, to guard against Hostilities abroad, than Dissentions at home. But the *Tribunes of the People* were far from laying aside their Pretensions. They pursued their Point with the more Violence, and opposed the inlisting any of the People. This was a Game they had often played with Success; and the Senate were now forced to satisfy them, and stop the Clamours of the Populace as well as they could. For which Purpose, they made a Decree, that no Person should be disturbed for Debt, or the Payment of the usual Taxes, during the Campaign. And then the People became tractable, and the Levies were made without any Opposition. Two Armies were formed, which marched into the Country of the *Volsci*, different Ways. *Sp. Furius* and *M. Horatius* commanded one Body, which marched to the Right, along the Sea-Coasts, on the Side of *Antium*. *Q. Servilius* and *L. Geganius* were at the Head of the second Army, and they advanced to the Left by *Ecetræ*, that is, cross the

Liv. B.6. c.31.

[14] *Diodorus* mentions but four *Military Tribunes* for this Year; and among the rest, *Caius Licinius Calvus*, instead of *Licinius Menenius* whom we find mentioned in the old Editions of *Livy*. And we think our selves obliged to prefer *Diodorus*'s Account, for this Reason. *Livy* himself tells us, that *Caius Licinius*, who was Master or General of the Horse in the Year 395, had been *Military Tribune* before. Whereas it is impossible to find the Year of his *Tribuneship* in the *Fasti Capitolini*, unless we put the Name of *Caius Licinius Calvus*, instead of that of *Licinius Menenius*. Which we think a more probable Conjecture, than that of some Moderns, who think the Table of the *Consular* Years defective. This *Caius Licinius* was probably the Son of *Publius Calvus*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year of *Rome* 357. *Spurius Furius*, surnamed *Medullinus*, is thought to have been the Brother of *Lucius Furius*, whom we have seen in the *Military Tribuneship* in the Year 373. *C. Servilius Priscus Fidenas* was now made *Military Tribune* the second time. *Publius Cloelius* had the Surname of *Siculus*; *Marcus Horatius*, that of *Pulvillus*; and *Lucius Geganius*, that of *Macerinus*.

[15] The chief Offices of the *Roman Censors* were these. They made the *Census*, or numbered the People. They took an exact List of all the *Roman* Citizens, their Ages, Possessions, Circumstances, Children, and Slaves. It was their Business to set a Value upon every Man's Estate, that the Taxes might be laid equally on all, in Proportion to their Abilities. They had the Right of nominating the Head, or *Prince of the Senate*. The civil Government of the City was partly lodged in their Hands; since it was their Business to take Care of the Education of Children, to regulate the Price of Merchandizes, restrain Luxury, and prevent superfluous Expences. They had the Direction of the *Games*, and of the Sacrifices, the Expences of which were defrayed by the Publick. It likewise belonged to them to see the Streets of *Rome*, the publick Roads, the Bridges, and the Aqueducts, repaired. Their Power was so absolute, that they had Authority to expel those Senators who had behaved themselves ill. They could degrade the *Roman Knights*, when they were guilty of Actions unworthy of Men of their Order; who were then put upon a Level with the rest of the People. The *Censors*, by virtue of their Office, could strike out of the Lists of the *Tribes*, deprive of the Right of Voting, or remove from a superior to an inferior *Tribe*, any Citizens who acted dishonestly. Their Sentences were also without Appeal. *Publius Clodius*, the *Tribune of the People*, indeed, got a Law passed, which forbad the *Censors* declaring any Man infamous, till he had been regularly accused, judged, and condemned, in due Form of Law. But this Law was repealed, as will appear hereafter, and the *Censors* recovered their old Authority. Their Office, at first, lasted five Years; but *Mamercus Æmilius* the *Dictator* reduced its Duration to eighteen Months. The Functions of the *Censors* are mentioned in *Cicero*'s 3d Book *Of Laws*, where he gives this Account of them. *Censores, populi ævitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censunto. Urbis templa, vias, aquas, ærarium, vectigalia tuento, populique partes in Tribus distribuunto. Exin pecunias, ævitates, ordines, partiunto. Equitum peditumque prolem describunto. Cœlibes esse prohibento. Mores populi regunto. Probrum in Senatu ne relinquunto. Bini sunto. Magistratum quinquennium habento.* These Magistrates were elected in *Comitia by Centuries*: And in the first Ages of *Rome*, only *Patricians* could be raised to this Dignity. But the *Plebeians* afterwards aspired at it, and shared it with the *Patricians*. What we have here observed in general, concerning the Authority, Privileges, Honours, and Duties, of the *Censors*, will be explained more particularly hereafter, as Occasion shall offer.

Country

Year of ROME CCCLXXVI. Sp. Furius, &c. Military Tribunes.

Country of the *Hernici*, between [16] *Ferentinum* and *Signia*. But neither Army met with any Enemy: so that the whole Country of the *Volsci* was plundered. And this Plunder was not like one of those precipitate and thievish Incursions, which the *Volsci* were used to make in great Disorder, because always in Fear of the Enemy. The *Romans* carried on their pillaging regularly, and in the greatest Safety. They gave themselves time to make the Desolation universal; and tarried a great while in the Enemy's Country, on purpose to draw them to a Battel. They spared neither Country-Houses, nor Villages, nor Fruit-Trees, nor Seed-Corn. All was plundered, or burnt up, and the Cattel which the *Volsci* had left in the Country, was carried off. In short, after finishing an Expedition, wherein the *Romans* revenged the Attempt of the *Volsci*, the two Armies returned by the same Ways they came. After which, the Creditors suffered the People to enjoy the Benefit of the Decree, which forbad any to molest them, but a few Days. The *Patricians*, who now found themselves eased of the Burden of a foreign Enemy, cited their Debtors to appear before the Judges, as usual. Nor was this all. The *Censors* had built a Free-Stone Wall, doubtless by way of Fortification to the City; and a [17] Capitation-Tax being laid on the Citizens, to defray the Expence of it, the Poor were obliged to borrow Money at excessive Interest, to pay their Assessments. Thus the People were forced to sink under the Weight of publick Taxes, and private Debts. What could they do, or what Service were the *Tribunes* able to do them? There were now no new Levies for them to oppose, all being peaceable abroad: So that the *Patricians* became Masters of the Election of chief Magistrates for the Year ensuing.

Year of ROME CCCLXXVII. L. Æmilius, Serv. Sulpicius, P. Valerius, L. Quinctius, C. Veturius, C. Quinctius, Military Tribunes.

§. IX. The assembled *Centuries* chose six *Patricians, Military Tribunes*: and then the *Plebeians* lost all Hope of having a Share in the Government for a great while. But they soon recovered it. The *Military Tribunes* now chosen, were *L. Æmilius, Serv. Sulpicius, P. Valerius, L. Quinctius, C. Veturius*; and *C. Quinctius*. Then the *Latins* and the *Volsci* entered into a new Confederacy against the Republick. The Levity of the *Latins*, who were so long in Alliance with *Rome*, and the Obstinacy of the *Volsci*, who were so often overcome, and yet always so ready to begin a new War, are not to be parallelled. These two Confederate Nations pitched their Camp near *Satricum*. And that the *Tribunes of the People* should not embrace the Opportunity the Discontents of the Debtors gave them, to oppose the raising of Troops, is surprizing. Indeed they might perhaps have been intimidated by the Ascendant the *Patricians* had gained over the Commons; or the Apprehensions of a War with two united Nations, might perhaps induce them to consider the Interests of the Publick. But whatever their Motives were, it is certain the new Levies were so considerable, that they were divided into three Armies. One was to guard the Walls; another to be ready to march wherever there should be Occasion for it, on the first Notice; and the third, which was the most considerable, was to attack the Enemy in the Neighbourhood of *Satricum*. *P. Valerius* and *L. Æmilius* commanded the Troops which took the Field, and immediately entered upon Action. The *Roman* Generals found the *Volsci* and the *Latins* advantageously posted: But nevertheless did not delay giving them Battle. The Action lasted till it was interrupted by so violent a Rain that neither Party could keep the Field: And tho' the *Romans* could

Liv. B. 6. c. 32.

16 The City of *Ferentinum* formerly belonged to the *Volsci*. The *Romans* took it, and gave it to the *Hernici*, after the Conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance the *Romans* entered into, with them, and the *Latins*. The Place where it anciently stood is now called *Ferentino*, and by Corruption *Fiorentino*. The Inhabitants of this City were called *Ferentinates*, to distinguish them from the Inhabitants of another *Ferentinum* which was in *Tuscany*, and who were called *Ferentini*.

17 It then belonged to the *Censors* to tax all the Citizens according to their Substance, or according to the different *Classes* in which they were incorporated, agreeably to the Laws of the *Census*, established by King *Servius Tullius*. It was also their Business to collect Tributes, Imposts, and all other Assessments, which were made in the Name of the Republick. The Money collected was put into the Publick Treasury. The *Censors* likewise farmed out the Taxes which were raised in all the *Roman* Dominions: And they settled their Accounts at the End of every *Lustrum*, about the Beginning of *March*, because this was formerly the first Month in the Year.

18 This was the fifth *Military Tribuneship* of *L. Æmilius*, surnamed *Mamercinus*; the fourth of *Publius Valerius Potitus Poplicola*: the second of *Servius Sulpicius Prætextatus*, and *Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus*; and the first of *Caius Veturius*, and *Caius Quinctius Cincinnatus*. The *Fasti Consulares* give *Caius Veturius* the Surnames of *Crassus* and *Cicurinus*. *Diodorus* has omitted *Veturius* and *Caius Quinctius*, and put *Virginius* and *Caius Cornelius* in their room. But this is a Mistake of that Author, or his Copyists.

Year of ROME CCCLXXVII. L. Æmilius, &c. Military Tribunes.

not then flatter themſelves with having gained a complete Victory, yet they at leaſt found Reaſon to promiſe themſelves one the next Day, from the little Trial they had made of the Enemy. The Battel was then renewed, and at firſt with pretty equal Succeſs on both Sides. The *Latins*, who had been long in Alliance with the *Romans*, had learned the Art of War from them; and their Valour and Experience ſuſpended the Fortune of the Day, for ſome time: but at length the Enemy was no longer able to withſtand the Efforts of the *Roman* Cavalry. The Horſe, which had been long accuſtomed to give the deciſive Stroke in Battels, were ordered to advance againſt the *Latin* Battalions, and broke them. Then the *Roman* Infantry fell on the Confederate Troops; wherever the *Legions* engaged, the *Latins* and *Volſci* loſt Ground; and the Valour of the *Romans* increaſed as faſt as the Enemy gave way: Till the latter being at laſt broken through, and routed, fled for Refuge to *Satricum*, without daring to truſt to their Camp. Nevertheleſs, as *Satricum* [19] was about two Miles from the Field of Battel, the *Roman* Horſe, which purſued the Fugitives, made a great Slaughter of them. Nor did thoſe who eſcaped to the City, think themſelves ſafe there. They left it in Diſorder the Night following, and made the beſt of their Way to *Antium*, to ſecure themſelves in that City. The *Roman* Army indeed purſued them cloſely; but the Vanquiſhed fled faſter than the Conquerors purſued. The former entered *Antium*, before the latter could come up with their Rear-Guard, and attack it. Then Diſcord effectually weakned the Enemies of the *Roman* Name. The *Antiates* were not in a Condition to maintain a Siege; nor did they know, that the *Romans* had no thoughts of undertaking it. Beſides, the *Volſci* were grown weary of a War, which had been begun before their Time, in their Fathers Days, and in maintaining which they were now grown old. The *Antiates* were likewiſe all inclined to come to a Capitulation with the *Romans*. The *Latins* indeed were yet as warm in their Revolt as at the Beginning; and their Loſſes had not diſcouraged them from running the Hazards they did, in contending with *Rome*. They were concerned, that they had already lived too long in a good Underſtanding with her. But the *Antiates* ſeemed to perſiſt in their Reſolution of coming to an Agreement with the Republick. This was therefore enough for the *Latins* to ſeparate from them. They, enraged at their not having been able to ſuſpend a Peace, which they thought a diſhonourable one, continued the War with Fury. They vented their Rage againſt *Satricum* it ſelf, tho' a Country of the *Volſci*, and the very Place which had ſerved them for their Retreat after their Defeat. They reduced the whole City to Aſhes, except one Edifice only, which was a Temple erected to the Honour of the Goddeſs [29] *Matuta*, whom the *Greeks* worſhipped under the Name of *Leucothea*. The Worſhip of

19 We have no Remains left of the ancient City of *Satricum*. It belonged to the *Volſci*, and ſtood in the *Pomptin* Territory, on the Borders of *Lanuvium*, near *Pometia*. *Velleius* and *Diodorus* confound it with *Sutri*, a City of the *Hetrurians*. The *Abridger of Stephens* is likewiſe as incorrect, when he diſfigures the Name of *Satricum*, and calls it *Satria*, and its Inhabitants *Satriani*. *Velleius* tells us the City of *Sutri* became a *Roman Colony*, ſeven Years after the taking of *Rome*; *Poſt ſeptem annos quam Galli urbem ceperunt Sutricum deducta Colonia eſt*. But the beſt Criticks agree, we ought here to read *Satricum*, and not *Sutricum*. This laſt City was not a *Roman Colony* ſo ſoon. At leaſt *Livy*, B. 6. calls the Inhabitants of *Sutri* only Allies of *Rome*. The *Romans*, ſays he, took it from the *Hetrurians*, and reſtored it to their Allies. *Sutrio recepto reſtitutoque Sociis*. This was done in the Year 368, and the ſame Author tells us, ſoon after, that is, in the Year 369, that a *Colony* of 2000 Citizens of *Rome* was ſent to *Satricum*, five Years after the Expedition of the *Gauls*. But according to *Velleius*, it was ſeven Years, and not five.

20 The Goddeſs *Matuta* of the *Romans*, was, according to *Plutarch*, the ſame with the *Leucothea*, (or *Ino*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*) of the *Greeks*. The Ceremonies obſerved in their Sacrifices, ſays he, were the ſame; and, if we may judge by them, the Goddeſſes differ only in Name. A Woman Slave, adds he, was brought into the Middle of the Temple, where ſhe was firſt boxed about by the *Roman* Ladies, and then driven out with Ignominy. The Women, continues he, do likewiſe bring their young Nephews in their Arms, and preſent them to *Matuta*, making Vows to her, and praying her to protect theſe Infants. Then they offer Sacrifices to her; and repreſent in a natural Manner what happened to *Bacchus*'s Nurſes; and what *Ino* ſuffered, from *Juno*'s Anger, for having nurſed the Son of her Rival. But *Tully* makes *Ino* and *Matuta* to be the ſame Perſon. His Words, *Tuſculan.* B. 1. are theſe; *Quid Ino Cadmi filia, nonne Leucothea nominata a Græcis, Matuta habetur a noſtris?* The Jealouſy *Ino* entertained of one of her Women-Slaves, with whom her Husband *Athamas* fell deſperately in Love, is well known. This jealous Woman hated all Women-Slaves from that time: And the *Romans*, who adopted this fabulous Goddeſs, imitated her Reſentments and her Uneaſineſs, on the Feſtivals which they kept in Honour to her. For this Reaſon, all Women-Slaves were forbidden entering into her Temple, except her who repreſented *Athamas*'s Miſtreſs: And the *Roman* Ladies pretended to revenge the Injury which had been done her, by beating this unhappy Woman. The Cuſtom of carrying their own Nephews into the Temple of this Goddeſs, put them in mind of the Misfortunes of *Ino*, who was an unhappy Mother. She ſaw *Athamas* kill

Year of ROME CCCLXXVII. L. Æmilius, &c. Military Tribunes.

of this Goddeſs had without doubt been brought to *Satricum* from *Rome*, with the *Roman Colony* which had ſettled there. And this Temple, which eſcaped the Fire by mere Accident, gave Riſe to the Fable of a Voice's having come from the Temple, and affrighted with terrible Menaces thoſe who were burning the Town. Nor did even the Ruin of *Satricum* ſatisfy theſe furious Men. They fell upon the *Tuſculani*, to puniſh them for having deſerted the *Latin* Confederacy, and accepted the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. The *Latin* Army ſurprized their City, found its Gates open, entred it with great Shouts, and made themſelves Maſters of it. Then the Inhabitants retired into the Citadel, with their Wives and Children, and had no time to do any thing more, than acquaint the *Romans* with their Surprize and Misfortunes. The *Romans* had an Army ready againſt any unforeſeen Events. It was commanded by *L. Quinctius* and *Serv. Sulpicius*, two of the *Military Tribunes* for the Year; and their Diligence ſhewed how faithful and ready *Rome* was in relieving the Cities in Aſſociation with her. The *Roman* Generals found the *Latins* obſtinately bent upon forcing the Citadel of *Tuſculum*, and defending the Town at the ſame time. Nevertheleſs, the Terror the *Tuſculani* were in, was a little abated at the Approach of the *Roman* Army. They ſhouted at the Top of the Citadel, for Joy; and the *Roman* Soldiers anſwered them with yet louder Shouts. The *Latins* were then encloſed between two Enemies. On one hand, the *Tuſculani* attacked them from the Top of the Citadel; on the other, the *Romans* endeavoured to make a Breach in the Wall, and force open the Gates. How then could they withſtand this double Attack? In ſhort, the *Legions* ſcaled the Walls, made themſelves Maſters of the Ramparts, and broke open the City-Gates. Upon which, the *Latins*, who were now ſurrounded on all Sides, could neither make any Reſiſtance, nor find any Way to eſcape. They were all cut to pieces within the Walls of *Tuſculum*, not one of them eſcaping: And after the *Military Tribunes* had recovered this City, they led back their Army to *Rome*.

§. X. Thus the Peace concluded with the *Antiates*, and the Defeat of the *Latins*, gave the Republick an Interval of Tranquillity abroad. But at home, the Avarice of the *Patricians* increaſed the Miſery of the poor People. As all the Debtors were preſſed to pay their Debts at the ſame time, one Friend could not aſſiſt another, or lend him any Part of his Subſtance. So that moſt of them became inſolvent, were deliverd up to their Creditors, reduced to Slavery, and their Credit deſtroyed for ever. Inſtead of paying their Debts, they ſuffered corporal Puniſhment for them. So that the People were enſlaved to the *Patricians*, and no longer in a Condition to aſpire at the higheſt Poſts in the Commonwealth, as they had formerly done; even the chief Citizens were grown contemptible, had loſt their Credit, and hardly durſt ſtand Candidates for any *Plebeian* Offices, much leſs pretend to ſhare with the Nobility the *Military Tribuneſhip*, which they had ſo often aſpired at. In ſhort, the People deſpaired ever ſucceeding in that Attempt, how able ſoever ſome of the *Plebeians* might be, and how well qualified ſoever, for the Diſcharge of that Office. Inſomuch, that the *Patricians* ſeemed now ſecure of for ever engroſſing all Honours, and the whole Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, to themſelves. But, which may ſeem very incredible, a trifling Affair gave the

kill her Son *Learchus*; and then leaped into the Sea, with her Son *Melicertes*. But ſhe had been a more fortunate Aunt, ſince ſhe had ſaved her Siſter *Semele*'s Son *Bacchus*. Therefore the Women took Care not to preſent their own Children to this Goddeſs; and only prayed to her for their Nephews. This *Ovid* deſcribes in theſe Lines, in the 6th Book of his *Faſti*;

Non tamen hanc, pro ſtirpe ſua, pia mater adorat,
Ipſa parum felix viſa fuiſſe parens.
Alterius prolem molitur mandabitis illi,
Utilior Baccho, quam fuit illa ſuis.

The Feſtival of this Goddeſs was kept on *The third of the Ides of June*, *i. e.* on the 11th Day of that Month, and was called *Matralia*. At that time, a Sort of Cakes were offered up to her, which were baked in earthen Pots. *Varro* mentions this Offering, *B.* 4. *de Ling. Lat. Teſtatium, quod in teſta calida coquebatur, ut etiam nunc Matralibus faciunt Matronæ.* And *Ovid* ſpeaks of theſe Cakes, *Faſt. B.* 6. in theſe Lines,

Ite bonæ Matres, veſtrum Matralia feſtum
Flavaque Thebanæ reddite liba Deæ.

The *Romans*, according to *Plutarch*, had learned the Worſhip they paid the Goddeſs *Matuta*, from the *Greeks*. He likewiſe ſays, in his *Roman Queſtions*, that the Guardian of the Temple dedicated to *Leucothea*, in the City of *Cheronea*, ſtood at the Porch Door with a Whip in his Hand, and from time to time pronounced theſe Words, *Let no Woman Slave, or Ætolian Man, or Woman, dare to enter this Place*; in Alluſion to *Athamas*'s Miſtreſs, who was a Slave of *Ætolia*, whom the *Greeks* call *Antiphera*. *Boiſſar* has given us the Figure of their Goddeſs, from an ancient Monument, juſt as we here repreſent her; with this Inſcription, MATOTA. [Sir *Iſaac Newton* places *Ino*'s Marriage with *Athamas* in the Year before *Chriſt* 980. *Chron. p.* 20.]



MATUTA.

Year of ROME CCCLXXVII.

L. ÆMILIUS, &c. Military Tribunes.

Lives of Illuſt. Men.

Liv. B.6. c.34.

Zonaras, B.7.

Plebeians an Opportunity of ſhaking off the Oppreſſion of the Nobility, and carrying their Pretenſions higher than ever.

FABIUS AMBUSTUS had two Daughters. He was deſcended from the illuſtrious Family of the *Fabii* [21], and retained an hereditary Affection for the *Plebeian* Party. He had indeed matried his eldeſt Daughter into a *Patrician* Family: *Serv. Sulpitius*, who was then *Military Tribune*, was her Husband. But he had given his youngeſt Daughter to *Licinius* [22] *Stolo*, a Man of Weight in *Rome*, and a Man of many perſonal good Qualities, but of *Plebeian* Extraction. Now it happened at the time that the Arrogance of the Nobility was carried to its higheſt Pitch, and the People were humbled to a great Degree, that *Fabius*'s youngeſt Daughter went to pay a Viſit to her Siſter. *Sulpicius* was then gone out, accompanied with the Guard which always attended *Military Tribunes:* And during the Converſation of the two Siſters, the Husband of the eldeſt came from the *Forum*, where he had been diſcharging the Duties of his Office. A Crowd of Clients conducted him home, and the *Lictors* [23] knocked with their *Faſces* at the *Tribune*'s Gate, to give notice of his Return. The younger Siſter, who was not uſed to this Noiſe, was ſurprized at it, and her Surprize ſeemed mixed with Fear. Upon which the elder Siſter could not help laughing at her; and this Laugh, how innocent ſoever in itſelf, had a very bad Conſtruction put upon it, by the younger. She conſidered it as an Inſult upon her, on Account of the ignoble Family into which ſhe had been forced to marry; and her Heart was immediately fired with Jealouſy and Reſentment. This is the natural Temper of Women, when Fortune puts too great an Inequality between them and their Relations, to whom they are equal in Birth. The imaginary Affront provoked her; and the Sight of the Multitude of Courtiers, who attended her Brother-in-law, and the Earneſtneſs they expreſſed in deſiring to receive his Commands, increaſed her Anguiſh. She envied her Siſter's Happineſs, and repined at her own Fate, which had placed her in an inferior Rank. Inſomuch that the *Plebeian* Lady could not conquer her Uneaſineſs, or conceal it from her Father's Eyes, who loved her. *Fabius* had Addreſs enough to make her diſcover to him the Cauſe of her Uneaſineſs herſelf. *You have made me marry*, ſaid ſhe to him, *into a Family which is for ever excluded enjoying any Honours in* Rome! *What a vaſt Difference is there between my Siſter's Condition and mine!* To which the Father replied, *Don't be uneaſy, Child; you ſhall ſoon ſee as much State at your own Houſe, as you were ſurprized to find at your Siſter's:* And *Fabius* kept his Word. He carried on an Intrigue, which brought about a ſort of Revolution in the Government. The *Military Tribuneſhip* was aboliſhed; the *Conſulſhip* reſtored; the People ſhared this ſupreme Dignity with the Nobility; and in ſhort, the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* were put upon an equal Foot. It ſeems to have been the Fate of *Rome* to have the great Changes in the Republick always occaſioned by Women. The Envy of one Siſter to another, gave Riſe to the Diſturbances we are now going to relate.

FABIUS, in order to compaſs his Deſigns, entred into an Aſſociation with two of the Commons, who were in nothing inferior to the moſt illuſtrious *Patricians*, but their Birth. The firſt was *Licinius* his Son-in-law; the other, one *L. Sextius*,

21 The Family of the *Fabii*, was one of the moſt conſiderable Families in *Rome*, both for its Ancientneſs, and the Great Men it produced. And in order to make the Origin of it the more illuſtrious, it was derived from *Hercules*. It was ſaid, that when he came to the Banks of the *Tyber*, he fell deſperately in Love with a Nymph, or rather Woman of this Country, and by her had the firſt *Fabius*, from whom all the Family of the *Fabii* deſcended. This *Plutarch* relates upon the Credit of a very uncertain Tradition. This Family was divided into ſeveral Branches, as already has appeared, and will appear more fully in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. The fabulous Story of the Birth of the firſt *Fabius*, makes *Juvenal* ſay,

Natus in Herculeo Fabius lare. Sat. 8.

22 The *Latin* Word *Stolo*, is generally underſtood to ſignify thoſe Suckers which grow out of the Roots, or loweſt Part of the Trunks of Trees. They injure Trees, by drawing the Sap from them. And *Varro* ſays, *B. 4. de re Ruſtica*, that *Licinius's great Care to keep his Trees free from them*, gave him the Name of *Stolo*. But *Pliny*, *B.* 17. pretends that the *Licinian* Family aſſumed this Name, becauſe one *Licinius* invented the Art of pruning Vines.

23 When any of the Great Magiſtrates came Home, or to any other Perſon's Houſe, the *Lictors* gave Notice of his coming, by Knocking at the Door with their *Faſces*; unleſs it was the Houſe of a ſuperior Magiſtrate. In that Caſe, the inferior Magiſtrates did as *Pompey* did, after he had finiſhed the War with *Mithridates*. When he came to *Poſſidonius*'s Houſe, who was famous for his Wiſdom and Learning, he forbad his *Lictors* to knock at the Door, as uſual; and ordered them to hold down their *Faſces*, out of Reſpect to this Philoſopher. *Faſces Lictorios janua ſubmiſit is, cui ſe Oriens Occidenſque ſubmiſerat*, ſays *Pliny*, *B. 7. c. 30.*

who

Year of ROME CCCLXXVII. L. ÆMILIUS, &c. Military Tribunes.

who was yet in the Flower of his Age, and had Merit enough to have raiſed him to the higheſt Poſt, had he not been a *Plebeian*. Theſe he adviſed to take Advantage even of that low Condition, to which the *Patricians* had reduced the People. *Your Miſery*, ſaid he, *is as great as it can be; and the* Plebeians *will never be able to recover themſelves out of it, till they place one of their own Body at the Head of the Republick. This you have formerly attempted with Succeſs; and you have now as favourable an Opportunity for it as ever. The Pretence of relieving the poor Debtors, will give a Sanction to your Deſigns. Only attempt boldly, and all Difficulties will vaniſh. This is the only Means of putting the Nobility and you, upon an Equality.* In order to this, the three Confederates agreed, that the firſt Step to be taken was to exert all their Intereſt to get *Licinius* and *Sextius* choſen *Tribunes of the People* for the next Year. It is well known, the College of the *Tribunes* then conſiſted of ten *Plebeians*. The two Candidates were admitted into it; and by this firſt Step, paved the Way to the greateſt Honours. They made it their firſt Buſineſs to draw up ſome Laws, which all tended to deſtroy the Grandeur of the *Patricians*, and promote the Intereſts of the People. The firſt of theſe Laws related to the Debtors, and was this: *Let the Intereſt already paid be reckoned as a Diſcharge of ſo much of the Principal; and let the Remainder of it be paid at three different equal Payments.* The ſecond concerned the Poſſeſſion of Lands [24], and forbad *any one Perſon's poſſeſſing more* [25] *than five hundred Acres.* The third was this; *That the* Military Tribuneſhip *ſhould be aboliſhed in* Rome, *and two* Conſuls *choſen, one of which ſhould always be a* Plebeian. It is eaſy to perceive, that theſe Laws were of great Importance; and the Authors of them expected to meet with great Oppoſition to them. They tended to no leſs than to deprive the *Patricians* of a Part of what Men think moſt dear, their Revenues, Lands, and Honours. The Nobility were therefore alarmed at the Deſign. But after many publick and private Deliberations upon it, they could find out only that Expedient to diſappoint it, which had formerly been uſed with Succeſs. This was, to divide the *Tribunes of the People*, and prevail on one Part of the College to oppoſe the Attempts of the other. Accordingly the *Patricians* gained eight *Tribunes* out of the ten. Nevertheleſs, *Licinius* and *Sextius* aſſembled the *Tribes* to paſs their Laws in the *Comitia*. Then the *Patricians* left nothing undone to avert the Blow which threatned them. They appeared at the Aſſembly, and ſerved for a Guard to thoſe *Tribunes of the People*, whom they had brought over to their Intereſt. As ſoon therefore as the Authors of the three Bills were ready to begin the reading them, their Collegues cry'd out, *We proteſt againſt it.* Theſe Proteſtations of one Part of the *Tribunes* againſt the other, were often repeated at different *Comitia:* inſomuch that *Licinius* and *Sextius* were not able to get their intended Laws heard by the People. Being therefore at length tired with ſuch frequent Diſturbances and Interruptions, they reſolved that they likewiſe would proteſt in their Turns. *Very well*, ſaid *Sextius* to his Collegues; *ſince you like ſo well to hear and ſpeak the Words* I proteſt, *we ſhall find Occaſion to repeat them too, and that to the Advantage of the People.* Accordingly, when the *Centuries* were aſſembled to elect *Military Tribunes* for the next Year, *Sextius* and *Licinius* cried out in their Turns, *We proteſt againſt it.* Which Words were ſo much regarded by the People, out of the Deference they paid to the Authority of their *Tribunes*, that the Republick fell into a ſort of Anarchy. None but *Plebeian* Officers were elected, that is, *Tribunes*, and *Ædiles*. No *Curule* Magiſtrates, that is, no *Military Tribunes*, or other Magiſtrates who ſat in Chairs adorned with Ivory, were choſen. Thus the *Patricians* were entirely excluded from the

24 Several Years after, this Law was made uſe of againſt *Licinius Stolo* himſelf, who was the Author of it. He was convicted of holding to the Quantity of 1000 Acres of Land, in his own and his Son's Name, and was fined. So true is it, ſays *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 8. that a Lawgiver ought firſt to obey the Laws he has made; and preſcribe nothing for other People to do, but what he is reſolved to practiſe himſelf. *Docuit igitur Licinius, nihil præcipi debere, niſi quod prius quiſque ſibi imperavit.*

25 According to *Pliny*, *B.* 18. *c.* 3. an Acre of Land, or the *Jugerum*, among the *Romans*, was as much Land as one Yoke of Oxen could plough in one Day. *Quod uno jugo bovum in die exarari poſſet.* And according to the ſame Author, an Acre contained *duos actus quadratos*, that is, ſixſcore ſquare *French* Feet. *Duplicatus actus in longitudinem jugerum faciebat.* *Columella*'s Explanation of the *Latin* Terms *actus Quadratus*, is this. *Clima quoque verſus eſt pedum ſexaginta. Actus Quadratus undique definitur pedibus centum viginti, hoc duplicatum facit jugerum, & ab eo quod erat junctum, nomen jugeri uſurpavit. B* 5.

Government; and this Intermiſſion of ſuperior Magiſtrates placed *Licinius* and *Sextius* at the Head of the Republick, becauſe they continued at the Head of the *Tribunes of the People*. So that *Fabius*'s Promiſe to his Daughter may be ſaid to have been performed, from that time. Year of ROME CCCLXXVII.

§. XI. On account therefore of this Intermiſſion of the firſt Offices in *Rome*, we ſhall only diſtinguiſh the [26] four following Years, by the Names of the moſt illuſtrious of the *Tribunes of the People*, who were *Licinius* and *Sextius*. Some Hiſtorians indeed pretend, that there was then an *Interregnum* in *Rome*, during which the *Patricians* took their Turns of ſitting at the Helm of Affairs, for five Days each; but this is uncertain. *Livy* only inſinuates as much, without venturing to affirm it: and *Flavius Vopiſcus*, who does affirm it, brings no Authority for it, but *Livy*. CCCLXXVIII. Licinius, and Sextius, &c. Tribunes of the People. *Flavius Vopiſcus apud Tacitum*

The ſame *Licinius* and *Sextius* were alſo continued *Tribunes of the People* the next Year; and they and their Collegues ſeem to have had the entire Government of the Republick in their own Hands. But however that be, it's certain no *Patrician* Magiſtrates were elected; the two *Tribunes of the People* were conſtant in oppoſing them, and their Oppoſition was ſupported by the *Comitia*. CCCLXXIX. Licinius, and Sextius, &c. Tribunes of the People.

Nor did the Year after that reinſtate the *Patricians* in the Poſſeſſion of the Offices they uſed to enjoy. *Licinius* and *Sextius* were again choſen *Tribunes of the People*; and their Proteſts againſt the *Curule* Magiſtrates ſtill continued effectual: ſo that the *Patricians* were not yet admitted into the Government of the Republick. CCCLXXX. Licinius, and Sextius, &c. Tribunes of the People.

Nay, theſe domeſtick Broils continued to rage a fourth Year likewiſe. *Rome* was ſo happy, as not to be threatned with any foreign War, all this while; and it is well known, that Peace abroad ſeldom failed of producing Seditions and Inſurrections at home. CCCLXXXI. Licinius, and Sextius, &c. Tribunes of the People.

But at laſt, the Appearance of foreign Enemies made it neceſſary to elect *Military Tribunes*, for a time. *Licinius* and *Sextius* were juſt elected *Tribunes of the People* a ſixth time, when the Inhabitants of *Velitræ* declared War againſt *Rome*. Theſe reſtleſs Neighbours, who were ſituated between the *Volſci* and the *Latins*, had forgotten that they were deſcended from one of the oldeſt *Roman Colonies*: and the Inaction of the Republick for ſeveral Years, gave them Hopes, that their Hoſtilities would eſcape unrevenged. They therefore over-run the Lands of the *Romans*, and even ventured to attempt the taking of *Tuſculum*: and when they had formed the Siege of it, Neceſſities of State obliged *Licinius* and *Sextius* to deſiſt from their Oppoſition. They ſuffered the *Comitia* to be aſſembled, for the Election of ſix *Military Tribunes*: and it being then difficult to overlook the *Patricians*, when Generals were wanting, the Suffrages of the People fell upon ſix of the Nobility. Theſe were [27] *L. Furius*, *P. Valerius*, *A. Manlius*, *Serv. Sulpicius*, *C. Valerius*, and *Serv. Cornelius*. Deputies came to *Rome* from all the Allies, and particularly from the *Tuſculani*, to deſire the Senate to protect them from the Ravages of the *Veliterni*. But tho' the Republick had choſen Heads to command the Troops, the Troops themſelves were not yet raiſed: and the *Tribunes of the People* ſhewed the Power of their Oppoſitions in this Inſtance likewiſe. They ſuſpended the Levies for ſome time; till, after many Diſputes, the Neceſſity of Affairs obliged them at laſt to ſuffer them to go on: And as ſoon as the *Romans* took the Field, their weak Enemies diſappeared. Not only the Siege of *Tuſculum* was raiſed, but the *Veliterni* diſperſed, and in great haſte hid themſelves behind their Walls. Upon which the Scene changed. Thoſe very *Veliterni*, who warmly carried on the Siege of *Tuſculum*, were themſelves more cloſely beſieged in their own City of *Velitræ*. But the Town was ſo difficult to be taken, that the Generals CCCLXXXI. Licinius, and Sextius, &c. Tribunes of the People. CCCLXXXII. L. Furius, P. Valerius, A. Manlius, Serv. Sulpicius, C. Valerius, Serv. Cornelius, Military Tribunes.

26 This Anarchy laſted five Years, according to *Livy*, *B.* 6. *Eaque Solitudo magiſtratuum per quinquennium urbem tenuit.* But moſt Writers, as particularly *Eutropius*, *Flavius Vopiſcus*, and *Caſſiodorus*, differ from him, in this Particular, and make it to have laſted but four Years: And the *Faſti Capitolini* are an unanſwerable Proof of it.

27 This was the ſixth *Military Tribuneſhip*, of *Servius Cornelius*, ſurnamed *Maluginenſis*; the fifth, of *Publius Valerius*, who is always diſtinguiſhed by the two Surnames of *Potitus* and *Poplicola*; the fourth, of *Aulus Manlius Capitolinus*; the third, of *Servius Sulpicius Prætextatus*; the ſecond, of *L. Furius Medullinus*; and the firſt, of *Caius Valerius Potitus*. *Diodorus of Sicily* mentions but four *Military Tribunes* for this Year 382; and two of them, *viz. Lucius Papirius*, and *Lucius Menenius*, are reckoned among the *Military Tribunes* for this Year by no Body but himſelf.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXIII.
M. Fabius, Q. Servilius, M. Cornelius, C. Veturius, Q. Quinctius, A. Cornelius, &c. Military Tribunes. *Liv. B.6. c.36.*

who began the Siege, did not finish it. Their Year expired, and the Siege being still carried on, new *Military Tribunes* succeeded those who had begun it.

§. XII. It happened very unfortunately for the *Patricians*, that the same *M. Fabius*, who was the Soul of all *Sextius* and *Licinius*'s Measures, was chosen *Military Tribune*. His five [28] Collegues were *Q. Servilius*, *M. Cornelius*, *C. Veturius*, *Q. Quinctius*, and *A. Cornelius*. Then the *Plebeians*, assisted with the Protection of a *Patrician*, who was attached to them by Inclination, and whose Office gave him Weight and Authority, gained the Ascendant over the Nobility. The Siege of *Velitræ* was carried on slowly; but the Disturbances raised in *Rome* by the *Tribunes of the People* were fomented, and their Zeal for passing their Bills, was violent. *Licinius* and *Sextius* had found Means to gain over three of their Collegues. So that, of the ten *Tribunes*, of which the College consisted, five were now for the Publication of these Laws, and five against it. *Licinius* and *Sextius* often assembled the People. *Fabius* the *Military Tribune* supported them with his Authority, and encouraged them with his Presence. Several of the *Patricians* were brought into the Assembly, and tired out with invidious Questions. *Fabius*, and the two *Tribunes of the People*, had learnt by a long Experience, how to ingratiate themselves with the Populace. They asked the *Patricians*, for instance, *Whether they did not think it unjust for them to have a Property of above five hundred Acres of Land, whilst a great Number of the* Plebeians *were allotted but two? Is not this so very small a Portion, as to be scarce enough for a poor* Roman *Citizen to build him a little House upon, and erect a Sepulchre for his Family?* To which they added; *How can you*, Patricians, *even in Point of Interest, account for your making your miserable Debtors languish in Chains, and absolutely putting it out of their Power to pay you, by keeping them in Prison? And yet what is more common, than to see these wretched Citizens delivered up into the Hands of their Creditors, by our Courts of Justice? Are not the* Patricians *Houses become so many Prisons?* And perceiving that the People heard these Enquiries made with more Greediness than the *Tribunes* had pleasure in making them, they went on; *And what Remedy is there to be had for all these Misfortunes? Since our* Tribunes *are not sufficient to protect us, we must introduce some of the* Plebeians *into the highest Offices. The Nobility have found out the Secret of dividing the* Tribunes, *and their Oppositions to one another render the best Designs abortive. What Equality then can there be between us and you, as long as the Commons can have no Recourse but to such Officers of their Body, as prevaricate with them? Nor is it enough for settling Order in a Republick, where an universal Equality ought to be preserved, that* Comitia *are held, wherein the People are at Liberty to chuse* Consuls *out of their own Body, or the* Patricians, *as they think fit. It is necessary that a perpetual Law should be passed, whereby* Rome *will be laid under a Necessity of chusing one of her Governors out of the People. Was not the Number of the* Military Tribunes *made the greater, at their first Institution, on purpose that the* Plebeians *should partake of the Honours of the supreme Dignity? And yet have there been many of the Commons raised to it for four [29] and forty Years together? What then will be the Case, when there are but two* Consuls *to be elected in all? Will not the* Patricians *have Address enough to get only the Nobility elected, unless they are prevented by a Law? Let us therefore, by all means, reserve one of the* Consulships *for a* Plebeian. *As long as the People shall be at Liberty to chuse whom they please, the Interest of the Nobility will always prevail. Nor let it be said, that it will be difficult to find Men among us, to bear the Weight of so great a Post as a* Consulship. *Experience has shewn us, that since* Licinius, *a* Plebeian *by Birth, was raised to the* Military Tribuneship, *several* Patricians, *who have enjoyed that Post, have been condemned for Male-Administration. The* Quæstors *are at this time chosen out of either of the two Orders indifferently;*

28 *Diodorus* mentions but five of these six *Military Tribunes*. He omits *Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus*. This was the third *Military Tribuneship*, of *Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas*; the second, of *C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus*, and *Marcus Fabius Ambustus*; and the first, of *M. Cornelius Maluginensis*, of *Aulus Cornelius Cossus*, and of *Q. Quinctius*.

29 It was indeed 44 Years, from the Year 309 when the *Military Tribunes* were first created, to the Year 353, when the *Plebeians*, and particularly *Licinius*, were permitted to enjoy this Dignity with the *Patricians*. But then there were frequent Changes, in this 44 Years, and the *Consuls* and *Military Tribunes* succeeded one another alternately, several times, as the Reader may have observed above.

Ana

And has the State ever had Cauſe to repent of promoting Plebeians *to the* Quæſtorſhip? *Nothing remains therefore, but to divide the* Conſulate *between the Nobility and us. This is the eſſential Point, which is abſolutely neceſſary for the perfect Eſtabliſhment of Order in a well-regulated Republick. Can it be ſaid, without this, either that the Liberty of the People is complete, or that Tyranny was baniſhed with the Kings? The Moment* Tarquin *was expelled, the Commons expected to have ſhared thoſe Honours with the Nobility, which you monopolize, to this Day. Without this, we can have no Hopes of acquiring Glory and Diſtinction, and tranſmitting them to our Poſterity.*

Year of ROME CCCLXXXIII. M. Fabius, &c. Military Tribunes.

NEVERTHELESS, *Licinius* and *Sextius*, the *Tribunes of the People*, did not ſo far gain their Point by theſe Diſcourſes, as to get the Laws, they had drawn up, accepted: but they diſpoſed the People to paſs them, in due time. Nor was this all. They added a fourth Bill to the three already mentioned, importing, *That* Decemviri *ſhould be elected, inſtead of* Duumviri, *to preſerve and interpret the* Sybilline *Books:* And they inſiſted, that theſe Offices, which would be then multiplied to ten, ſhould be divided between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. However, the Execution of all theſe Alterations was for the preſent ſuſpended. An Army of Citizens were employ'd in the Siege of *Velitræ*; and it was thought neceſſary to wait for their Return, that the Soldiers might not be deprived of their Votes, when ſuch important Innovations were on Foot. The Siege laſted ten Months, and ſuſpended the Hopes of the *Tribunes of the People*; and in the mean time, when the Year was out, the People proceeded to the Election of new *Military Tribunes*, for the Year enſuing.

§. XIII. THE Perſons choſen by the *Centuries*, were [30] *L. Quinctius, Sp. Servilius, Serv. Cornelius, L. Papirius, Serv. Sulpicius*, and *L. Veturius*. As for the *Tribunes of the People, Licinius* and *Sextius* were ſtill continued in their Employments. It nearly concerned the *Plebeians* to have theſe two Oppoſers of the *Patrician* Party carry on their Deſigns, and complete them. As for thoſe of their Collegues, who oppoſed the paſſing of the four Bills, the People changed them, and choſe others in their room. Then the publick Diſputes became leſs violent; the *Tribunes of the People* were all of one Opinion; and the two Authors of the four Laws met with no Oppoſition among their own Body. It is probable the *Roman* Army was then returned from the Siege of *Velitræ:* and every thing ſeemed to promiſe Succeſs to *Licinius* and *Sextius*'s Deſigns. It was ſaid the *Comitia* would be immediately aſſembled: and the Cauſe of the *Patricians* ſeemed deſperate. Theſe Diſturbances continued for a whole Year; and in this univerſal Commotion, no *Military Tribunes* were choſen for the Year enſuing. Nevertheleſs, *Rome* did not fall into an Anarchy; a *Dictator* ſupplied the Place of all other chief Magiſtrates in the Republick. Indeed, the laſt Refuge the *Patricians* had left, was to nominate a ſupreme Magiſtrate, who ſhould govern *Rome* with an abſolute Authority.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXIV. L. Quinctius, Sp. Servilius, Serv. Cornelius, L. Papirius, Serv. Sulpicius, L. Veturius, &c. Military Tribunes.

Liv. B.6. c.38.

THE Man that ſeemed moſt proper to ſit at the Helm of Affairs, in ſo tempeſtuous a Seaſon, was *Camillus:* And notwithſtanding his great Age, the zealous Patriot could not refuſe his Country his Service, at a time when it ſo much wanted it. It is true, the Deſign of his Nomination was in all Appearance to put a Stop to the Sedition: But the *Patricians* pretended that it was neceſſary, on Account of Matters of the greateſt Importance to the Republick. However, the *Tribunes of the People*, whoſe College now acted unanimouſly, did not at all abate of the Zeal with which they laboured to have a Report made of their Laws to the Commons: And every thing was done irregularly. From the Day that *Camillus* was nominated *Dictator* this fourth time, the Authority of the *Tribunes of the People* ought to have been ſuſpended. But nevertheleſs, *Sextius* and *Licinius*, and their Collegues, continued ſtill to order the *Comitia by Tribes* to be aſſembled. Being therefore called together in the *Forum Romanum*, on a Day appointed, the four Laws, after ſome ſlight Debates, were read to them. And the *Tribes* had already

Year of ROME CCCLXXXV. M. Furius Camillus, Dictator.

[30] *Diodorus* mentions but three *Military Tribunes* for the Year 384, namely, *T. Quinctius, Serv. Cornelius*, and *Serv. Sulpicius*. The *Faſti Capitolini* and *Livy* give *Quinctius* the *Prænomen* of *Lucius*, and not that of *Titus:* And they give *Spurius Servilius*, the Surname of *Structus*; and *L. Papirius*, that of *Craſſus*. *Lucius Veturius* is diſtinguiſhed by the two Surnames of *Craſſus* and *Cicurinus*; and *Lucius Quinctius*, by that of *Capitolinus*. This was their firſt *Military Tribuneſhip*; *Servius Cornelius*'s ſeventh; and *Servius Sulpicius*'s fourth.

begun

Year of ROME CCCLXXXV. M. Furius Camillus, Dictator.

begun to give their Suffrages in Order; and the firſt *Tribes* had already voted in favour of the Laws, when all on a ſudden the *Dictator* came to interrupt the Aſſembly, and prevent the Deciſion of this Affair. It was much againſt *Camillus*'s own Will, that he was reduced to this Extremity. He had accepted the *Dictatorſhip*, contrary both to his own Inclinations, and thoſe of the People. He foreſaw the Quarrels he muſt neceſſarily be engaged in, with thoſe very Citizens whoſe Valour he had ſo often employed in Battel. He was afraid theſe brave Men would reproach him with being better able to manage the Sword in War, than conduct the Affairs of the State, in Time of Peace. He looked upon himſelf in this Poſt, as a Victim to the Nobility's Jealouſy of the People. And in ſhort, as Affairs then ſtood, he could expect nothing, but either to diſoblige the Commons, if he ſucceeded; or to contribute to the Ruin of his own Party, if he did not. Nevertheleſs, the generous *Roman* overlooked all theſe Difficulties, and conſidered not his own private Intereſt; but was wholly governed by his Love for the Publick. When therefore the *Tribes* were actually voting, as *Licinius* and *Sextius* would have them, the *Dictator* erected his Tribunal in the midſt of the *Forum*, where the *Tribes* were aſſembled. He was attended by a Crowd of *Patricians*; upon

Liv. B.6. c.38. which there aroſe a ſort of Diſpute between the *Tribunes of the People* themſelves. Some were for continuing to determine the Affair of the four Laws; whilſt others, doubtleſs out of reſpect to the *Dictator*, were againſt it. And at length *Camillus*, with an haughty and threatning Air, ſpoke theſe Words. Romans, *you are not governed by the wiſeſt Part of your* Tribunes, *but purſue the Dictates of the moſt paſſionate. Your Anceſtors formerly gained by Force a Right of proteſting: and now you won't hearken to lawful Proteſts. I therefore come to join the Proteſters, and the Part I act, is no leſs for the Intereſts of the People, than the Service of the Publick in general. An Attempt is made on the moſt valuable Privilege you have, and I am reſolved to maintain it. If therefore* Licinius *and* Sextius *willingly ſubmit to the Proteſts of their Collegues, I will immediately retire, and not make uſe of the Power of a* Patrician *Office, to interrupt the Deliberations of a* Plebeian *Aſſembly. But if, notwithſtanding theſe Oppoſitions, they perſiſt in giving Laws to* Rome, *as to a conquered City, I will never ſuffer the* Tribunes of the People *to deſtroy one another, or permit one of them to deprive the others of their Right of proteſting.* This was an artful Harangue; but it was ineffectual. The two Heads of the *Tribunes of the People* laughed at it, and purſued their own Meaſures with Steadineſs. They were juſt going to require the reſt of the *Tribes* to give their Suffrages, when the *Dictator*, angry at this Oppoſition to his Will, took another

Plut. Life of *Cam.* Method to diſſolve the *Comitia*. He ſent his *Lictors*, drove the *Tribes* from the Places in which they were, and joined the moſt terrible Threatnings with his Orders. *Camillus* declared, that if the Aſſembly did not diſperſe immediately, he would aſſemble the People in the *Campus Martius*, force them to inliſt themſelves, and march the Levies in the Field, without delay. In anſwer to which, the *Tribunes of the People* gave him to underſtand, that as ſoon as his *Dictatorſhip* was expired, they would have him fined 31 500000 *Aſſes* of Braſs. *Camillus* was now grown too old, and too great and illuſtrious, to expoſe himſelf to new Indignities. He was afraid of a ſecond Baniſhment, and a new Stain upon his Character. The *Dictator* plainly ſaw, the People were too much enraged to be brought to any Terms, either by Authority, or by Perſuaſion. In ſhort, he gave way to the Torrent, and reſolved to lay down the 32 *Dictatorſhip*. He retired to his own Houſe, and feigned himſelf indiſpoſed. Soon after which, he eaſed himſelf of the Burden which had been laid upon him, under Pretence, that the *Auſpices*, at

Liv. B.6. c.38. his Nomination, had been defective, in Point of Form. Whatever ſome Hiſtorians may ſay, who endeavour to excuſe this Weakneſs, it is moſt probable, that he was intimidated by the Threatnings of the *Tribunes of the People*. His Age,

‡ 1614 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

31 *Plutarch* ſays, the *Tribunes of the People* threatned to fine *Camillus* 50000 *Attick Drachmæ*. He computes by *Drachmæ*, after the Manner of the *Greeks*; as the *Romans* did, firſt by *Aſſes*, and then by *Seſterces*. The *Attick Drachma* *, was of the ſame Value as the *Roman Denarius*; that is, was worth 10 *Aſſes*. So that 50000 *Drachmæ* were equal in Value to 500000 *Aſſes*. Which would have been a conſiderable Sum †, reckoning an *As* or Pound of Braſs to be worth no more than a *French Sol*; [or 3 $\frac{1}{10}$ *Farthings Engliſh*, according to *Arbuthnot*.]

* 7 *d.* 39 *q. Engliſh. Arbuthnot.*

32 *Camillus*, as we learn from *Livy*, *B.* 6. had named *Æmilius* to be General of Horſe, according to Cuſtom. But upon the *Dictator*'s Abdication, the General of Horſe's Commiſſion immediately expired.

and his Reflections on his paſt Glory, made him not altogether ſo intrepid as formerly.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXV.

§. XIV. HOWEVER, there was this Effect at leaſt gained by *Camillus*'s Preſence, that the *Comitia*, in which *Sextius* and *Licinius*'s Bills were going to be paſſed, were poſtponed to another time. After the Abdication of the *Dictator*, an *Interregnum* enſued: which ſeemed to be a favourable Opportunity for the two Authors of the Laws to get them accepted by the Commons. The People were then earneſt to paſs two of theſe Laws, which they thought would be moſt for their Advantage; and theſe were, 1ſt, That which eaſed the Debtors of the great Intereſt they had been obliged to pay; and 2dly, That which allowed no Man to enjoy more than five hundred Acres of Land. By the laſt of theſe, the *Plebeians* hoped to gain great Part, both of the Lands the *Patricians* would hereby loſe at preſent, and of thoſe which the *Romans* ſhould conquer for the future. As to the two other Laws, for re-eſtabliſhing the *Conſulſhip*, on Condition that one of them ſhould always be a *Plebeian*; and for changing the *Duumviri* into *Decemviri*; the Populace did not give themſelves ſo much Concern about them. The People were ſenſible, that the Endeavours of their *Tribunes* to open a Way for the *Plebeians* to arrive at the higheſt Poſts, was chiefly intended for their own private Intereſt. So that the People and the *Tribunes* had different Views: the latter carried their Pretenſions farther than the former. But *Licinius* and *Sextius* were too cunning to get the People Satisfaction, without at the ſame time procuring themſelves the Advantages they had propoſed, by raiſing theſe Diſturbances. They declared to the Commons, that they would not ſeparate the Laws; and that if one paſſed, all ſhould: and it is probable, that theſe Diviſions obliged the Republick to nominate a *Dictator*, in the room of *Camillus*, who had abdicated. The Senator, whoſe Turn it was to preſide at that time, pitched upon *P. Manlius*; who no ſooner was promoted to the *Dictatorſhip*, but his hereditary Affection for the *Plebeians* made him appear openly in Favour of the Commons. The firſt thing he did, was to chuſe one *Licinius* [33] *Stolo*, a *Plebeian* of the ſame Name and Family as *Fabius*'s Son-in-law, to be his General of Horſe. This the Senate diſapproved of; but the *Dictator* excuſed himſelf, on account of his near Relation, which obliged him to promote *Licinius*. To which he added, that the new General of Horſe had formerly been *Military Tribune*; and that therefore the Honour he now beſtowed upon him, was not ſo great as that which had before been given him by the Republick itſelf.

INTERREGNUM.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXV.

P. MANLIUS, Dictator.

Liv. B. 6. c. 39.

SEXTIUS and *Licinius* thought nothing could now be difficult for them, under the Adminiſtration of a *Dictator* who favoured them, and the Protection of his General of Horſe; if they could only get themſelves continued in the *Tribuneſhip*. And in order to that, they made uſe of this *Fineſſe*; they ſeemed deſirous to decline it. When the People were aſſembled in *Comitia* to elect their *Tribunes*, *Licinius* addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *What Advantages have* Sextius *and I reaped from all the Pains we have taken, in ſtruggling againſt both the Intereſt and Hatred of the* Patricians, *and that with great Danger to ourſelves, for theſe nine Years? The Laws we have drawn up, grow antiquated with us; and the Authority of the* Tribunes *itſelf ſuffers by the Oppoſitions which are made to the paſſing our Bills. Firſt the Oppoſition of our own Collegues, then an unforeſeen War, and after that the Violence of a* Dictator, *have thwarted our Deſigns. And now, that we have nothing to fear, either from the Proteſts of our Fellow-*Tribunes, *or the Pretence of a foreign War, or the Ill-Will of a* Dictator, *the* Roman *People themſelves obſtruct their own Happineſs. They may have the Debtors ſecured from Oppreſſion, and the Lands diſtributed among them, whenever they pleaſe. A General of Horſe having been already choſen out of the People, this gives us Hopes of*

Ibid.

[33] *Livy* adds, that this *Licinius Stolo*, a *Plebeian*, had been *Military Tribune* already; and not without Deſign. He makes a Diſtinction between him, and that *Tribune of the People* of the ſame Name, who engaged ſo warmly againſt the *Patricians*, in favour of the Commons. And it is not probable, that he was *Tribune of the People*, and General of Horſe, at the ſame time. *Plutarch* is not therefore to be credited, when he unites two Offices in the latter, which ſeem incompatible. He was, without doubt, deceived by the Likeneſs of the Names. Beſides, *Livy*, *B.* 10. evidently diſtinguiſhes between him, who was *Military Tribune*, and General of Horſe, and him, who was firſt *Tribune of the People*, and then *Conſul*. And the Author of the *Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, agrees with *Livy* in this Particular.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXV. P. MANLIUS, Dictator.

seeing a Plebeian Conſul. *Is not this a Debt of Gratitude, which you owe us, for the Services we have done you? Shall our Laws wholly tend to your Benefit, and we receive no manner of Advantage from them ourſelves? No; it is not honourable for the* Roman *People to monopolize all the Profits of our Labours; and not ſo much as to open the Way for their old* Tribunes *to riſe to the moſt honourable Offices in* Rome. *Conſult therefore with one another, what to reſolve on; and declare your Reſolutions in the next* Comitia. *If you reſolve to paſs our Laws all together, then continue us in the* Tribuneſhip. *We will, in that caſe, make uſe of the Authority you ſhall inveſt us with, to finiſh the Work we have begun. But if you will only paſs thoſe Laws, wherein you are perſonally concerned, without any regard to our Intereſts, we will accept of the* Tribuneſhip *no longer, and you ſhall not obtain your Deſires.*

THIS Diſcourſe both enraged and terrified the *Patricians*, at the ſame time. *Appius Claudius*, Grandſon to the famous *Decemvir*, left his Seat, ran immediately into the midſt of the Aſſembly; and addreſſed himſelf to the People, in theſe Words. Romans, *you may reproach me as much as you pleaſe, with my Family's having been always an Enemy to the People, and exceſſively zealous for the Glory of the Nobility, and the Senate. I readily grant, that my Anceſtors ever ſignalized their Affection for the* Patricians, *from the time of their removing from* Sabinia *to* Rome; *but I will not grant, that they have acted contrary to the real Intereſts of the People. To oppoſe your Will, is not always to oppoſe your moſt ſolid Intereſts.* Rome *is one ſingle Republick; but your Quarrels have often divided it into two States, diſtinguiſhed by different Pretenſions. My Anceſtors, by labouring to promote the publick Good, laboured to advance your Happineſs, in ſpight of yourſelves. However, forget for one Moment, that I am a* Claudius, *or a* Patrician. *Conſider me at preſent as a private Citizen, free indeed, but a* Plebeian *by Deſcent. May I not, when conſidered in this Capacity, addreſs myſelf to thoſe perpetual* Tribunes, *whom you have made* Kings *of* Rome, *for theſe nine Years? Anſwer me,* Sextius *and* Licinius. *Have we ſo long given you ſo much Authority, only for you to deprive us of our Liberty of voting? We approve of only two of your Laws; and yet you obſtinately inſiſt on propoſing them all, or none. You ſay, none of them ſhall paſs, but upon theſe Terms. Are you then impoſing your own Conditions upon us? Is not this as much as to ſay, we don't concern ourſelves about any thing that is for your Intereſt, any farther than it turns to our own Advantage? What then, do you pretend to govern us, like new* Tarquins, *juſt as you think fit? We tell you, we will paſs only two of your Laws: You anſwer, you ſhall either paſs all, or none. Let us only,* ſay we, *ſettle at preſent the Diſcharge of our Debts, and regulate how much Land each private Perſon ſhall poſſeſs. You anſwer, no; you ſhall not do that, unleſs you open us a way to the* Conſular *Dignity. A great Inconvenience indeed, it muſt doubtleſs be to the Republick, that* Sextius *and* Licinius *have no ſhare in the* Conſulſhip! *But,* ſay you, *no matter for that,* ALL OR NOTHING. *Is not this,* Romans, *as if when exceeding thirſty, a Man ſhould offer you both an wholeſome and a poiſonous Draught, and oblige you not to take one without the other? If there was any Spirit of Liberty among you, would you not have cried out already, Be gone, ye* Tribunes, *and your Laws together! Since you refuſe us what we like, we will have none of your Laws! What Grumblings, and what Clamours ſhould we have heard among you, if a* Patrician *or a* Claudius *had made ſuch a Speech as this, in your Aſſemblies;* You ſhall have none, if you won't have all! *What, ſhall every thing be thought good, that comes out of your* Tribunes' *Mouths? And will you judge of your Intereſts, rather by the Perſons that pretend to eſpouſe them, than the Nature of things? Indeed, what can be more contrary to your Authority, than the Law which you refuſe to paſs? You would thereby oblige yourſelves always to chuſe one of the* Conſuls *out of the* Plebeians. *Is not this ſetting Bounds to your Liberty of voting? Suppoſe an Enemy, as formidable as* Porſenna *or the* Gauls, *were to appear again before* Rome, *at a time when one of the* Conſuls *is already choſen out of the* Patricians; *muſt a* Sextius, *for inſtance, be preferred in that caſe before the great* Camillus? *Nor is this all. According to the Words of the Law propoſed,* Rome *may chuſe two* Plebeians Conſuls *together, but never two* Patricians. *Is this then the Equality they would eſtabliſh between the Nobility and People? Thoſe who have never yet had any Share in the* Conſulſhip

Liv. B.6. c.40.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXV. P. MANLIUS, Dictator.

ſulſhip, *would have it in their Power to fill up both Places, and would not leave thoſe a Certainty of either, whom the Republick has conſtantly honoured with that Dignity. We are afraid, ſay the* Tribunes, *that if the People are at Liberty to chuſe two* Patricians, *they will never chuſe any* Plebeian. *And what is the Meaning of this, but that they would lay you under a Neceſſity of making a bad Choice, when you are inclined to promote none but worthy Men, to that Dignity? And in that caſe, what Obligation will they have to you, for the* Conſulſhip? *The Perſons elected will ſay, they are more indebted to the Law, than to the Electors: Theſe Honours were extorted from them, and not given with a good Grace. The Perſons choſen, will ſcarce be more obliged to you, for the greateſt Offices, than for the leaſt. All Men are pleaſed with perſonal Diſtinction and Reſpect; and like much better to owe their Honours to Merit, than to the Force of Law. I don't* [34] *ſpeak of our two Tyrants,* Sextius *and* Licinius. *But where is the* Plebeian *of ſo mean a Birth, as not to have more Right to ſtand Candidate for the* Conſulſhip, *according to this Law, than either we, or our Children? You will not always have it in your Power to make us* Conſuls; *but you will always be under a Neceſſity of chuſing one of the* Conſuls *out of the People. But what ſhall we ſay of the* Auguries, *by which a* Conſul *is conſecrated? Were they ever made uſe of, for any* [35] *but* Patricians? *Did not* Romulus *place the* Augural *Power ſolely in the Hands* [36] *of the Nobility? And what is more ſacred, or more venerable in our Religion? It is exerciſed both in Peace and War. No* Patrician *Office is undertaken without* Auguries, *no* Plebeian *one with them. All Perſons among us, who enjoy any Office, even the* Preſidents *of the* Interregnum, *are conſecrated by* Auſpices. *To propoſe therefore to create* Plebeians Conſuls, *is to propoſe to take away from us the* Auſpices, *in which they were never concerned; and this is to alter our Religion. It may indeed be objected, that theſe* Augural *Obſervations are mere* [37] *Trifles: and it may be*

34 Here *Appius*, according to *Livy*, reproaches the two *Tribunes*, *Caius Licinius Stolo*, ſurnamed *Calvus*, and *L. Sextius*, ſurnamed *Sextinus Lateranus*, with continuing themſelves in an almoſt deſpotick Power like the *Kings*. *You reckon up*, ſays he, ſpeaking to thePeople, *you reckon up in the* Capitol, *the ſucceſſive Years of the arbitrary Government of your* Tribunes, *as the Years of the* Kings *were formerly reckoned.* His Words are, *Omitto Licinium, Sextiumque, quorum annos in perpetua poteſtate tanquam Regum in Capitolio numeratis.* But here the Criticks ask, what *Livy* means by the Years which were reckoned up in the *Capitol*. *Gronovius* pretends that the Words *in Capitolio*, relate neither to the *Kings*, nor the *Tribunes of the People*. The *Romans* indeed might have been informed of the Number of theſe Years, by the *Annals* the *Pontifices* kept in their Archives, to which the People had free Acceſs; without having any Occaſion to have Recourſe to the *Faſti*, publickly expoſed in the *Capitol*. For they were generally produced in the *Forum*. Beſides, the *Tribunes of the People* were not placed among the Chief Magiſtrates, in the *Faſti*. Or perhaps, *Appius* might intend no more by expreſſing himſelf in this Manner to the People, than only to expoſe the Plots of the two *Tribunes*, in the frequent Aſſemblies of the Commons in the *Capitol*. They had indeed exerciſed a deſpotick Power there, while the Anarchy laſted; and the *Capitol* ſeems really to have been the Place appointed for the *Comitia* to meet in, when the *Tribunes* wanted to get themſelves continued in their Offices, or to ſollicit the *Tribes* to paſs ſome new Laws. It was in the *Capitol* that *Gracchus* aſſembled the *Comitia* more than once, when he wanted to continue himſelf *Tribune* the next Year; and when he ſollicited the Nomination of three Perſons to take Care of the Diſtribution of the Lands, with the Title of *Triumviri*. But after all, it is moſt probable, that *Appius* here alluded only to that Row of Nails, which was driven into the Wall of *Jupiter Capitolinus*'s Temple, on the Side next to *Minerva*'s Chapel. This Row of Nails ſhewed the Years of *Rome*, and of every Reign, from the Foundation of the *Roman* Monarchy. So that *Appius*'s Meaning was, that the Years of *Caius Licinius*, and *L. Sextius*'s Government might be reckoned up by theſe Nails, as the Years of the Reigns of the *Kings*, and of other Magiſtracies, were.

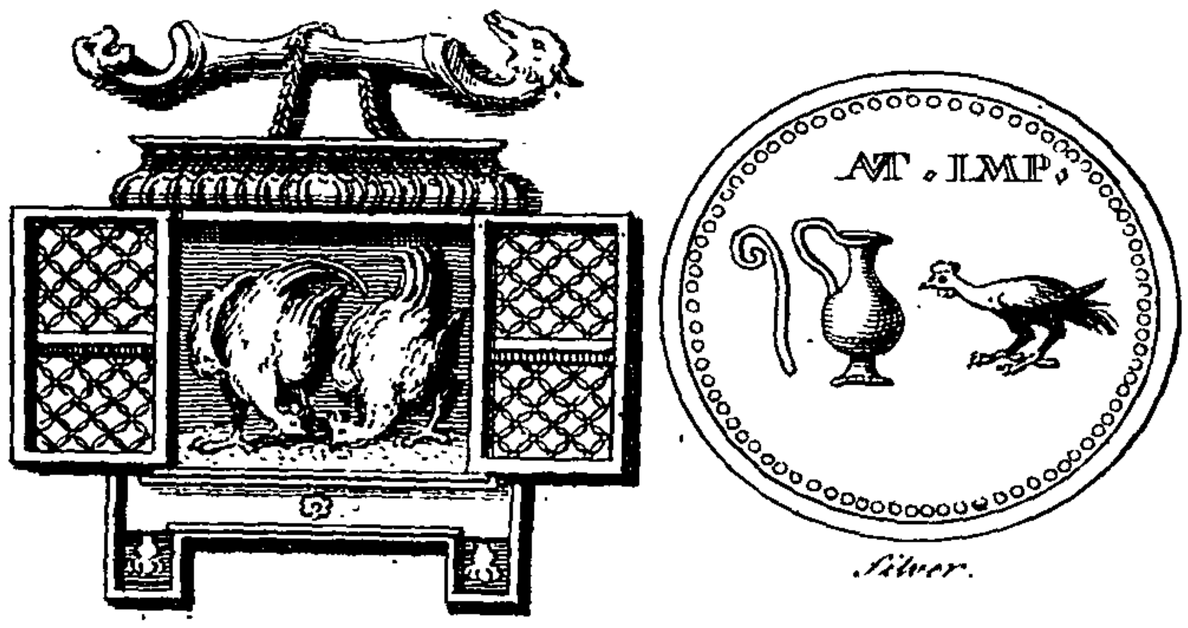
35 The *Plebeians* had hitherto had no Right to conſult *Auſpices*. *Romulus* had confined this Privilege to the Senate and Nobility of *Rome*; and made a Law for that Purpoſe, which had ſubſiſted ever ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy. So that the Elections of *Kings* and *Conſuls* were always preceded by the Ceremony of the *Auguries*; and they only, or their Repreſentatives, had a Right to conſult the *Auſpices*, in the Army, or *Comitia*, whether *by Curiæ*, or *by Centuries*. And indeed, nothing of Importance was ever undertaken by the *Romans*, till the Chief Magiſtrates had firſt conſulted the *Auguries*. Now the *Plebeians* had always been excluded from the chief Offices, and conſequently could have no Right to aſſume a Power or Privilege, which was inſeparably annexed to them. This makes *Appius* contend ſo earneſtly, in *Livy*, *B.* 6. *c.* 40. *Penes quos igitur auſpicia, more Majorum? Nempe penes patres. Nam Plebeius quidem Magiſtratus nullus auſpicato creatur! Nobis ideo ſunt Auſpicia, ut non ſolum quos populos creat Patricios magiſtratus, non aliter quam Auſpicato creat; ſed nos quoque ipſi, ſine ſuffragio populi, Auſpicato Interregem prodamus, & privatim Auſpicia habeamus, quæ iſti ne ſine magiſtratibus quidem habent. Quid igitur aliud, quam tollit ex civitate Auſpicia, qui Plebeios Conſules creando, a Patribus, qui ſoli ea habere poſſunt, aufert?* When there were no *Conſuls* in being, the Right of *Auſpices* returned to the Senate, to whom it belonged to chooſe thoſe who were to govern the Republick during the *Interregnum*.

36 The *Augural* Office was confined to the *Patricians*, till the Year of *Rome* 453; when the People got five *Augurs* elected out of the *Plebeians*.

37 Theſe Obſervations, when conſidered in themſelves, were indeed Puerilities, and Trifles; and ſo many Impoſitions on the Weakneſs of the devout Pagans.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXV. P. MANLIUS, Dictator.

be asked, what it ſignifies, whether a Chicken 38 *refuſes to eat, or walks too ſlowly out of its Cage, or whether a Bird ſings a little more faintly than ordinary, or not? But yet theſe are ſuch Trifles, as* Rome *owes her flouriſhing Condition to. And dare we profane theſe ſacred Ceremonies, as if we eſteemed the Protection of Hea-*



Silver.

Pagans. Nevertheleſs the *Romans*, at leaſt the ſilly People among them, thought there was ſomething myſterious in them. The Gravity and Reſerve of the *Augurs*, in the Performance of theſe Ceremonies; the *Apparatus* of the Sacrifices, which preceded the *Auguries*; the Oaths they took, never to reveal the Secrets of their Art to any Perſon whatſoever, upon their firſt Admiſſion into the College; the myſterious Words they pronounced, when they were obſerving the Flight of Birds, or other Signs from which they drew their Inferences; and the Perplexity, and Geſtures they affected, when taking their Obſervations; all theſe Things helped to ſet off their Profeſſion, and cheriſh the Errors of the People. But theſe Appearances of Religion were really nothing at Bottom, but an hypocritical Veil to conceal the Deceit, and Impoſture, of the *Augurs*. *Cicero* himſelf, who was an *Augur*, and therefore knew the whole Cheat, could not help ridiculing this Art, eſpecially in his 2d Book *Of Divination*. Which made St. *Cyprian* ſay, *De Idolor. Vanit. Non de religionibus ſanctis, nec de Auſpiciis, aut Auguriis, Romana regna creverunt. Pullos edaces Paulus habuit; & apud Cannas tamen cæſus eſt.* Nevertheleſs *Cicero*, though convinced of the Deceit, yet choſe to ſwim with the Stream; and accommodate himſelf to the vulgar Prejudices, which had been made ſacred by Superſtition. Upon this Principle, he gives us an Account of the *Augural* Laws, *B.* 2. *De Legib.* which contains an Abſtract of the *Augural* Office. The Subſtance of it, is this. *Interpretes Jovis Optimi Maximi publici Augures ſignis & prodigiis poſtea vidento. Diſciplinam tenento. Sacerdotes vineta, virgetaque, & ſalutem populi, Auguranto. Quique agent rem duelli, quique populare auſpicium præmonento; ollique obtemperanto. Divorumque iras providento; iiſque parento; cœlique fulgura regionibus ratis temperanto; urbemque, & agros & templa liberata, & efflata habento; quæque Augur injuſta, neſaſta, vitioſa, dira, defixerit, irrita, infectaque ſunto; quique non paruerit, capitale eſto.* The *Augural* Science had its Principles, and particular Rites. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Marcellus*, ſpeaks of ſome Rituals, which contained all the Myſteries of the *Augurſhip*. According to *Priſcan*, *B.* 6. *c.* 8. *Julius Cæſar* wrote the *Augurs* Books with his own Hand. *Macrobius*, *Saturnal. B.* 2. quotes, among others, the 16th Book of a Work which treats of *Auguries*. We ſhall give a particular Account of the different Sorts of *Auſpices*, in Uſe among the *Romans*, in another Place.

38 The *Romans* believed that Things to come might be diſcovered by the Principles of *Ornithomanthy*, that is, by the Flight, and the different Motions, and Chirpings, of Birds. This was a Sort of Language, or myſtical Cypher, to which no Body had a Key, but the *Augurs*. And as theſe Animals were thought the Interpreters of the Gods, ſilly People had Recourſe to theſe living Oracles, particularly in Times of Danger. The Sacred Pullets eſpecially, were thought able to reſolve their Doubts infallibly. Theſe Pullets were under the Care of a Keeper, whoſe Office it was to look after them, and who was therefore called *Pullarius*. The Generals of the *Roman* Armies always took Care to have ſome of theſe Pullets kept in a Part of the Camp, which was allotted for obſerving the *Auguries*, and was called *Augurale*. When the General was going to give Battle, or enter upon any important Expedition, he came early in the Morning, to him who kept the Pullets; and then the Cage was opened, and Meat thrown to them. If they ate greedily, this was a favourable Omen, which foreboded an happy Event. If Part of the Corn or Paſte fell out of their Mouths upon the Ground, the *Augury* was to his Heart's Content: And this was called *Tripudium Soliſtimum*. If the Chickens continued in their Cage, and refuſed to eat, it foreboded a fatal Iſſue to the Affair in hand. And therefore the Keeper, who ſupplied the *Augur*'s Place, had a Power to ſuſpend, or forbid the Execution of it. But he often acted as the General would have him, and falſely ſuppoſed a happy Preſage, when there was none; or played Tricks, by keeping the Birds a great while without Meat, which made them fall greedily to what was given them in the General's Preſence. Which makes *Cicero* cry out, with a ſort of Indignation, *Ergo hoc Auſpicium divini quidpiam habere poteſt, quod tam ſit coactum & expreſſum? . . . . . nunc vero avis illa incluſa in cavea, & fame enecta, ſi in offam pultis invadit, & ſi aliquid ex ore cecidit, hoc tu Auſpicium, aut hoc modo Romulum auſpicari ſolitum, putas?* *De Divin. B.* 2. Nevertheleſs, *Pliny* confeſſes that great Enterprizes were undertaken, or laid aſide, as the Chickens directed. *Horum ſunt Tripudia ſoliſtima; hi Magiſtratus noſtros quotidie regunt . . . . . Hi Faſces Romanos impellunt, aut retinent, victoriarum omnium toto orbe patratarum Auſpices.* *Monſieur de la Chauſſe* has engraven the Figure of a Cage, in which the Sacred Pullets were kept, from an old Marble, as above. And we alſo find the Figure of a Chicken, one of the Symbols of the *Augurſhip*, on a Medal of *Mark Anthony*'s, which we likewiſe have engraven.

Vet

ven as nothing? What will remain after this, but to chuſe our Pontifices, *our* Kings of the Sacrifices, *and in ſhort all our other Prieſts, out of the loweſt of the People? We ſhall have nothing to do, but to place our Sacerdotal Bonnets on the Head of the Firſt-comer; and impiouſly entruſt him with the Care of the ſacred Bucklers, and the moſt awful Sanctuaries of the Gods. Nothing, but to leave off conſulting the* Auguries, *either when we eſtabliſh our Laws, elect our chief Magiſtrates, or bring any of the Reſolutions of the* Comitia *to be confirmed by the Senate.* Sextius *and* Licinius *will then reign in* Rome, *as* Romulus *and* T. Tatius *formerly did; and this for having granted away Lands, which were not their own; and remitted Intereſt, which did not belong to them. So much Pleaſure is there, in being liberal with other Peoples Eſtates! But you don't conſider in the mean time, That by permitting no Man to enjoy more than five hundred Acres of Land, you will turn many of the moſt fruitful Fields into Deſerts; and That by forgiving the Intereſt of Debts already contracted, you go the ready Way to deſtroy all Credit, which is the Soul of civil Society. Let theſe wiſe Conſiderations then prevail with you,* Romans, *to reject the Laws your* Tribunes *propoſe. May the immortal Gods inſpire all that hear me, with ſuch Sentiments as theſe, and give a happy Iſſue to the Deliberations of this Aſſembly!*

Year of ROME CCCLXXXV. P. MANLIUS, Dictator. *Liv. ibid.*

BUT this Harangue, how artful ſoever, did not make ſo great an Impreſſion on the People, as *Appius* hoped it would. The *Comitia* paſſed one of the Laws their *Tribunes* had propoſed; which was that which enacted, That no Citizen of *Rome* ſhould poſſeſs more than five hundred Acres of Land. The People gained this Advantage at leaſt, from the Protection, the *Dictator Manlius*, and *Licinius* his General of Horſe, gave them. *Sextius* and *Licinius* were continued *Tribunes of the People*, the tenth time; and ſtill had Hopes of getting the other Laws paſſed. Thus a whole Year was ſpent, partly under the Adminiſtration of two *Dictators*, who immediately ſucceeded one another; and partly in a ſhort *Interregnum*, during which there were no *Curule* Magiſtrates choſen.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

§. XV. THE next Year the *Military Tribuneſhip* was revived; but it was for the laſt time. The *Comitia by Centuries* choſe ſix *Military Tribunes*, as uſual, all out of the *Patricians*; who were, *A. Cornelius, L. Veturius, M. Cornelius, P. Valerius, M. Geganius*, and [39] *P. Manlius*. But the time was come for giving the finiſhing Stroke to the Power of the *Patricians*. *Sextius* and *Licinius* were now in a Condition to reap the Fruits of their nine Years Labour. No foreign War, except that of *Velitræ*, had obſtructed their Deſigns; and the People had ſcarce ever been diverted from attending to them, by military Expeditions. And now an Opportunity offered itſelf, for the two *Tribunes*, to get the reſt of their Laws accepted. If I may be permitted to conjecture, in a Caſe wherein the Hiſtorians are at a Loſs, *Sextius* and *Licinius* took Advantage of the Reports which were then ſpread, of the *Gauls* preparing to come and beſiege *Rome*, a ſecond time. They had had time to recover themſelves, and gain new Strength; ſince the Battel in which *Camillus* had weakned and diſperſed them. And it is probable, that the *Senones* were not the only *Gauls*, who then conſpired the Ruin of the Republick. Perhaps all the *Colonies* of the *Gauls* entred into a Confederacy againſt her; at leaſt thoſe who poſſeſſed the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea, namely, the *Veneti*, the *Lingones*, and the *Boii*, ſeem to have joined the *Senones*, for this laſt Expedition. The News of their March filled *Rome* with Terror. And this was probably the critical Moment the *Tribunes of the People* took hold of, to propoſe their Laws to the aſſembled *Tribes*. The three Bills, which were yet to be paſſed, were, That for diſcharging the poor Debtors from all Obligations of paying Intereſt for what they had borrowed; That for dividing the Care [40] of the *Sybilline* Books between ten

Year of ROME CCCLXXXVI. A. CORNELIUS, L. VETURIUS, M. CORNELIUS, P. VALERIUS, M. GEGANIUS, P. MANLIUS, Military Tribunes.

39 *Diodorus Siculus* does not mention any *Military Tribunes* for this Year. This was the ſecond *Military Tribuneſhip*, of *Aulus Cornelius Coſſus*, of *L. Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus*, of *M. Cornelius Maluginenſis*, and of *Publius Manlius Capitolinus*; the ſixth, of *P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola*; and the firſt, of *M. Geganius Macerinus*. The *Military Tribuneſhip* ended with this Year 386. It had begun in the Year of *Rome* 309, and continued ever ſince; but not without ſome Interruptions, ſince in the Space of 77 Years, the *Military Tribunes* are reckoned to have governed but 49. There were likewiſe ſome Defects in ſome Elections, which made them null, as we have already obſerved, in its proper Place.

40 It has been already obſerved, that *Tarquin the Proud* firſt appointed two Men called *Duumviri*, to keep and interpret the *Sybilline* Books. After the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, the People committed the Care of theſe Books to two Noblemen of known Probity. This Employment was a Sort of Prieſthood

Year of *ROME* CCCLXXXVI.

A. Cornelius, &c. Military Tribunes.

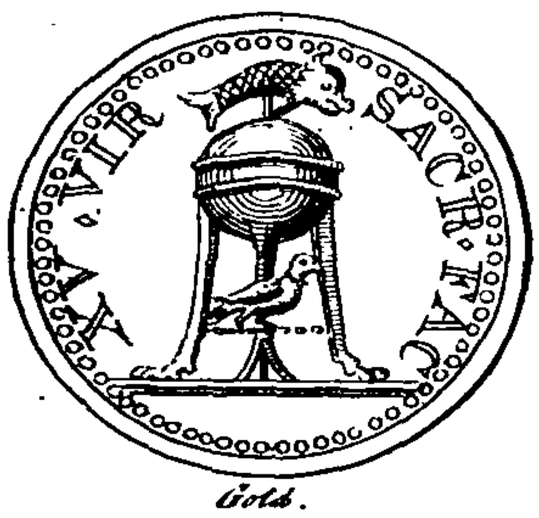
ten Perſons, half *Plebeians* and half *Patricians*; and That for placing the Government in the Hands of two *Conſuls*, one of which to be always a *Plebeian*. The former of theſe, the *Tribunes of the People* carried, before a General was nominated to march againſt the Enemy; and they hoped to be ſoon able to obtain the paſſing of the laſt. The Diſſenſions at home, and the Approach of the *Gauls*, made the Republick determine to nominate a *Dictator*; which once reſolved, they could not long deliberate about the Man. The great Merit of *Camillus*, and the Victories he had gained over the *Gauls*, turned every body's Eyes upon him. He was indeed near fourſcore Years old, and had very lately laid down his fourth *Dictatorſhip*, before the uſual time. But nevertheleſs, his Zeal for his Country's Ser-

M. Furius Camillus, Dictator. *Liv. B.6. c.41.*

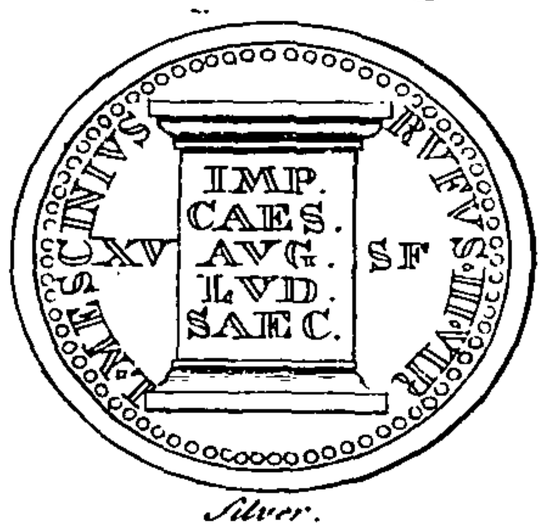
vice, made him dedicate his laſt Breath of Life to the Welfare of the Publick. He accepted the *Dictatorſhip*, for the fifth time, and nominated *T. Quinctius* to be his General of Horſe. After the Levies were raiſed, and he had exerciſed his Army for ſome time, he marched out of *Rome*, with all the Vivacity of a young Man.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

In the mean time, the *Gauls* had over-run the *Roman* Territory, and were committing Robberies in it. The Country People, who had not been able to fly to *Rome* for Refuge, had ſaved themſelves in the Mountains. *Camillus* marched his Army therefore againſt the Pillagers, but firſt took proper Precautions to guard his Soldiers againſt the terrible Strokes the *Gauls* uſed to give with their Broad-Swords. Their Way was, to cut off an Head or an Arm with one Stroke of their Swords, and not preſent the Point at all. In order to guard his Men therefore againſt theſe Blows, the *Dictator* provided his Army with well-poliſhed Helmets of Iron; that ſo the Swords of the *Gauls* might either break to-pieces againſt them, or ſlide off upon the reſt of their Armour. And to the Bucklers his *Legions* wore, which had



Gold.



Silver.

Prieſthood which laſted for Life. That they who enjoyed it might be the more at Liberty to attend on the Duties of their Function, ſeveral conſiderable Immunities were granted them. They were, for this Reaſon, exempted from the Burden of Civil and Military Affairs. They were not ſuffered to entruſt the *Sybilline* Books in any Perſon's Hands whatſoever; under Pain of being guilty of Sacrilege, which was capital. But they might ſuffer them to be read; provided they were preſent. When their College conſiſted of ten Perſons, five of which were *Patricians*, and five *Plebeians*, they loſt the Name of *Duumviri*. And afterwards, *Sylla* is thought to have added five more to the ten. At leaſt, it's certain there were 15 of them in *Cicero*'s Time, which gave them the Name of *Quindecim-viri*. Their Prieſtly Office, wholly conſiſted in conſulting the *Sybilline* Books, in Times of publick Dangers, or Calamities; in making a Report to the Senate, of what theſe Books told them was proper to be done to avert the preſent Dangers, or Afflictions, from the Republick; in declaring what Prayers and Sacrifices the *Sybilline* Books directed to be offered up, as the proper Means of appeaſing the Anger of the Gods; and in Conſequence of this, in providing for the Celebration of the publick *Games*, and the offering of Victims. Upon their Report, the Senate ordered publick Prayers and *Lectiſternia*, or extraordinary Feaſts, in honour of the Pagan Deities, whoſe Protection they were to regain. *Ad eos Sybillinos libros, quaſi ad Oraculum, Quindecim-viri adeunt, cum Dii immortales publice conſulendi ſunt*, ſays *Gellius*, *B.* 1. Theſe Prieſts aſſiſted the Chief Magiſtrate in directing the *Secular Games*, as we learn from *Tacitus*, *Ann.* 11. and which *Horace* confirms, in the following Lines of his *Secular Ode*.

Quæque Aventinum tenet Algidumque
Quindecim *Dianæ preces* Virorum *curet.*

We have likewiſe an authentick Proof of this, in the Medal above, which was ſtruck in Honour of *Auguſtus*, to perpetuate the Memory of the *Secular Games*, which were celebrated by that Prince's Order. There is a Column on the Reverſe, with this Inſcription, Imperatori Cæsari. Augusto Ludi Sæculares; on the Sides of the Pillar are the Letters, XV. S. F. that is, Quindecimvir Sacris faciundis. Their being Interpreters of the *Sybilline* Oracles, and having the Direction of the *Secular Games*, procured them the Title of *Prieſts of Apollo*. *Livy* calls them ſo, *B.* 10. The Symbol of their Prieſthood upon Medals, is a *Tripos*, as appears by the Medal of *Vitellius*, engraven above. The Crow and Dolphil which are put under and over the *Tripos*, were both conſecrated to *Apollo*.

41 The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, is miſtaken, in ſaying *Sulpicius* was choſen *Dictator*. And both *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* ſay, without any Foundation for it, that the *Dictatorſhip* was conferred on *Titus Quinctius*, inſtead of *Camillus*; and that he, with the Aſſiſtance of *Titus Manlius*, who fought under him, drove away the *Gauls*. To which *Eutropius* adds, that the *Gauls* were defeated by another *Dictator*, whom he calls *Caius Sulpicius*. But the *Titus Quinctius* he ſpeaks of, ſeems to be the ſame who was ſurnamed *Pennus*. And whom *Camillus* made his General of Horſe.

hitherto

Year of ROME CCCLXXXVI. M. Furius Camillus, Dictator.

hitherto been ſeldom made of any thing but 42 Wood, he added a Rim of Braſs. As for offenſive Arms, *Camillus* furniſhed his Men with long Javelins, by the help of which, they could reach their Enemies at a diſtance, and ſtab them, while they were ſlowly lifting up their Arms to ſtrike. Theſe new Arms were invented by the old General, whoſe Experience had improved his Skill in military Affairs. In the mean time, the Army of the *Gauls* advanced towards *Rome*, and was already encamped on the Banks of the *Anio*. *Camillus* appeared within reach of the Enemy, but placed his Camp artfully. The leaſt Part of his Army was poſted upon Hills, and there made ſo bad an Appearance, as would have inclined any one to believe, that their Fear of the Enemy was their only Motive to encamp on ſo high Ground. The beſt Part of the *Roman* Troops were hid in the Valleys, or hollow Parts of the Rocks, ſo as to be out of Sight. This Diſpoſition of the *Romans* increaſed the Confidence of the *Gauls*. They thought they had only a Handful of Men before them, whoſe Fear would not ſuffer them to ſtir out of their Entrenchments. No *Roman* General had ever yet invented more Stratagems in War, than *Camillus*. He let the *Gauls* long continue in their Opinion, that he was afraid of them. Which made them ſo little apprehenſive of being attacked by the *Romans*, that they did not fortify their Camp. They often marched out of it in Companies, and came and carried on their Ravages quite to the Foot of the Mountain, on which the *Dictator* was poſted. One Day therefore, when *Camillus* perceived that a great Number of the Enemy were in the Fields, and that thoſe who continued in the Camp, had been revelling there all Night, he ordered his light-armed legionary Troops to march into the Plains, inſult the Enemy, force them to leave their Tents, and harraſs them ſo continually, as not to give them time to draw up in Order of Battel. And he ſucceeded in his Deſign. The Skirmiſh increaſed inſenſibly to a general Action; and the Bulk of the Army of the *Gauls* ſallied out ſo precipitately, that the Soldiers had not time to draw up, under their proper Colours. In the mean while, *Camillus* fell upon them with the reſt of his *Legions*: and then the *Roman* Army was thought numerous, by thoſe who had deſpiſed it. It was drawn up in Battalia; but the *Gauls* were diſordered, and in Confuſion: and the Event of the Battel proved, that the *Dictator* had taken wiſe Precautions. The light-armed *Romans* began the Attack. The *Legions* who had the heavieſt Arms, ſupported them. They ſoon came to a cloſe Engagement with their Javelins; and then the Broad-Swords of the *Gauls* were 43 blunted, with the Braſs on the *Roman* Bucklers. The *Roman* Darts reached their Enemies at a diſtance, or elſe ſtuck faſt in their wooden Bucklers; and it took up the *Gauls* a great deal of time to pull the Javelins out of their Bucklers, which were overloaded with them. In ſhort, they reſolved to fight the *Romans* with their own Weapons, and throw away their Bucklers, that they might be the more at liberty for it. This Opportunity therefore the *Roman* Soldiers ſeized, fell upon them Sword in Hand, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Many fell in Battel, the reſt fled and diſperſed themſelves in ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, eſpecially in *Apulia*. Nay, perhaps the *Gauls* began to attempt making 44 Conqueſts and Settlements, even in *Aſia Minor*, at that time. But however that be, the *Romans* perceived that they had nothing more to fear from the *Gauls*, after ſo memorable 45 a Victory: And they now would fain have aſcribed their firſt Defeat by them, rather to the ſavage Fierceneſs of theſe Barbarians, than their Valour, or Experience in War.

Strabo, B. 4. Flor. B. 2. Juſtin. B. 24.

42 *Livy* tells us, *B.* 1. that King *Servius Tullius* gave braſs Bucklers to the firſt *Claſs* of the *Roman* Citizens. *Arma his Imperata, Galea, Clipeum, Ocrea, Lorica, omnia ex ære.* But either theſe Bucklers were not given the firſt *Claſs*, by way of Diſtinction, or *Livy* is miſtaken in calling them braſs ones. It's certain, at leaſt, that *Dion. Hal.* ſpeaks of the Bucklers of the firſt *Centuries*, without ſpecifying what they were made of. It is probable, that in the firſt Ages the common Soldiers uſed only wooden Bucklers, or that braſs ones were very ſeldom uſed. We will ſhew the different Forms of thoſe Bucklers in another Place.

43 *Polybius* tells us, the Swords of the *Gauls* were ſo ill made, that their Edges were blunted with the firſt Blow; and that one Blow bent them ſo much that they were not fit to be uſed again, till they were ſet ſtrait, by being thruſt againſt the Ground. And *Plutarch* tells us, in his *Life of Camillus*, that theſe Swords were made of very ill-temper'd Metal, and were very little hammered.

44 The Teſtimonies of *Polybius*, *B.* 2, and 4. of *Strabo*, *B.* 4. and of *Pauſanias* and *Juſtin*, incline us to believe, that the *Gauls* immediately ſpread themſelves into *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, and *Aſia Minor*.

45 The *Romans* gained this Victory over the *Gauls*, in *The Plains of Alba*, in the 23d Year after they had taken *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, *Plutarch* places this Expedition in the third, and *Polybius* in the thirtieth Year, after the firſt Irruption of the *Gauls*.

§. XVI. But

Year of ROME CCCLXXXVI. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, Dictator.

§. XVI. NEVERTHELESS, the old *Dictator* was not yet satisfied. The Siege of *Velitræ* had been interrupted; he therefore led his victorious Army thither, and took the City. After this, he returned to *Rome* with great Glory, and had the Honours of a Triumph, which were unanimously decreed him both by Senate and People. But still the Republick continued in too great a Ferment, for the Senate to consent to *Camillus*'s abdicating the *Dictatorship*, immediately after his Return: And he obeyed their Orders, thinking it his Duty to do all he could to settle Peace at home. The People, proud of their late Victory, were more earnest to raise a *Plebeian* to the *Consulship*, than ever. This was the Design of the last of *Sextius* and *Licinius*'s Laws, which had not yet been accepted. Nevertheless, the two *Tribunes* were more immediately concerned in it, than any body else; and they therefore sollicited the passing of it, with all the Ardour of the warmest Ambition. Whilst on the other hand, the Senate and *Patricians* raised Difficulties against it, and the *Comitia*, which were assembled by Intervals, to pass it, were all in a Flame. As for *Camillus*, his Inclinations led him to promote the Interests of the Nobility; but the People, and their *Tribunes*, were strongest. They even went such Lengths as to be wanting in Respect to the *Dictator* himself. As he was one Day sitting on his Tribunal, in the *Forum*, some of the *Tribunes of the People* sent an Officer to him, to seize him. This they did with Design to force him to lay down the *Dictatorship*: and the Officer was already conducting him to the *Tribunes*, when there arose one of the most violent Outcries which had ever been heard. This was made by the *Dictator*'s Guards, and by the *Patricians*, who attended him, and repulsed the *Tribunes* Officer; whilst the Mob, which was at the Foot of the Tribunal, cried out, *Carry him off, Carry him off.* Nevertheless, these seditious Clamours did not stagger the brave old Man. He would not renounce the Dignity which had been legally conferred upon him; but took Refuge in the Senate-House, whither the *Patricians* followed him; and there the Pretensions of the *Tribunes* and People were taken into Consideration. And in the midst of this universal Confusion, *Camillus* made [46] a Vow, to build a Temple to *Concord*, in case he succeeded in quieting these Commotions. As for the Populace, they were too furious to give up any thing: and the Senate, after many Disputes, resolved at last to comply in some measure, with the earnest Desire of the Commons. They consented, that one *Consul* might be chosen out of the People: But this Permission did not imply, that they should be always obliged to fill up one of the *Consuls* Places with a *Plebeian.* So that this was not granting the *Tribunes* all they aimed at: But nevertheless, they were contented with it, and the Government of *Rome* was changed. *Consuls* were revived, and the Republick was no longer governed by *Military Tribunes*.

Plut. Life of *Cam.*

Plut. ibid. *Ovid. Fast. B.* 1.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXVII. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, and L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS, Consuls,

§. XVII. NEVERTHELESS, the Sedition was not entirely extinguished, even by the passing a Law so very favourable to the People. The *Centuries*, when assembled, pitched upon *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and *L. Sextius Lateranus*, to be *Consuls* for the ensuing [47] Year. The first was a *Patrician*; the second, the same *Tribune of the People* who had so vigorously pursued the Laws lately passed, and now reaped the First-Fruits of it. But when his Election came to be confirmed by the Senate, the Opposition the *Conscript Fathers* made to it, raised fresh Commotions among the People. The Senators refused to admit *Sextius* to be *Consul*; the Commons obstinately insisted on their confirming his Election. And this Difference was carried to so great a Length, that the People were ready to have left *Rome*, and separated themselves from the *Patricians*, as they had formerly done. All the Wisdom of a *Dictator* universally esteemed, was therefore necessary to bring about a Reconciliation: and *Camillus* found out an Expedient, to which both Parties agreed. The *Consuls*, and the *Military Tribunes* who long supplied their Places, were both Generals of the *Roman* Armies, and Judges of Civil Affairs, at the same

Liv. B. 6. *c.* 41.

46 *Ovid* gives us an Account of this Vow, in the four following Verses.

Furius, antiquus populi superator Etrusci,
Voverat, & voti solverat ille fidem.
Causa, quod a Patribus sumptis secesserat armis
Vulgus, & ipsa suas Roma timebat opes.
Fast. B. 1.

47 The *Fasti Capitolini* are our Authority for giving these two *Consuls* these Names. Some Editions of *Livy*, *Cassiodorus*, *Plutarch*, *Marianus Scotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, all give the first the Name of *Marcus Æmilius*: And *Plutarch* calls the second *Lucius Sextus*. But it is a Mistake which ought to be rectified. The Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, has also followed bad Memoirs, in displacing *Lucius Sextius*, and putting *Lucius Licinius Stolo* in his Room.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXVII.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, and L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS, Conſuls.

time; and were, for this reaſon, ſometimes called *Conſuls*, and ſometimes *Præ-tors*. *Camillus*'s Expedient therefore was to ſeparate the Functions of a *Præ-tor*, from thoſe of a *Conſul*, and make them two diſtinct Offices. He propoſed to the Senate, That a *Conſul* ſhould be choſen out of the *Plebeians*, on Condition [48] that the *Prætors* ſhould always be *Patricians*: And both *Fathers* and People conſented to this Diviſion. It was indeed too much for one Man to undertake the Diſcharge of two ſuch different Employments, at the ſame time. Thus all Parties were ſatisfied; the People, with having it in their Power to be Candidates for the *Conſulſhip*; the Nobility, with having none but *Patricians* admitted to be Judges. By this means, the mutual Hatreds and Diſſentions of both Nobles and People were laid aſleep; and theſe two Orders of Men in the Republick, now thought their Privileges equal. The Tranquillity the *Romans* were going to enjoy upon it, was thought the Gift of the Gods; and they were not wanting, in ſhewing their Gratitude to them for it. The Senate ordered, that the *Great Games* ſhould be [49] celebrated to their Honour. Theſe Shews formerly laſted only three Days; but now a [50] fourth was added to them; and upon this account their Name was changed from *Ludi Magni*, i. e. *Great Games*, into that of *Ludi Maximi*, or *The Greateſt Games*. I don't know for what Reaſon the preſent *Ædiles* made a Difficulty of undertaking the Care of theſe new *Games*: but their Refuſal gave Occaſion to the *Patricians* to create new [51] *Ædiles*, which were to be elected

48 The *Prætorſhip* was then looked upon to be the ſecond Dignity in the Republick. The *Prætor* was elected in *Comitia by Centuries*, and under the ſame *Auſpices* as the *Conſuls*. So that they might therefore look on one another as Collegues. And indeed, they ſhared the Burden of the Government between them. The *Prætor* was the chief Officer concerned in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. The *Conſul* had the Management of Political and Military Affairs. *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 13. ſhews us the Difference between theſe two Offices, when he ſays, the *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, and *Cenſors*, had the Great *Auſpices*, *i. e.* were the moſt conſiderable Magiſtrates in the Republick; but with this Difference, that the *Cenſors* could neither ſtile themſelves the *Conſuls* Collegues, nor hinder their *Auſpices* or Election; whereas the *Prætors* could do both with reſpect to the *Conſuls*; and the *Conſuls* with reſpect to the *Prætors*. For this Reaſon, neither *Prætor*, nor *Conſul*, could hinder the Creation of *Cenſors*, becauſe they were not upon the Foot of being their Collegues. Nor could a *Prætor*, according to the Laws, ever preſide in the *Comitia* which were to create *Conſuls*; for this reaſon, ſays *Aulus Gellius*; *Quia imperium minus Prætor, majus habet Conſul; & a minore imperio majus, aut a minore Collega major, rogari jure non poteſt*, *B.* 13. i. e. *Becauſe*, ſays he, *a ſuperior Magiſtrate could not be propoſed by an inferior.* Nay, a *Prætor* had not this Right, with regard to another *Prætor*. This Practice is confirmed by *Tully*, in a Letter to *Atticus*, *B.* 9. where ſpeaking of *Cæſar*'s Pretenſions to the *Conſulſhip*, after he had forced *Pompey* to leave *Italy*, he has theſe Words: *Permagni ejus intereſt rem ad interregnum non venire. Id aſſequitur, ſi per Prætores, Conſules creantur. Nos autem in libris habemus, non modo Conſules a Prætoribus, ſed ne Prætores quidem creari jus eſſe, idque factum eſſe nunquam; Conſules, eo non eſſe jus, quod majus imperium a minore rogari non ſit jus: Prætores autem, cum ita fingentur ut Collegæ Conſulum ſint, quorum eſt majus imperium.* We have already obſerved, that before the Eſtabliſhment of the *Prætorſhip*, the *Conſuls* affected to be called *Prætors*. Nay, the *Dictator* himſelf aſſumed the Title of *Prætor Maximus*. Indeed the Word *Prætor* originally ſignified no more than that the Man had a Pre-eminence, *quod populo præiret jure*. The Name of *Prætor* was at firſt confined to him who adminiſtred Juſtice in *Rome*; and was afterwards called *Prætor Urbanus*, to diſtinguiſh him from another *Prætor* who was elected, to decide the Differences which ſhould ariſe between Foreigners; and was called *Prætor Peregrinus*. Afterwards, four others were added to theſe; and in Proceſs of Time they came to be eight in Number, and at laſt fifteen; excluſive of the *Provincial Prætors*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to adminiſter Juſtice in the *Roman Provinces*, and command the Troops there in time of War, till their Office, which was annual, expired. They there acted as *Conſuls*. We ſhall often meet with them in our Way, and have Occaſion to ſpeak of them. But it is ſufficient, at preſent, to give an Account of the Office and Privileges of the firſt *Prætor*, who took Care to ſee Juſtice duly adminiſtred in *Rome*; which we ſhall ſoon do, very fully.

49 Authors have not given us diſtinct Accounts enough of theſe *Games*, to ſhew us the Difference between them, and ſome others uſed in *Rome*; as thoſe of the *Circus*, and thoſe formerly celebrated in Honour to *Neptune*, under the Name of *Conſualia*. All we know is, that they were celebrated with great Magnificence, and at a vaſt Expence. For this Reaſon, ſay ſome, they were called *The Great Games*; but others ſay, they were ſo called, becauſe conſecrated to *Neptune*, and the *Dii Lares*, or tutelary Gods of *Rome*, which were called, by way of Diſtinction, *The Great Gods*. Some infer, from this Expreſſion of *Virgil*, *Magnis Circenſibus actis*, that they were the ſame with *The Games of the Circus*. And I am indeed of Opinion, that this Shew was in the *Circus*. This great Place was very convenient for the Repreſentation of the publick *Games* and Turnaments, which were celebrated in *Rome*, in Honour of the Pagan Gods; for theſe Shews were a Part of the *Roman* Religion. *The Great Games*, are the ſame as *The Roman Games*, which *Tully* mentions in his *7th Oration againſt Verres*. They were ſo called, becauſe they were thought almoſt as ancient as *Rome* it ſelf. They were celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The Ceremony laſted three Days, at firſt; but a fourth was often added: and at laſt they came to be continued for nine Days together.

50 *Plutarch* ſays, That this fourth Day was added to the *Feriæ Latinæ*; That after the *Patricians* and the People were reconciled, it was ordered, that Sacrifices ſhould on that Day be offered up to the Gods, in all the Temples; and That all the *Romans*, without Exception, were then to be crowned with Flowers.

51 This new created Office was at firſt appropriated to the *Patricians*; but we ſhall ſoon ſee the *Plebeians* aſſuming a Right of ſtanding for it, and

Year of ROME CCCLXXXVII.

L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, and L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS, Conſuls.

Plut. Life of *Camil.*

elected only out of the *Patrician* Body. In ſhort, upon the *Plebeian Ædiles* refuſing to make Preparation for the *Great Games*, the young *Patricians* cried out, that ſince the Matter in Hand was, to take care of the Worſhip of the Gods, they ſhould not think it a Diſhonour to them, to be choſen *Ædiles*. The *Dictator* accepted the Offer, and made a Propoſal to the People, to eſtabliſh two *Patrician Ædileſhips*, which they agreed to. Upon this the Senate promiſed, in its Turn, to ratify all that had been done in the late *Comitia*, in relation to the Election of new Magiſtrates: and nothing now remained, but to mark out a Site for the Temple of *Concord*, which *Camillus* had vowed to build; and to lay the Foundations of it. The People ordered it ſhould be built, at the Expence of the Publick; and it was placed at the Foot of the *Capitol*, upon an Eminence, where it ſtood high enough to be ſeen, in the *Forum*, and in the Places where the Aſſemblies were held, and Juſtice was adminiſtred. Thus ended a Year, the whole Glory of which centered in *Camillus*. He had overcome the Enemies of *Rome*, had reſtored Peace to the Republick, and had calmed the People, without exaſperating the Nobility. Full of Glory therefore, and full of Years, he laid down the *Dictatorſhip*, which he

actually ſharing it with the Nobility. The *Curule Ædiles* were allowed, by way of Diſtinction, the Honours of the *Curule Chair*, the Robe bordered with Purple, and what the *Romans* called *Jus imaginis*. The Privilege of expoſing publickly the Images of their Anceſtors, was a Mark and Sign of Nobility, among the *Romans*, as that of bearing Coats-of-Arms is in *France*. It was never granted, but to thoſe who had held great Offices. For this Reaſon, he who was raiſed to the *Curule* Offices the firſt of his Family, and could produce no Portrait but his own, was called, *A new Man*. The Ancientneſs of a Man's Family, was judged of by the Number of the Statues which perpetuated the Memory of his Anceſtors, and of the Offices they had born. But to return to the *Curule Ædileſhip*; even Men who had been *Conſuls*, did not think it beneath them to aſpire at this Employment. Tho' upon its firſt Eſtabliſhment, it was confined to the Care of keeping the Temples of the Gods clean, and preſerving Order and Decency in the Worſhip which was paid them; and of providing all Things neceſſary for the *Games*, and regulating the Celebration of the *Feriæ Latinæ*; yet it afterwards became a Part of the Office of the *Curule Ædiles*, as well as the *Plebeian Ædiles*, to ſee that the Ordinances of the People, and Decrees of the Senate, were duly obſerved; to inſpect the Repairs of the publick Buildings, Baths, and Aqueducts; to keep the Streets clean; and laſtly, to take Care of the *Police*, and Decorations of *Rome*. It belonged to them to aſſign every one his Place at the publick *Games*, and to prevent all Diſorders at them. In a Word, their Office extended to every thing, wherein the Safety or good Order of the Citizens was concerned. But they ſeem to have acted in Subordination and Obedience to the *Cenſors*. Theſe were a Sort of Overſeers, or Superintendents, to inſpect every thing that related to the *Police* of *Rome*. The Functions of the *Ædiles* are mentioned in this Law, which is in *Tully*'s 3d Book, *De Legibus*. SUNTOQUE ÆDILES CURATORES URBIS, ANNONÆ, LUDORUMQUE SOLEMNIUM; OLLEISQUE AD HONORIS AMPLIORIS GRADUM IS PRIMUS ASCENSUS ESTO. But *Tully* gives us a more particular Account of the Functions and Privileges of the *Ædiles*, in his 7th *Oration againſt Verres*. He was then an *Ædile* himſelf, and knew every thing that related to his Office. *Nunc ſum deſignatus Ædilis. Habeo rationem quid a populo Romano acceperim. Mihi, Ludos ſanctiſſimos, maxima cum cura & Cæremonia, Cereri, Libero, Liberæque faciendos: Mihi, Floram Matrem populo plebique Romanæ Ludorum celebritate placandam: Mihi, ludos antiquiſſimos, qui primi Romani ſunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione, Jovi, Junoni, Minervæque, eſſe faciundos: Mihi, ſacrarum Ædium procurationem, Mihi totam urbem tuendam, eſſe commiſſam: ob earum rerum laborem & ſollicitudinem fructus illos dari, antiquiorem in Senatu ſententiæ dicendæ locum, togam Prætextam, Sellam Curulem, Jus imaginis, ad memoriam poſteritatemque prodendam.* In the latter Ages of the Republick, when Ambition and Luxury were introduced into *Rome*, with the Riches of *Aſia*, there was an Emulation among the *Ædiles*, who ſhould celebrate the *Games* and Feſtivals with moſt State, and in the moſt coſtly Manner. Every one endeavoured to excel his Predeceſſor in Magnificence: Inſomuch, that the Money allowed out of the Publick Treaſury for theſe *Games*, was not ſufficient to defray the exceſſive Expences of them; whence it came to paſs, that the *Ædiles* ſpent their own Eſtates, out of a fooliſh Oſtentation; borrowed Money at great Rates, and came out of their Offices over-run with Debt. Their chief Aim was to gain the Suffrages of the People, whoſe Eyes are always dazzled with pompous Appearances. The *Ædileſhip* was then at leaſt as burdenſome as it was honourable. Yet no Body could decline this Office with Honour. It was neceſſary to take this firſt Step, if Men intended to riſe to the other *Curule* Dignities, eſpecially the *Prætorſhip*, and *Conſulſhip*; and without it they were ſuſpected of Avarice; which bare Suſpicion was enough to exclude Men of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Merit. We are told by *Cicero*, *B.* 1. *de Offic.* that *Mamercus*, one of the richeſt Citizens in *Rome*, could not obtain the *Conſulſhip*, becauſe he had not ſtood Candidate for the *Ædileſhip*. And the ſame Author adds, that *Murena*, who, contrary to Cuſtom, never had been *Ædile*, entertained the People with *Games*, in the Year he was *Prætor*, to remove all Suſpicions of him. It alſo belonged to the *Ædiles* to examine and reviſe Books. Dramatick Pieces could not be acted without their Approbation. They bought them of the Poets, and diſtributed the uſual Rewards to thoſe Actors who diſtinguiſhed themſelves. Beſides which, they had a diſtinct Juriſdiction of their own. They adminiſtred Juſtice, as the *Prætor* did; and, like him, drew up an *Edict*, as ſoon as they came into their Offices, conſiſting of ſuch Principles and Maxims of Civil Law, as they reſolved to make the Rule of their Decrees, during their Magiſtracy. Which *Edict*, when once publiſhed, became an invariable Rule, both for the *Ædile*, and all the Parties which were brought before his Tribunal. The Buſineſs of their Tribunals ſeems to have been the determining all Affairs relating to the *Police* of the City. The *Curule Ædiles* were elected in *Comitia by Tribes*. The legal Age for entering upon this Office, was uſually fixed to 36, or 37 Years: So that there always was two Years between any Man's *Prætorſhip* and *Edileſhip*; as there was between the *Prætorſhip* and the *Conſulſhip*.

had

had adorned; and was wholly bent on ſpending the ſmall Remainder of his Days, in the Repoſe and Tranquillity of a private Life.

§. XVIII. As for *Rome*, the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Conſuls* produced only a ſort of Indolence in the Republick. The Senate ſeemed afraid of undertaking any Wars, under the Adminiſtration of a *Plebeian Conſul*, leſt by raiſing his Glory, they ſhould contribute to the Honour of his whole Party. News was brought, That the *Gauls*, who were for the moſt part diſperſed in *Apulia*, had Thoughts of reaſſembling; and That the *Hernici* were preparing to ſhake off the Alliance of the *Romans*. But the Senate was entirely regardleſs of theſe Reports. Had the *Conſuls* been both choſen out of the *Patricians*, the Republick had infallibly ſent Armies into the Field: but the Nobles were afraid of promoting the Glory of a *Plebeian*. The *Romans* were therefore wholly employed in ſettling the Rights of the new Offices, they had juſt created. The *Prætorſhip* was a diſmembred Part of the *Conſulſhip*: for which Reaſon, the *Prætors* are ſometimes called the *Conſuls* Collegues. It was ordered as to them, that they ſhould be choſen in *Comitia by Centuries*, and that their Elections ſhould be preceded by *Auguries*: and as the *Romans* were all ſkilled in military Affairs, it often happened afterwards, that ſome of theſe Judges were put at the Head of Armies, in great Emergencies, and when *Conſuls* were wanting. Nevertheleſs, the chief Buſineſs of the *Prætor*, was to adminiſter Juſtice to the People, and determine all Diſputes relating to Inheritances [52], Wills, Emancipations, and all other civil Affairs. And leſt the *Prætors* ſhould proceed arbitrarily in their Judgments, they were obliged to declare, as ſoon as they entred upon their Office, by what Principles they would govern themſelves in their Determinations. They drew up what was called an *Edict*, which was their Rule, by which they paſſed Judgment. This Edict was a Summary of civil Law, founded upon the Laws [53] in Being, the Interpretations given of them, and former Precedents. When the *Prætor* for the time being, had publiſhed his *Edict*, he could [54] never after exceed the Limits he had preſcribed to himſelf, and act by other Maxims. The Tribunal on which he ſate, was a *Curule* Chair, adorned with Ivory; and he had two *Lictors* [55] walked before him. So that the *Prætorſhip* was the higheſt Office in *Rome*, after the *Conſulſhip*. Only one *Prætor* was created at firſt; but they were afterwards multiplied. *Camillus* was the Inſtitutor of this Office; and the Republick thinking herſelf obliged to ſhew her Gratitude to him for it, choſe his Son *Sp. Furius Camillus*, to be the firſt *Prætor* in *Rome*.

THE ſecond Innovation in the State, was, the *Patrician Ædiles*. The *Ædileſhip* had been long eſtabliſhed in *Rome*, was a *Plebeian* Tribunal, created at the ſame time with the *Tribunes of the People*, and ſubordinate to them. The Buſineſs of the *Ædiles* was to take care, That the Temples and private Houſes were

Year of *ROME* CCCLXXXVII.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, and L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS, Conſuls.
Liv. B. 7. c. 1.

52 The whole Juriſdiction of the *Prætor*, was comprehended in theſe three *Latin* Words, DO, DICO, ADDICO. The firſt imports his Power, to *give*, or appoint, the contending Parties, Judges, Arbitrators, Commiſſioners, or perhaps Advocates. The ſecond Word expreſſes the judicial Act of the *Prætor*, in *pronouncing* Sentence. The third implies his Power, of *adjudging*, or appropriating, to either of the Parties, the Thing in diſpute.

53 *Tully*, in his 4th *Oration againſt Verres*, calls the *Prætor*'s Tribunal, *aram legum*, i. e. *the Sanctuary of the Laws*. And indeed, he was in effect both the Guardian and Interpreter of them. Some think the *Prætor*, who had the Care of the Affairs of Foreigners, with the Title of *Prætor peregrinus*, was obliged to model his Judgments, as much as poſſible, by the *Prætor of Rome*'s *Edict*. And it is certain, the *Provincial Prætors*, who were afterwards eſtabliſhed, formed their annual *Edicts* upon the Plan of his. For which Reaſon, the *Provinces* under their Care were in ſeveral things ſubject to the *Roman* Laws.

54 The new *Prætor*, before he began to act, took an Oath in the Preſence of the People aſſembled, that he would never deviate from the Laws and Rules he had preſcribed to himſelf. After which, he choſe a certain Number of *Judges*, out of the Senators, or *Knights*, or both: And theſe *Judges*, when once choſen, took their Turns in hearing criminal and civil Cauſes, as they fell to them by Lot.

55 This Number of *Lictors*, was fixed by a Law of *Marcus Plætorius*, a *Tribune of the People*. *Cenſorinus*, *de die Natali*, *c.* 24. has given it us in theſe Words. PRÆTOR URBANUS QUI NUNC EST, QUIQUE POSTHAC FUAT, DUO LICTORES APUD SE HABETO. *Plautus* alludes to it, *Epidic.* 1. *At unum a prætura tua abeſt* . . . . *Lictores duo*. There is therefore no Reaſon for what ſome Authors affirm, *viz.* that the *Prætor* had ſix *Lictors* walked before him, with their *Faſces*. *Tully* expreſly ſays the contrary. *Agrar* . . . . *Antcibunt Lictores, non cum bacillis, ſed ut hic Prætoribus ante eunt, cum faſcibus duobus*. We muſt therefore underſtand *Polybius*, *Appian*, and *Plutarch*, of the *Provincial Prætors*, to whom the Republick granted ſix *Lictors*; as *Cicero* tells us, when ſpeaking of *Verres*, he ſays, *Verr.* 5. *Sex Lictores circumſiſtunt valentiſſimi, & ad pulſandos verberandoſque homines exercitatiſſimi*. Add to this, that the *Prætor*'s Preſence was ſo neceſſary in *Rome*, that he was never ſuffered to be abſent from it ten Days, unleſs when the Command of an Army was conferred upon him, which was ſometimes neceſſary to be done, in great Emergencies. And *Cicero* is likewiſe our Authority for this Fact, which he mentions in his *Second Philippic*.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXVII. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, and L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS, Conſuls.

well repaired; That the City was kept clean, and well ſupplied with Proviſions; and to make Preparations for the publick *Games*. I believe indeed, that the *Patrician Ædiles*, who were alſo called *Curule Ædiles*, becauſe they had a Right of ſitting in Chairs adorned with Ivory, did not at firſt extend their Office as far as the *Plebeian Ædiles* had done. It is probable, that they contented themſelves, at their firſt Inſtitution, with only taking care of the Temples and *Games*, both which related to the Worſhip of the Gods. But as it is natural for one Man to encroach on the Juriſdiction of another, the *Curule Ædiles* uſurped, by degrees, all the Rights of the *Plebeian*. This Office became afterwards one of the moſt conſiderable in *Rome*; it was a Step to the *Prætorſhip*, and *Conſulſhip*. They who enjoyed it, had the Privilege of ſetting up their Anceſtors Pictures in the Porches of their Houſes. The firſt *Curule Ædiles* were choſen by the People, in the *Campus Martius*; where they now elected *Cn. Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*.

Cicero Orat. 7. againſt Verres.

Faſt. Capit.

BUT theſe new Magiſtrates were ſcarce ſettled in their Office, before the *Tribunes of the People* took umbrage at them. They, who had not been uſed to ſee the Honour of the *Curule* Chair conferred on any but *Conſuls*, could not behold ſuch an extraordinary Appearance, of ſo many *Patricians* ſitting in them, without Jealouſy. And the Complaints of the *Tribunes*, backed with the Murmurs of the Commons, made an Impreſſion on the Senate. They were aſhamed of having promoted ſo many *Patricians*, and reſolved not to confine the *Curule Ædileſhip* wholly to the Nobility. They firſt agreed, that the *Curule Ædiles* ſhould be choſen out of the *Plebeians* and *Patricians* alternately, every two Years: and afterwards, they gave the People their full Liberty, to chuſe them out of either.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXVIII. L. GENUCIUS, Q. SERVILIUS AHALA, Conſuls.

§. XIX. THESE Eſtabliſhments being once made, *Rome* enjoyed the moſt profound Peace both at home and abroad. *L. Genucius* [56], and *Q. Servilius Ahala*, were choſen *Conſuls*; the former of whom ſeems to have been a *Plebeian* by Deſcent, the latter was of a *Patrician* Family. *Rome* then enjoyed the Sweets of Peace and Tranquillity; but it ſeems to have been the Fate of this City, which was deſtined to be the Miſtreſs of the World, to make her Way to the higheſt Pitch of human Power, through perpetual inteſtine Commotions, followed by the moſt terrible Calamities. A Plague raged in *Rome* all on a ſudden, which no body could account for. It could not be aſcribed to the Irregularity of the Seaſons. The Winter had not been extraordinarily dry, nor had the cold Weather been too ſuddenly ſucceeded by an immoderate Heat. The Summer had not been too rainy; nor had the autumnal Fruits, which had been ripe enough, cauſed Indigeſtions. Nor laſtly, had the *Calabrian* Wind blown any dangerous and unwholeſome Air to *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, the Contagion ſpread all on a ſudden, and ſpared neither Age, nor Sex. The Infection was univerſal; none eſcaped Death, or a languiſhing Sickneſs, which dried up thoſe whom it did not kill. The richeſt were not exempt from it. One of the two *Cenſors* [57] died of it, and his Collegue was obliged to lay down the *Cenſorſhip*; which was, doubtleſs, the Reaſon why there was no *Luſtrum* in *Rome*, in their Time. The Plague carried off likewiſe three *Tribunes of the People*, and one *Curule Ædile*; but its moſt fatal Stroke was the Death of the great *Camillus*. As old as he was, he was exceedingly miſſed in the Republick. *Rome* looked upon him as a ſecond *Romulus*; the firſt had founded, the ſecond had reſtored her. He had ſignalized himſelf by his Victories before his Baniſhment. He had gained himſelf great Eſteem, for his Moderation, in the Place he retired to; and no Motive would have induced him to leave it, but that of ſaving his ungrateful Country. As a great General, he had conquered and diſperſed the moſt formidable Enemies *Rome* ever had; and taught the *Romans* not to fear them for the future. He had never fought a Battel, without gaining a complete Victory; had never beſieged a City, without taking it; had never led an Army into the Field, which he did not bring back laden with more Glory than Booty.

Oroſius, B. 3. c. 4.

56 The *Conſular Annals* give *Lucius Genucius* the Surname of *Aventinenſis*; perhaps becauſe he had lived on the Hill *Aventinus*.

57 *Sigonius* gueſſes, from a Fragment of the *Faſti Capitolini*, that *Albinus Regillenſis*, and *Caius Sulpicius Peticus*, were the *Cenſors* for this Year. Which if true, it is plain the former was he who died of the Plague, ſince the latter is mentioned again afterwards. What *Poſthumius Albinus*'s *Prænomen* was, is uncertain. Two of this Family had been *Military Tribunes*; one of which was called *Aulus*, and the other *Lucius*. Which of the two was carried off by the Plague, it is hard to ſay. The *Faſti Capitolini* leave us entirely in the dark concerning it.

He was a good Patriot, and had a tender Affection for his Country. Tho' perſecuted by it, he would never hearken to his Reſentments. When buried for ſome time in Oblivion, he waited, without Impatience, till the Neceſſities of the Publick obliged the *Comitia* to have Recourſe to him. He readily charged himſelf with the Conduct of the moſt difficult and moſt laborious Undertakings, in a very advanced Age, without waiting to be ſollicited. His Love for the Publick, and true Honour, were the only Rules of his Conduct. In ſhort, there did not appear any one conſiderable falſe Step, in the Diſcharge of all his different Employments. He was a *Patrician* by Deſcent, but not actuated by Party-Zeal. He was a *Plebeian*, when the Intereſts of the Publick made it neceſſary for him to be ſo, but without Flattery, or Self-Intereſt. *Camillus* had nothing in View, but to do Juſtice, and to put an end to the preſent Troubles: So that he left his Country in the Enjoyment of a perfect Tranquillity, at his Death, by means of the wiſe Equality he had introduced, and the juſt Balance he had ſettled, between all Orders of Men, in the Republick. In a word, virtuous *Rome* may indeed be ſaid to have furniſhed the World with many noble Patterns of Probity: but perhaps with none more perfect, than that of the great *Camillus*.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXV II. L. GENUCIUS, Q. SERVILIUS AHALA, Conſuls.



THE
Roman Hiſtory.
BOOK XV.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXVIII. L. GENUCIUS, and Q. SERVILIUS AHALA, Conſuls.

§. I. THE *Roman* Republick had ſcarce gained any Increaſe of Territory, at the Time *Camillus* died, except on the other Side of the *Tyber*, in the Country of the *Hetrurians*. Nor did her Juriſdiction, even there, reach far beyond *Veii* and *Cære*: So that, it was confined within ſix or ſeven Leagues of the Capital. And ever ſince the taking and ſacking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, her Allies had been continually wavering in their Fidelity. They had ſeen that the *Romans* were not invincible. To what then are we to aſcribe the little Progreſs the *Romans* had made, for near four Centuries, during which they had been continually in Arms? To what impute ſo many fruitleſs Victories? To what ſo much Blood ſhed in vain? To what the taking ſo many Cities, founding ſo many *Colonies*, and conquering ſo many Nations, without thoroughly ſubduing them? To what? unleſs the eternal Jealouſies between the Nobility and People, which long retarded the Conqueſts the *Romans* would ſooner have made, if their Government had been more peaceable, and themſelves more united? The *Tribunes of the People* were always oppoſing the Enterprizes of the *Conſuls*, or *Military Tribunes*. The Neighbours, and even Allies, of *Rome*, took Advantage of theſe domeſtick Seditions, which Party-Diſputes had raiſed there. They took up Arms, ravaged the *Roman* Territory, and revenged themſelves on the proud Republick. But as ſoon as the Danger became imminent, it eaſily put a ſtop to the Seditions of the *Romans*, and revived their Valour. They often had Recourſe to a *Dictator*, that a Six-Months-Monarch might reform the Abuſes of the too equal Power of the *Conſuls*, *Tribunes of the People*, Senate, and *Comitia*. And then the Experience of the *Roman* Generals, and the Valour of their Troops, made them always victorious; but the Return of the domeſtick Seditions, which were ever reviving, renewed the Hopes of the conquered Nations. Thus were the *Romans* almoſt uninterruptedly running in the ſame Round of Wars, with the ſame Enemies; whom they found it eaſy to conquer, but not poſſible to keep long in Subjection.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXIX. C. SULPICIUS, and C. LICINIUS STOLO, Conſuls.

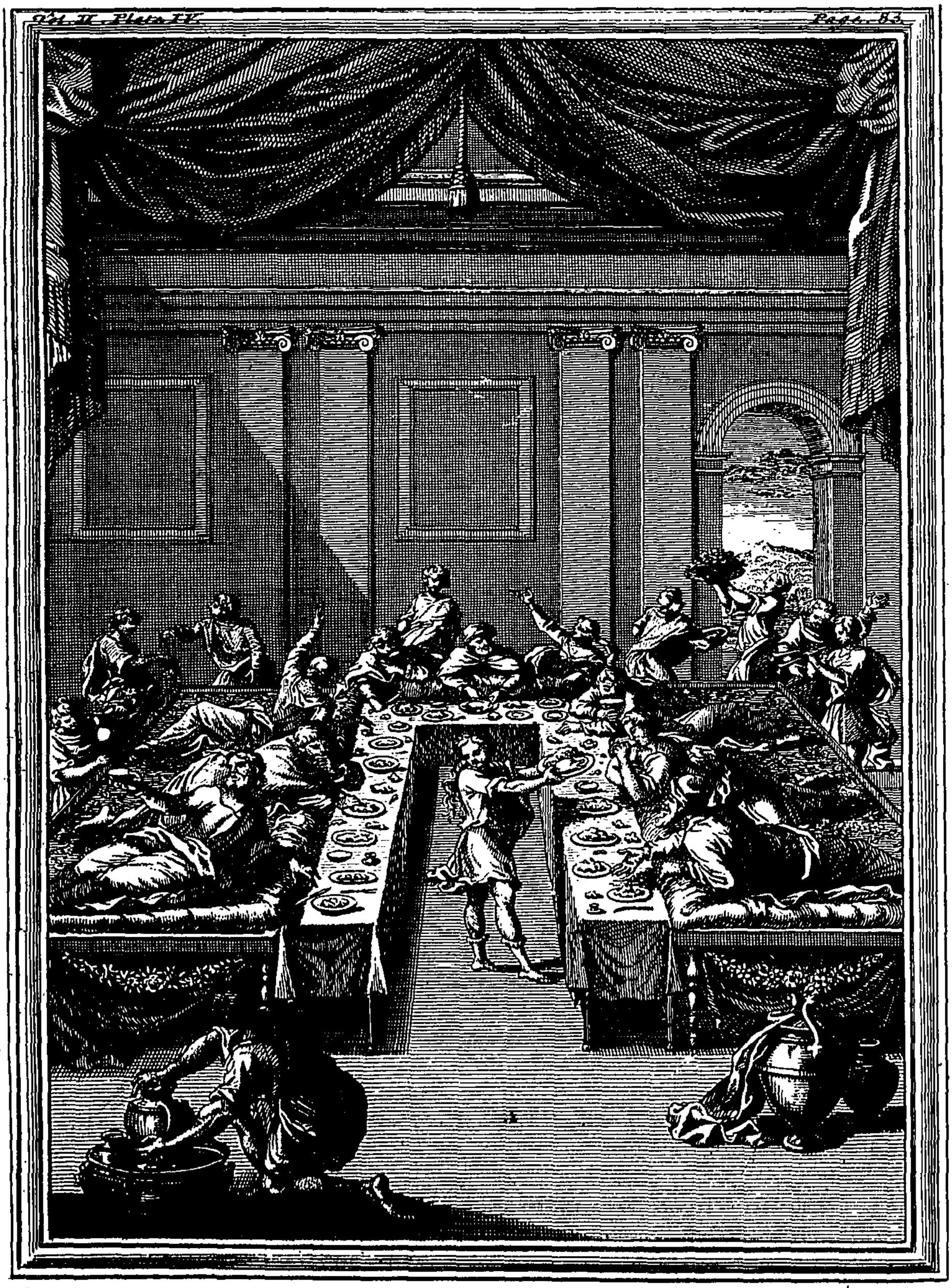
SUCH was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when [1] *C. Sulpicius*, and *C. Licinius Stolo*, took Poſſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*. The Name of the firſt ſhews him to have been a *Patrician*. The ſecond was the famous *Licinius*, Son-in-law to *Fabius*, who, jointly with his Collegue *Sextius*, had firſt contrived the four famous Laws, then maintained them, and at length, in the ten Years he had been *Military Tribune*, obtained the Publication of them. And now the Promiſe *Fabius* had made his younger Daughter, that ſhe ſhould ſee the ſame Honours paid her own Husband, which ſhe had with Envy ſeen paid to the Husband of her eldeſt Siſter, was fulfilled. She had the Pleaſure, for a Year, of ſeeing the *Lictors* march before her *Plebeian* Husband, and to have her Houſe adorned with their *Axes* and *Faſces*.

Liv. B.7. c.2.

BUT the Change of the *Conſuls* did not put an end to the Plague which raged the laſt Year. The *Romans* therefore had Recourſe to an old Superſtition, to ſtop the Progreſs of it. Religious Entertainments were made for the Gods, in their own Temples, and they [2] invited to them. This ſort of Worſhip was from its firſt

1 Some Editions of *Livy* give *Caius Sulpicius* the Surname of *Potitus*, contrary to the *Faſti Capitolini*.

2 In Times of publick Danger, or Calamity, or Thankſgiving for any happy Event, the Republick ordered ſolemn Feaſts to be made for the Pa-



The Triclinium *of the Ancients.*

first Inſtitution called *Lectiſternium.* Tables were actually ſpread, and 3 Beds placed round them, on which the 4 Gueſts were to lie and eat. The Statues of *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, were laid upon theſe Beds, as if they had been to partake of the Feaſt; and the Goddeſſes, as *Juno* and *Minerva*, were placed in Chairs, at theſe Entertainments, after the manner of the *Roman* Women: This being thought the more decent 5 Poſture for their Sex. But neither did the Ceremony 6 of the *Lec-*

Year of ROME

and C. L. ... 2. c. 1. §. 2

gan Gods. The ſilly Pagans fancied, That when the Gods were laid on Beds prepared for that Purpoſe, they ate the Fleſh of the Victims; and That an Entertainment made in Honour to them, appeaſed their Wrath, or ſecured their Protection. *Arnobius*, *B.* 7. ironically reproaches the *Gentiles* of his Age with this mad kind of Worſhip. *Habent Dii Lectos, atque ut ſtratis poſſint melioribus incubare, pulvinorum tollitur atque excitatur impreſſio.*

3 Theſe Beds, which were placed near the Altars, were *ſtrewed* with Leaves, and odoriferous Herbs, as well as the Temples. Hence this Ceremony had the Name of *Lecti-ſternium*, i. e. *a ſtrewing of a Bed.* St. *Auſtin* ſpeaks of it in this Senſe, *De civ. Dei*, *B.* 3. *Lecti ſternebantur in honorem Deorum. Unde hoc ſacrum, vel potius ſacrilegium?* Every Bed had a Cuſhion, to ſupport the Head of the God for whom the Feaſt was made. *Horace* alludes to this Cuſtom, *B.* 1. *Ode* 37.

——Nunc Saliaribus
Ornare pulvinar Deorum
Tempus erat Dapibus, ——

This *Pulvinar* is indeed ſometimes taken to ſignify the Bed it ſelf: But *Acron* an old Commentator on *Horace*, is miſtaken, when he ſays it was a Sort of Footſtool, which was placed under the Feet of the Statue, to raiſe it.

4 It is difficult to ſay, with any Certainty, when the *Romans* began to eat lying on Beds placed round a Table. All that is ſure, is, that in the earlieſt Ages they ſate upon Benches. *Varro* teſtifies this, *B.* 2. *de vita Populi Romani*; as does *Iſidorus*, *B.* 20. *of Etymologies*; and *Servius* upon theſe Lines of the 7th *Æneid*

Hæ ſacris ſedes epulis, hic ariete cæſo,
Perpetuis ſoliti Patres conſidere menſis.

Ovid ſays the ſame thing in his *Faſti*, *B.* 5.

Ante Focos olim ſcamnis conſidere longis
Mos erat, & menſæ credere adeſſe Deos.

Homer places his Heroes in no other Poſture. *Ulyſſes* arrives at *Alcinous*'s Palace, is invited to a Feaſt, and there takes the uppermoſt Place, ſitting in a very fine Chair. The firſt *Egyptians*, according to *Apollodorus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, ſat at Table upon Chairs. *Cicero*, *Orat. pro Murena*, and *Varro*, ſay, this Cuſtom continued long among the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Cretans*: Nor did the *Romans*, ſay ſome, differ from theſe People in this Caſe, till the time of *Scipio Africanus*, who is thought to have brought a Sort of little Beds from *Carthage*. Theſe *Cicero*, *Orat. pro Mur*, and *Iſidorus*, *B.* 20. diſtinguiſhes by the Name of *Punicani Lecti*; and *Horace* calls them *Lecti archaici*, on Account of their Antiquity:

Si potes archaicis conviva recumbere lectis . . .
Ep. B. 1.

Theſe Beds were of Wood, and of a very plain Make. They were covered with nothing but Goat-Skins. But, whatever ſome Moderns may ſay of it, it is probable, that in religious Repaſts at leaſt, and in great Feaſts, the *Romans* had borrowed the Cuſtom of ſitting upon Beds, of the Eaſtern Nations, long before the *Carthaginian* Wars; ſince they, in the earlieſt Ages, practiſed the Ceremony of the *Lectiſternium*, with reſpect to their Gods, whoſe Images they laid at length upon Beds, placed round a Table covered with ſeveral Diſhes. Indeed the Uſe of Beds was afterwards more common, when it became cuſtomary with the *Romans* to bathe before they ate. After they had bathed, they reſted themſelves on Beds, near which their Tables were ſpread. This was thought a more convenient Poſture after bathing, than ſitting in a Chair. Thus the Practice was by degrees received throughout all the *Roman* Empire. We ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to ſpeak of the Coſtlineſs of the Feaſts, Tables, and Beds, which Luxury and Effeminacy introduced into *Rome*. But at preſent, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that, generally ſpeaking, there were three Beds placed round a ſquare or round Table. Hence the Word *Triclinium*, to ſignify a Room to eat in, in which there were ſometimes but two Beds; and in this Senſe *Plautus* uſes the Word *Biclinium*. The *Triclinium* was the placing three Beds in ſuch a manner that the two Side ones joined to the Ends of the lower one, at right Angles, ſo as to leave an open Space on one Side, for the Servants to attend. Each Bed had three or four Perſons upon it, according to the Number of the Gueſts.

Sæpe tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos,

ſays *Horace*, *Sat. B.* 1. 4. According to *Varro*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 13. it was thought moſt elegant and civil, to have but nine Gueſts, that they might lie the more at Eaſe. *Tullus* reproaches *Piſo* with the Diſorder and Irregularity of his Entertainments, at which the Gueſts were heaped one upon another. *Nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans .... Græci quin ſtipati in lectulis accumbebant .... Orat. in Piſ.* *Monſ. Spon* has collected the Figure of one of theſe Beds, from the ancient Monuments; and we here give it the Reader, together with the Figure of the *Triclinium*.

5 In the latter Ages of the Republick, when the *Roman* Women no longer kept within the Bounds of Modeſty, they lay at length upon Beds, as the Men did. But it was not ſo in ancient Times. *Fœminæ cum viris cubantibus ſedentes cœnitabant*, ſays *Val. Maximus*, *B.* 2. *Quæ conſuetudo ex hominum convictu ad divina penetravit. Nam Jovis epulo, ipſe in Lectulum, Juno & Minerva in ſellas ad cœnam invitantur. Quod genus ſeveritatis, ætas noſtra diligentius in Capitolio, quam in ſuis domibus, ſervat. Videlicet quia magis ad rem pertinet, Dearum quam mulierum, diſciplina contineri.* But this was not the Caſe of young People, before they left off the *Prætexta*. When admitted to their Parent's Tables, they did not lie down, but ſate on the Edges of the Beds, out of Reſpect to their Parents. Thus, according to *Suetonius*, the young *Cæſars*, *Caius* and *Lucius*, never ate at *Auguſtus*'s Table, but in this Poſture.

6 All the time this religious Ceremony laſted, the *Romans* crowded to the Temples, to offer up their Vows and Prayers there. The Senators came to the Place where the Ceremony was performed, with their Wives and Children, and ſometimes all the Orders of Men in the Republick, with the *Pontifex Maximus* walking before them, and young Perſons of both Sexes attending them. They all had Crowns on their Heads, and Branches of Laurel in their Hands. The Air reſounded with the Hymns they ſung in Praiſe of their Gods: And the Pomp of the Proceſſion was increaſed by the Statues of ſeveral Gods, which were carried in Triumph, on Biers, and in Chariots, and accompanied with Muſick.

tiſternium

Year of ROME CCCLXXXIX. C. SULPICIUS, and C. LICINIUS STOLO, Conſuls.

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 4. §. 4. Ludi Circenſes. Ludi Scenici.

Liv. B. 7. c. 2.

tiſternium remove the Plague. For which Reaſon the *Romans* had then Recourſe to another ſort of Superſtition, which they had never practiſed before. The publick *Games* are well known to have been conſecrated to the Gods, and to have made a Part of the *Roman* Religion. Which *Games*, or Sports, were then only thoſe of 7 the *Circus*, *i. e.* Chariot-racing, Boxing, and Wreſtling; which were very proper Exerciſes for ſo warlike a Republick. But now, the *Romans* thought to have appeaſed the Gods, by inſtituting new Sports, which were at firſt innocent, but afterwards degenerated into indecent Repreſentations, which naturally tended to corrupt Mens Manners. Theſe Shews were called 8 *Scenici*, becauſe they were repreſented on *a Scene*, that is, a Stage built in the *Shade*. One Side of the *Circus*, was the Place firſt choſen, for this new Shew. The Entertainments of the Stage, were 9 originally rather Dances than Plays. Dancers were brought to *Rome* from *Hetruria*, who danced to the 10 Flute, and kept Time with their Motions and Geſtures; but their *Entries* had no manner of Relation to one another, nor

7 The *Circus* was appropriated to the Exerciſes of Horſe and Chariot-Racing, the *Gymnic* Games, Combats on Horſeback, and on Foot, the *Naumachiæ*, *&c.* But we omit ſpeaking of theſe different Sorts of Exerciſes, till we come hereafter to ſee *Rome* in her Splendor, and diſtinguiſh her ſelf by the Pomp and Magnificence of her Shews. Beſides, it is very proper to diſperſe this Crowd and Variety of important Subjects, which here offer themſelves all at once, into different Parts of our Hiſtory: Otherwiſe we ſhould be in danger of crouding too much Matter together in one Place, of fatiguing the Reader with too many Quotations, and of making him loſe the Thread of the Narration.

8 The *Scenic* Shews took their Name from the *Greek* Word σκηνὴ, which ſignifies a ſhady Place, a Tent, a Pavilion, an Arbour, or Branches of Trees, with which the Ancients covered their Stages, to ſhade the Actors. Afterwards the Scene of the Theatre of the Ancients ſignified all thoſe Buildings, which were repreſented to the Spectators on the Stage; and which were adorned with Decorations, which *Vitruvius* calls *Scenes*. This gave *Seneca* room to give the Ornaments of a Funeral Pomp the Name of *Scenes*. *Collatitiis, & ad dominos redituris Inſtrumentis Scæna hæc adornatur . . . . . cap.* 10. *de Conſol. ad Mart.* And laſtly, the Word is likewiſe ſometimes uſed to ſignify, not only that Place where the Actors played their Parts, but the whole ſpacious Incloſure in which the Spectators were aſſembled. *Labeo* the *Civilian*, as quoted by *Ulpian*, uſes the Word *Scene*, in this Senſe, *B.* 1. *ff. de his qui notantur infamia.*

9 As the Deſign of Muſick and Dancing, is to give Life and Sprightlineſs to Entertainments, they always made a Part of the Diverſions of the Ancients. Their ſolemn Games, Marriages, Vintages, and Feaſts, were always enlivened with Harmony, and Dances. The Pagans made them a Part of their Religion. They were thought eſſential to idolatrous Worſhip. The Prieſts and *Salii* of *Rome* danced and ſung, in Honour to their Gods. The Feſtivals and Sacrifices were generally accompanied with Harmony. The Theatrical Shews, in particular, among the *Greeks*, were at firſt nothing but Hymns, ſung in Honour of *Bacchus*, and accompanied with irregular and immodeſt Dances. At *Rome* the *Scenical Shews* were originally nothing but a bad Jumble of licentious Songs, and comical Diſtortions of Body, accompanied with the Flute. There are reckoned to have been three Sorts of Dances originally, upon the ancient Theatre, the *Tragical*, *Comical*, and *Satyrical*. The firſt called ἐμμέλεια, on account of the Decency of its Motions and Geſtures, expreſſed the Serioufneſs and Loftineſs of Tragedy. The ſecond was called *Cordax*, from a Satyr of that Name, who paſſed for the Inventor of it. This was a looſe Dance, which was diſtinguiſhed from others by its Obſcenity. So that it was not fit to be uſed by any Body, but profeſſed Buffoons, and Perſons who had loſt all Modeſty. The *Sicinnus*, was a dumb Repreſentation of the Jeſts and poignant Reflections of ſatyrical Pieces, in pleaſant Geſtures. At the ſame time that the *Sicinnus* was danced, theſe irregular Pieces, which were the Sketches of the ancient Comedy, were repeated with it. The Invention of that Sort of Dance is, without any Proof, aſcribed to one *Sicinnus*. *Accius* the Poet, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 20. frankly acknowledges, that the Origin of the Name of the *Sicinnites*, was what he could by no means diſcover. Theſe three Sorts of Dances were all united by the *Pantomimes*, who were afterwards thought the beſt Dancers on the Stage. They carried their Art to ſuch Perfection, that they found out the Secret of conveying what Images they pleaſed to the Spectators, in dumb Shew. Their Motions, and the Variety of their Attitudes, were ſo expreſſive and regular, that they were a new Sort of Characters, in which it was not difficult to read the Paſſions, Actions, and moſt ſecret Inclinations, and Deſigns, of Men.

10 The Flute was the Inſtrument the *Romans* moſt frequently uſed in Theatrical Entertainments. The Ancients boaſt much of the Agreableneſs of its Harmony. They give it the Name of *Tibia*, to diſtinguiſh it from two other rural Inſtruments, which *Virgil* calls *Fiſtula*, and *Avena*. *Horace*, in his *Art of Poetry*, makes a Difference between the Flutes which were firſt invented, and thoſe uſed in his Time. The ancient Flute, ſays the Poet, was not adorned with Braſs. It was ſmall and ſimple, and had but few Holes. It was not ſo loud as the Trumpet, but charmed the Ear, with its delightful Sweetneſs.

Tibia, non ut nunc, orichaleo vincta, tubæque
Æmula, ſed tenuis ſimplexque, foramine pauco.

The double Flute, which ſucceeded this, has hitherto been a Riddle, which learned Men have not been able to explain. This Inſtrument conſiſted of two Tubes, which were ſo joined together, as to have but one Mouth. Theſe double Flutes are called by the Ancients, *Tibiæ dextræ, & ſiniſtræ*, and *Tibiæ pares, & impares*. That which the Muſician played on with his right Hand, was therefore called *Tibia dextra*, i. e. *The right-handed Flute*; and, on the contrary, that which he played on with his left Hand, *Tibia ſiniſtra*, i. e. *The left-handed Flute*. The former had but few Holes, and ſounded a deep ſerious Baſe; the other had more Holes, and a ſharper and more lively Tone. The Flutes of different Sorts were called *Tibiæ impares*, i. e. *unequal Flutes*; or *Tibiæ dextræ & ſiniſtræ*, i. e. *right and left-handed Flutes*. When two right, or two left-handed Flutes were joined together, they were called *Tibiæ pares dextræ*, or *Tibiæ pares ſiniſtræ*. The *Lydian Flutes* were the ſame as the right-handed Flutes; and the *Tyrian Flutes*, or *Tibiæ Sarranæ*, the ſame as the left-handed. In a Word, the Flutes which

nor were they directed to any one uniform End. Neither were their Dances accompanied with any Verſes, or Diſcourſes, in theſe early Times. Afterwards the *Roman* Youth imitated theſe foreign Dances, and mixed ſuch Jeſts and Raillery with them, as were ſuitable to the Geſtures and Poſtures they mimicked. This Mixture of Dances, and merry Verſes, was very agreeable to the People; and the Pleaſure they took in them, prompted the Wits to ſet about compoſing ſuch. The *Hetrurian* Word, which ſignified a *Dancer*, was [11] *Hiſter*; and therefore the *Romans* gave the Actors of theſe firſt Farces, the Name of *Hiſtriones*; which was afterwards continued to thoſe who acted more regular Pieces. In time the Stage grew up to greater Decency and Perfection. But the firſt Speakers on the Stage, fell into the corrupt Taſte of the [12] *Feſcennini*, a People of *Hetruria*, who threw inſipid and unpremeditated Jokes at one another, without any Order, or Regularity. Theſe were ſoon ſucceeded by Satyrs written in Verſe, and ſet to the Flute: which [13] Satyrs were repeated with ſuitable Geſtures. And ſome Years after, *Livius Andronicus*, who acted his own Pieces, turned the *Satyrs* into regular Plays. He confined himſelf to one Subject, which he made a proper Repreſentation for the Stage. But he was deſired to repeat his Plays ſo often, that he at laſt loſt that Clearneſs of Voice, which is exceeding neceſſary for a publick Speaker. However, he found means to ſupply this Defect. *Andronicus* got the People's Conſent, that a young Man ſhould repeat his Compoſitions in his Room; whilſt he only accompanied the Speeches, which another made, with proper Geſtures. And then his Action ſoon became more perfect, when his Attention was no longer divided between ſpeaking and acting. After this, ſucceeded the Art of ſinging on the Stage, to Time, which a Perſon beat with his Hand. But theſe Songs ſeem to have been at firſt deſigned only for the *Chorus*'s; ſince the Dialogues were repeated by the Actors, and accompanied with Flutes, whereby they regulated their Voices. When therefore theſe Theatrical Pieces were brought into Form, and attended with a complete Action, the Farces which made People laugh, were deſpiſed. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* Youth revived them, and acted them at the End of their ſerious Pieces. When the profeſſed Actors had finiſhed their Parts, ſome young *Romans* came upon the Stage maſqued, and began to repeat merry Verſes, as formerly, *Juv. Sat.* 3.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXIX. C. SULPICIUS, and C. LICINIUS STOLO, Conſuls.

which had the ſame Shape, Dimenſions, Tones, and Holes, were therefore called *equal* Flutes. How the Union of two equal and two unequal Flutes, could make a Conſort, by Uniſons, Thirds, Octaves, *&c.* we leave to the Maſters of the Art to explain. After all that can be ſaid upon it, the double Flute of the Ancients will ſtill continue a Myſtery to us.

11 *Feſtus* is therefore miſtaken, when he ſays the *Comedians*, and Actors of Farces, were called *Hiſtriones*, becauſe the firſt who ſettled in *Rome* came from *Hiſtria*.

12 The *Feſcennini*, were Inhabitants of *Feſcennia*, an ancient City of *Hetruria*. *Ortelius* places it where *Cita Caſtellana* now ſtands. But, according to *Cluver*, it ſtood at a little Diſtance from the *Tyber*, below *Falerii*. He gueſſes it to be that City, ſome Ruins of which the Husbandmen, according to *Anthony Maſſa*, diſcovered, as they were digging in the Ground, 13 Miles from *Galezé*. The People of this Diſtrict were the Inventors of a Sort of doggrel, looſe Verſes, which were a bad Jumble of inſipid Jeſts, mixed with all Sorts of Ribaldry. Hence the Name of *Verſus Feſcennini*, was given to licentious Verſes. Theſe Freedoms were uſed in Nuptial Rejoicings, out of a Perſuaſion, that theſe Obſcenities had a wonderful Virtue, to guard the Bride and Bridegroom againſt the ill Effects of Charms. In Conformity to this infamous Cuſtom, *Catullus* ſays,

Nec diu taceat procax
Feſcennina locutio.

Theſe rude and unformed Verſes, clapped together without Connection or Deſign, gave Birth to the firſt Theatrical Performances in *Rome*. In order to form a juſt Idea of them, we need only imagine a Company of drunken Clowns, upbraiding one another with their Faults in groſs Ribaldry, and dull Invectives. This is the Image *Horace* gives us of them, in the firſt Epiſtle of his ſecond Book.

Feſcennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Verſibus alternis opprobria ruſtica fudit.

13 The *Satyr*, was a pleaſant poignant Sort of Poetry, which had all the Agreableneſs of the *Feſcennine Verſes*, without the Obſcenity of them. Satyrs were repeated on the *Roman* Stage, with due Cadences, and in true Time; that is, were accompanied with Muſick and Dancing. This unpoliſhed Comedy, or rather Farce, was ſomewhat like the *Satyr* of the *Greeks*; which was a Sort of Paſtoral, uſed to make the Spectators merry, after the Melancholy of a Tragical Performance. This is the Account *Horace* gives us of it, in his *Art of Poetry*.

Carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
Mox etiam agreſtes Satyros nudavit, & aſper
Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit, eo quod
Illecebris erat, & grata novitate morandus
Spectator.

Buffoons metamorphoſed into *Ægipanes*, *Silenus's*, *Bacchus's*, *Faunus's*, *Silvanus's*, *&c.* acted their Parts in theſe Pieces, which at firſt ſupplied the Place of the *Drama*, among the *Romans*; till the Stage was improved, and its Entertainments became more regular. We omit ſaying any thing here of the two other Sorts of Satyr, which were as it were the wild Branches of this. *Horace* has given us the moſt excellent Patterns, of any *Roman*, in this kind of ſatyrical Poetry; the Deſign of which was, to decry Vice, inſpire Men with the Love of Virtue, and teach them how to make a good Uſe of their Reaſon.

Year of ROME CCCLXXXIX. C. Sulpicius, and C. Licinius Stolo, Consuls. *Liv. B. 7. c. 2.*

but such as were free from Obscenity. These Pieces, which were a sort of Composition between *Satyrs*, and regular Plays, were first brought from [14] *Atella*, a City in *Campania*, and were called *Exodia*, that is, Verses not belonging to the Play. The *Romans* borrowed them from the [15] *Osci*. But the *Roman* Youth never suffered the professed Actors to bear any Part in their *Exodia*, for fear of dishonouring them. So that the Persons who acted these Pieces, were not liable to the Penalties inflicted on the *Histriones*. Their Names were not [16] blotted out of the Roll of the *Tribes* in which they were incorporated; nor were they excluded from

14 *Atella* lay, according to *Cluver*, in *Campania*, between *Naples* and *Capua*, in the Neighbourhood of *Aversa*. This City gave Name to the Pieces called *Atellanæ*, which the *Romans* afterwards adopted. This Sort of Poetry was originally nothing but a Collection of impure Conceits, and lascivious Tales, without Order or Design. But the *Roman* Stage brought it a little into Shape, and made it more regular, and more chaste. The Obscenities of these Pieces were banished to *Atella*; where they were carried to such Excess, that, according to *Tacitus*, the *Roman* Senate was afterwards obliged to interdict these Shews. Among the Actors who appeared on the Stage when the *Atellanæ* were played at *Rome*, there was one who acted *Manducus*. This was the Name the *Romans* gave to certain hideous Figures, which were designed to make some laugh, and frighten others. This *Manducus* appeared on the Stage in a Mask of an enormous Size, with a Mouth horribly wide and extended, and with long and sharp Teeth, with which he made a great Noise and chattering. This was the Bugbear with which the *Roman* Women frightened their Children. They threatened them with the *Manducus*, when they were ungovernable, as the *French* do their Children with the *Loup-garou*. This is confirmed by *Juvenal*, in his 3d *Satyr*;

Tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
Exodium, cum persona pallentis hiatum
In gremio matris formidat rusticus infans.

Scaliger speaks of one *Pomponius*, who gave the Name of *Pytho Gorgonius*, to an *Atellana* which he had composed. Now the Name of *Pytho Gorgonius*, signifies just the same thing as *Manducus*; since *Pytho* is taken to signify a Bugbear, and *Gorgonius* points out the *Gorgons*, which were painted with great Teeth. *Plautus* makes one of his Actors say merrily, that he wanted nothing to enable him to act the Part of a *Manducus*.

CH. *Quid si aliquo, ad ludos, me pro Manduco locem?*
LA. *Quæ propter?* CH. *Quia pol clare crepito.*

15 The *Osci*, originally of *Campania*, were a Part of the ancient *Ausones*, who gave their Name to *Italy*. They were anciently called *Opici*, and, by Contraction, *Obsci*; whence, say the Etymologists, the Word *Obscænus* came, because these People had the Character of being as licentious in their Discourses, as they were lewd in Manners. *Festus* speaks of them thus: *Opicum quoque invenimus pro osco. Oscis frequentissimus fuit usus libidinum spurcarum, unde & verba impudentia appellantur Obscæna. Oscos quos dicimus, ait Verrius, obscos antea dictos. Adjicit quod stupra inconcessæ libidinis obscæna, dicantur, ab ejus gentis consuetudine inducta.* But, according to the ancient Geographers, the Name of *Opici* was common to all the Nations which lay between the Confines of *Latium*, and the most Southern Boundaries of *Italy*. These People were chiefly divided into two Branches, one of which inhabited the Country of the *Aurunci*, the other that of the *Sidicini*. So that the lower *Campania* was their Boundary to the South; and the Country of the *Volsci*, to the North. Their Language, or at least Dialect, was very different from that of the *Romans*. It was pretty much the same as that of the *Sabines* and *Samnites*. Some Remains of this Language were long preserved in the *Atellanæ*, and the *Roman* Youth made it their Study. *Gellius* tells us, *B.* 17. that *Ennius* boasted he could speak *Oscan*, *Greek*, and *Latin*. According to *Tacitus*, some Pieces called *Atellanæ*, were acted in his Time, which were written in the Spirit and Language of the old *Osci*. Nevertheless, this Sort of Poetry became more decent and refined, when it appeared on the *Roman* Stage. The Obscenities with which the *Osci* polluted it, were generally banished from it; and it only retained that satyrical Turn, which it had from the Beginning.

16 The Profession of an Actor was honourable among the *Greeks*. *Æschines* acted several Parts on the Stage of *Athens*, in his Youth; and yet he became one of the greatest Orators in his Time, and distinguished himself so much, that he almost equalled *Demosthenes*, whose Rival he was, as we learn from *Demosthenes* himself, *Orat. de Corona*; from *Quintilian*, *B.* 2. *c.* 17. and from *Plutarch*, *in Vitis decem Rhetorum*. *Aristodemus*, tho' an Actor, was sent on an Embassy to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, in the Name of the Republick of *Athens*, to treat with him of Affairs of Peace and War. *St. Austin*, *B.* 2. *de Civit. Dei*, quotes *Cicero's 4th Book de republica*, to this Purpose. *Si quidem*, says he, *quod in aliquoque* (Ciceronis) *de republica libro, commemoratur, Æschines Atheniensis, vir eloquentissimus, cum adolescens tragœdias actitavisset, rempublicam capessivit; & Aristodemum tragicum item actorem, maximis de rebus pacis ac belli legatum, ad Philippum, Athenienses sæpe miserant.* But this was not the Case with the *Romans*. *Cornelius Nepos* shews us the Difference, in his Preface, when he says, that in *Greece* it was no Dishonour to a Man to appear upon the Stage in the Habit of an Actor; whereas among the *Romans*, it was infamous, and unworthy of an honest Man. *In scenam vero prodire, & populo esse spectaculo, nemini, in iisdem* (Græciæ) *gentibus fuit turpitudini; quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honestate remota, ponuntur.* Which *St. Austin* also confirms with the Testimony of *Cicero*. This Father expresses himself, *B.* 2. *de Civit. Dei*, *c.* 13. in this manner. *Romani, quamvis jam superstitione noxia premerentur, ut illos Deos colerent, quos videbant sibi voluisse scenicas turpitudines consecrari. Suæ tamen dignitatis memores, ac pudoris, actores talium fabularum nequaquam honoraverunt, more Græcorum; sed sicut apud Ciceronem Scipio loquitur, cum artem ludicram, scenamque totam producerent, genus hominum id, non modo honore civium reliquorum tavere, sed etiam tribu amoveri, notatione Censoria, voluerunt.* For this Reason, *Tully*, *Orat. pro Quinctio*, says of *Roscius* the *Comedian*, that he seemed to be the only Man of his Profession who deserved to be encouraged, and have a numerous Audience: Adding at the same time, That so mean an Employment was unworthy of so honest a Man; and, That he deserved a more honourable Station, and more suitable to his Probity. The professed Actors could not be incorporated in any *Tribe*, and consequently had no Right of Suffrage; and were excluded from both Civil and Military Employments. So that the Name of a *Roman* Citizen was immediately razed out of the Tribe-Roll, and he could not serve in the *Legions*, when he had once acted upon the Stage. For the same Offence a Senator was degraded, and lost

rom military Services as infamous Perſons. They were not upon the Foot of the Actors, hired to entertain the Publick.

THIS we thought a proper Place to give the Reader at one View, a general Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the *Roman Drama*, which never equalled that of the *Greeks*. It is certain, the Entertainments of the Stage were never preented in *Rome*, till the *Conſulſhip* of *Sulpicius* and *Licinius*. They were introduced, to put a ſtop to a Plague; but inſtead of curing it, they infected Mens Minds with a more dangerous Contagion, than that which deſtroyed their Bodies. And had the *Romans* attended to the Preſages, they were ſo ſcrupulous in obſerving, they would perhaps have ſtifled Plays in their Birth. They were firſt acted n a Part of the *Circus*, which ſtood on the Banks of the *Tyber*. The River at this ime overflowed; which made the *Romans* conclude, that theſe Sort of Sports were not efficacious to appeaſe the Wrath of Heaven. But they had been a diverting Amuſement; and were therefore afterwards carried on, with all the State nd Coſtlineſs of a rich and luxurious People.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXXXIX. C. SULPICIUS, and C. LICINIUS STOLO, Conſuls.

S. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei, B. 8.

§. II. THE Plague ſtill continued to rage in the new *Conſulſhip* of *L. Æmilius* nd *Cn.* [17] *Genucius*. This was the third Year that *Rome* had been viſited with it, ſucceſſively; and it was almoſt as much infeſted by Superſtition. New Expiations were daily invented, in order to appeaſe the Gods. And at length, it was thought dviſable to revive an old religious Ceremony, which was ſaid to have ſucceeded n the like Calamity. This was, to chuſe a *Dictator*, to drive a Nail into that Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which divided it from the Chapel of *Minerva*, which was under the ſame Roof. This odd Ceremony was firſt practiſed y the [18] *Volſinienſes* in *Hetruria*. Theſe People reckoned their Years by Nails, which they drove into a Temple of the Goddeſs *Nortia* [19], that is, *Fortune*: and the *Romans* imitated them in this Cuſtom. By which we may judge of their Ignorance n ſome things, in the firſt Ages of their Republick. When *Brutus* and *Horatius Pulvillus* were *Conſuls*, immediately after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, the famous Temple of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, was built on the *Capitol*: And the *Romans* reſolved to mark down [20] in this Temple, and thereby tranſmit to Poſterity, the Number of Years which had paſſed, ſince the Foundation of *Rome*. But hey were perhaps ignorant of the Art of Cyphering: and therefore choſe, in Imitation of the *Volſinienſes*, to drive as many Nails into this Wall, as there had been ears, ſince their City was founded. This they choſe to do, in that Side which eparated the Temple of *Jupiter* from that of *Minerva*; becauſe they ſtupidly imained, that this Goddeſs [21] invented Numbers. Every Year therefore, on *The Ides*

Year of *ROME* CCCXC. L. ÆMILIUS, and CN. GENUCIUS, Conſuls.

of

oſt his Place in the Senate; a *Roman Knight* loſt is Privileges. An Actreſs was infamous, and ſubect to the ſame Laws as common Proſtitutes. Theſe Puniſhments were decreed by the *Prætor*'s dict, according to *Ulpian*, *B.* 2. *Par.* 5. *ff. de iis ui infamia notantur . . . . . ait Prætor, qui in Scenam prodierit, infamis eſt.* But the Actors of the *Atellanæ* were excepted in this Law. The being oncerned in acting theſe Pieces was thought an honeſt Employment. So that the *Roman* Nobility onfined theſe Performances to themſelves. And f it happened that any Actor in theſe Pieces did not erform his Part well, the People did not oblige im to unmask; which they had a Right of compelling the Buffoons and *Comedians* to do, if they ad the Misfortune to diſpleaſe the Spectators.

17 The old Editions of *Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus*, ive *Genucius* the *Prænomen* of *Caius*. But *Diodorus* and the *Faſti Capitolini* agree in giving him that of *Cneius*. This was *L. Æmilius*'s ſecond *Conſulſhip*.

18 It appears by *Antoninus*'s *Itinerary*, that the *Volſinienſes* dwelt in the Neighbourhood of *Bolſena*, or *Bolſeno*, near a great Lake, which bears the ſame Name to this Day. *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* mention his City under the Name of Οὐολσίνιον. *Livy*, and moſt Writers, call it *Volſinii*, in the Plural. It was ſurrounded with Mountains and Woods, according to *Juvenal*, *Sat.* 3.

Poſitis nemoroſa inter juga Volſiniis.

Pliny ſays, *B.* 2. that it was burnt by Fire from Heaven; and that Mill-Stones were firſt invented there.

19 *Martianus Capella* obſerves, *c.* 9. *de Nuptiis Mercurii & Philologiæ*, that the *Hetrurians* gave the Name of *Nortia* to *Fortune*, or Chance. And *Juvenal*, ſpeaking of *Sejanus*, a Native of *Hetruria*, *Sat.* 10, explains this Term, in the ſame manner.

Idem populus, ſi Nortia *Tuſco*
Faviſſet, ſi oppreſſa foret ſecura Senectus
Principis, hac ipſa Sejanum diceret hora
Auguſtum.

Nevertheleſs *Tertullian* ſpeaks of two diſtinct Divinities, one of which he calls *Nurſtia*, and the other *Nortia*; and makes the former the God of the *Volſinienſes*, the latter that of the *Sutrini*.

20 *Livy* ſhews, that *Horatius* performed the Ceremony of driving the Nail in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the ſame Year he dedicated this Temple: And inſinuates, that this Cuſtom had been eſtabliſhed ever ſince the Time of the Monarchy. *M. Horatius Conſul*, EX LEGE *templum Jovis optimi maximi dedicavit.* The *Romans* had then no other Way of ſetting down the Years of each Reign.

21 *Plato*, in his *Phædrus*, aſcribes the Invention of Numbers to the *Egyptian Mercury*; others to *Palamedes*. But moſt acknowledge *Pythagoras* to be the Inventor of Arithmetick, according to *Iſidorus*, *B.* 3. *Numeri diſciplinam primum apud Græcos Pythagoram*

Year of ROME CCCXC. L. Æmilius, and Cn. Genucius, Conſuls.

of September, the Senior *Conſul* drove a Nail [22] into this Wall, which ſhewed the Year of his *Conſulſhip*. The *Romans* knew how to write at that time, tho' they had not yet invented numeral Figures. What proves it, is, that the Law, which enjoined the Ceremony of driving a Nail every Year, was written in this Temple, in ancient [23] Characters, and in old *Latin*. It is to be preſumed, that when a Year had been diſtinguiſhed by any publick Calamities, it was ſuperſtitiouſly believed, that the *Auguries*, conſulted in the Conſecration of the *Conſuls* for the Time being, had been inauſpicious: And therefore a *Dictator* was nominated, to prevent the ill Effects of the *Auguries* of the *Conſuls*, by more happy *Auguries* of his own. In full Perſuaſion of this, the *Romans* now raiſed one *L. Manlius* to the *Dictatorſhip*, who was ſurnamed *Imperioſus*, becauſe a Man of an haughty Spirit, and an *imperious* Air. He choſe *L. Pinarius Natta* to be his General of Horſe: and performed the Ceremony of driving the Nail. Notwithſtanding which, the Art of expreſſing Numbers by Letters, might perhaps have been invented, from the Beginning of the *Conſuls*: but when once Superſtitions have prevailed in any State, it is a great while before they can be rooted out of the Minds of the People. As to the Plague, it is more probable it ceaſed of itſelf, (ſince it had already continued three Years,) than that it was ſtopped by any Influence this ſuperſtitious Remedy could have upon it.

But the proud *Dictator* was uneaſy to have the whole Buſineſs of his Office confined to one religious Ceremony: the *Hernici* being now making Preparations to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke, he thought to lay hold of that Opportunity to raiſe and command an Army; and ordered Levies to be made, to march againſt them. But the People were worn out with long Sickneſs. The City was even depopulated by it; and beſides, the Danger of the War, which threatned the Republick, was not great. So that the Citizens refuſed to inliſt themſelves unneceſſarily, and the *Tribunes of the People* oppoſed the Levies. Upon this, *Manlius*, who was proud and imperious, made uſe of Violence with the Citizens: and the *Tribunes of the People*, in their Turn, repelled the *Dictator*'s Force, with Force. They carried the Affair ſo far, as to compel *Manlius* to abdicate. He had been nominated *Dictator* with quite another View, than that of ſignalizing himſelf in War. And this Year, *M. Fabius*, and *L. Furius*, the *Cenſors*, took an Account of the People; and cloſed it with a [24] *Luſtrum*, which was the twentieth, ſince their Inſtitution. What the Number of the *Roman* Citizens then was, the Hiſtorians have not told us.

Faſt. Capit.

Year of ROME CCCXCI. Q. Servilius, and L. Genucius, Conſuls. *Liv. B. 7. c. 4.*

§. III. As ſoon as the Year expired, two new *Conſuls* entred upon Office, who were [25] *Q. Servilius*, and *L. Genucius*. The latter, tho' a *Plebeian*, was now raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*, a ſecond time. And *Manlius*'s Behaviour in his *Dictatorſhip*, the laſt Year, being thought odious and intolerable, he was no ſooner out of his Office, and new *Conſuls* choſen, but the *Tribunes of the People* made it their firſt Buſineſs to cite him to appear before the *Curiæ*. *M. Pomponius* undertook to carry on his Accuſation. It turned chiefly upon three Heads, which the People thought high Crimes. The firſt was, his having aſſumed the Surname of *Imperioſus*. They ſaid, that in a free City *for a Man to aſſume a Title of Sovereignty, and act conformably to it; and govern himſelf in his Office, only by imperious Maxims, was to ſtrike at the publick Liberty*. The ſecond was, his having made uſe of Violence, when he was *Dictator*, to force the People to inliſt themſelves without Cauſe; his having cauſed ſome to be beaten, others to be impriſoned, and

Pytagoram autumant conſcripſiſſe, ac deinde a Nicomacho diffuſius eſſe compoſitam. This is *Bede*'s Opinion, in his Treatiſe, *De Computo*. *St. Auſt. B. 4. de Civit. Dei*, ſpeaks of a Goddeſs *Numeria*, whom the Pagans worſhiped as the Goddeſs of Numbers. Thus the *Romans* increaſed their Gods, as faſt as Objects multiplied.

22 For this Reaſon, this Nail was called *Clavus Annalis*, or, *The Annual Nail*. The Country-People had alſo the ſame Cuſtom; they reckoned their own, and their Childrens Ages, by Nails, which they drove into the Walls of their Cottages: As *Petronius* informs us, in theſe Lines, *Satyr. c. 59.*

At paries circa palea ſatiatus inani
Fortuitoque luto: clavus numerabat & annos.

23 *Livy* mentions this Law, *Book 7.* in theſe Words: *Lex vetuſta eſt priſcis litteris verbiſque ſcripta.*

24 None of the Hiſtorians of ancient *Rome*, not even *Livy* himſelf, mention this 20th *Luſtrum*. The Memory of it is no where preſerved, but in the *Faſti Capitolini*. The *Cenſus* was taken, by *Marcus Fabius*, and *Lucius Furius*, the then *Cenſors*.

25 This was the ſecond *Conſulſhip*, both of *Quintus Servilius*, who was ſurnamed *Ahala*, and of *Lucius Genucius*, ſurnamed *Aventinenſis*. *Diodorus* is miſtaken, in giving the latter the *Prænomen* of *Quintus*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCI. Q. Servilius, L. Genucius, Conſuls.

others to be cruelly whipped. The third Head of his Accuſation related to his domeſtick Conduct. He had a Son, who was of ſlow Parts, and hard of Speech: And the wicked Father treated his Son baſely for natural Defects. Tho' guilty of no Fault, he confined him to the Country, and made him there live the Life of a Slave. Of what Service then was it to this unfortunate young Man, to be the Son of a *Dictator*, if the Father's imperious Temper made him inſupportable, even to his own Family? This was the Head the *Tribune Pomponius* chiefly inſiſted on; and it gave him room to ſhew his Eloquence. *What Crime*, ſaid the Orator, *has this Son been guilty of, to deſerve to be treated without Mercy? He cannot ſpeak fluently indeed; but ſhould his natural Fearfulneſs be therefore increaſed, and the Imperfection with which he was born, be made worſe by ſevere Uſage? The very Beaſts themſelves don't neglect to take care of ſuch of their young as are naturally defective in any Part. But this poor Child has not only been neglected, his Defects have been multiplied. As he has an Impediment in his Speech, ſo there has been added to it a mean Education, which has made him wild and clowniſh. He has been in a manner brutalized by being confined to live among Beaſts; and by this means, Vices of Mind have been added to his bodily Defects.* This plainly ſhews us, that the abſolute Power Fathers had over their Children in *Rome*, by the Laws, was kept within Bounds by the ſuperior Authority of the Magiſtrates. They took thoſe Children under their Protection, who were too ſeverely treated by bad Fathers.

The Accuſation againſt *Manlius* was drawn up; and a Copy of the Heads of it was given him. The uſual Time allowed the Accuſed, from his Citation to his Appearance on his Defence, was, as has often been obſerved, three Market-Days, or twenty-ſeven Days. All the People were exaſperated againſt ſo ſevere a *Dictator*, and ſo barbarous a Father. Only the Son himſelf, when informed in his Retirement, of the Danger his Father was in, was moved with Concern for him. He thought, his having furniſhed Matter for an Accuſation againſt him to whom he immediately owed his Life, to be one of his greateſt Misfortunes. And therefore, this abuſed Son reſolved, even in the Place of his Baniſhment, that he would be ſo far from aſſiſting his Father's Accuſers, as to ſupport him againſt them. The Method he took to extricate him out of this Difficulty, ſeems indeed to have ſomething inexpreſſibly wild and extravagant in it; but the filial Piety of the Deſign made it commendable. He left the Country-Houſe to which he was baniſhed, as ſoon as it was Day, came to the City, and ſtopped no where till he arrived at *Pomponius*'s Door. The *Tribune* was yet in Bed. Nevertheleſs, young *Manlius* let him know he was come, and was introduced into *Pomponius*'s Apartment, who thought the Son came to corroborate, with freſh Proofs, the Accuſation he was preparing againſt his Father. As ſoon as young *Manlius* was admitted, he deſired a private Conference with *Pomponius*. Every body was ordered to leave the Room; and he remained alone with the *Tribune*: then drawing out a Knife, and holding it cloſe to *Pomponius*, he ſaid, *I will ſtab you this Moment, if you don't ſwear to me, that you will deſiſt from the Proſecution you are carrying on againſt my Father.* Young *Manlius* was a ſtout Man, and armed; the *Tribune* was in Bed, and defenceleſs. *Pomponius* therefore was forced to ſwear what was required of him: and he thought theſe Engagements obligatory. Tho' the People deſired him to carry on the Proſecution againſt old *Manlius*, yet he always excuſed himſelf, on account of the involuntary Obligations to the contrary, which he had been forced to lay himſelf under. Thus the Father was delivered out of his Danger, by the affectionate Regards of the ſame Son, whom he uſed in the baſeſt manner. The Action would have been laudable, even if the Father had deſerved the Affection of his Son; but it merits the higheſt Commendations, when conſidered as the Act of a Son, who was then under Perſecution from his Father. And therefore Heaven, which ſeldom leaves great Virtues unrewarded, was afterwards pleaſed to raiſe the generous *T. Manlius* to great Honours, whoſe Youth had been ſpent in Reproaches and Afflictions. The very ſame Year he ſignalized his Zeal for his Father, he was promoted, by the Suffrages of the People, to one of the moſt important Poſts in the *Roman* Army. It is well known, every *Roman Legion* was commanded by ſix *Legionary Tribunes*, which were very different from the *Military Tribunes*, who as long as that Office ſubſiſted, were the ſupreme Magiſtrates in the Republick. Theſe *Legionary Tribunes* had hitherto been generally left to the Choice of the Generals, whether

Cic. Offic. B 3. Liv. B. 7. c. 5.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 4. §. 3.

Year of ROME CCCXCI. Q. Servilius, L. Genucius, Consuls.

Consuls, or *Military Tribunes*. But the People thought fit, this Year, to [26] elect Part of them in the *Comitia*. It is probable, there were then four *Legions* raised in *Rome*, as usual: which consequently were to be commanded by twenty-four *Legionary Tribunes*. Six of these, the People themselves chose in their *Comitia*, leaving the Nomination of the other eighteen to the *Consuls*: and the second of the six, who was chosen, was *T. Manlius*. So that the first Post he had in the Army, was that of *Legionary Tribune*; with the Distinction, of having been promoted to it by the Suffrages of the People: and we shall soon see his Merit raise him above the Misfortunes of his Education.

§. IV. The *Hernici* had revolted, and this Breach of their Union with *Rome* deserved Punishment. The Senate therefore declared them Rebels, and the People confirmed their Decree. Then, in order to proceed regularly, some *Feciales* were first sent to them; and upon their refusing to give the Republick Satisfaction for the Injuries done her, an Army was raised, the Command of which fell by Lot to the *Consul Genucius*. But whilst the *Romans* were preparing for the War, an unexpected Accident threw the City into a Consternation. The Earth opened, all on a sudden, in the middle of the *Forum*. This vast Gulph was doubtless occasioned by some Earthquake: but the *Romans* consulted their Diviners, on less Accidents than this. And after the Citizens had in vain endeavoured to fill up the Cavity, the *Augurs* answered, *That they never would be able to compass it, till the best thing in* Rome *was thrown into it; and that then, the sacrificing the most valuable thing in the City, in this manner, would make the Republick immortal.* This Oracle left Mens Minds in great Uncertainty. They long enquired, what this Present could be, which was so very acceptable to the Gods, as not only to be sufficient to deliver them from the present Danger which threatned them, but likewise to procure their Republick an eternal Duration. And while they were deliberating about it, *M. Curtius* declared his Opinion, which nothing but an Heroic Love for his Country could dictate. *Who can question*, says he, *whether the brave Men which make her victorious, and the Arms they use in their Conquests, are the most valuable things* Rome *is Mistress of? I therefore offer myself to avert these publick Misfortunes, and complete the Destiny of* Rome. *I am happy, if the Gods allow a young* Roman, *in his Armour, to be the precious Victim they demand. Curtius* seemed to have all the Qualities which were necessary to make him an acceptable Oblation. His Descent was noble, his Valour well known, and he was one of the most promising young Men in *Rome*. And when his Offer had been accepted, he put on his finest Armour, got ready a noble Horse most magnificently equipped, and appeared at some distance from the Precipice. All the People ran together to the *Forum*, and upon the Sight of him, there was a profound Silence. Then *Curtius* turned his Eyes sometimes to the *Capitol*, the Habitation of the Tutelary Gods of *Rome*, and [27] sometimes to the open Gulph; and adored the Celestial and

* *Liv. B. 7. c. 6. Val. Max. B. 5. c. 6. §. 2. Oros. B. 3. c. 5.* and *S. Aust. de Civit. Dei, B. 5. c. 18.*

26 There were generally six *Legionary Tribunes* in every *Legion*, which they commanded, by Turns; that is, first two of these *Tribunes* commanded in Chief at a time, and then they were succeeded by two others; and so round. *Varro* pretends that these Officers were called *Tribunes*, from the Beginning of the Monarchy, because the *Legions* then consisted of but 3000 Men; and had but three *Tribunes* in each *Legion*. The Right of electing them belonged at first to the *Consuls*, or *Generals*. Afterwards, the People assumed a Right, as in this Instance, of chusing six, which were called *Tribuni Comitiati*, because elected by Vote in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The eighteen others were chosen by the *Consuls*. Nor did Things stop here. We shall find in the Sequel of this History, that this Election created several Disputes between the Magistrates and the Commons. Indeed, the *Legionary Tribunes* were sometimes elected by the People, and sometimes by the *Consuls*. The *Roman* Republick will often give us Instances of these Changes, and frequent Alternatives. It is the Fate of Governments which are partly Aristocratical, and partly Democratical. *Polybius* tells us, *B. 6.* that fourteen of these twenty four *Tribunes* were chosen out of such Persons, as had served at least five Years, in the Horse; and the other ten, only out of such Persons as had served full ten Years, in the Foot. But these Qualifications were not rigorously insisted on, till the latter Ages, when the Discipline of the *Romans* became more regular. At least, it was not so in young *Manlius*'s Case, who was raised all at once to this honourable Post in the Army, without having ascended to it gradually; as seems evident, from his having been forced by his Father to spend his Youth in the Labours of a Country Life.

27 We have already spoken of this Gulph, when we mentioned the Lake *Curtius*, on account of another *Curtius*, surnamed *Metius*, who threw himself into it, to escape *Romulus*'s Pursuit. See *p.* 40. of *Vol.* I. But *Livy* pretends, *B.* 7. that this Lake, or rather Gulph, took its Name from the latter *Curtius*, who threw himself headlong into it to save his Country; and not from *Curtius Metius*, as some Authors have thought. *Lacumque Curtium non ab antiquo illo T. Tatii milite Curtio Metio.* And *Livy*'s Opinion is confirmed by the fine Marble which was found among the old Ruins, in the very Place where *Curtius* is said to have thrown himself in. *Pighius*, who had picked up this old Monument, tells us, that it was an entire Representation of this *Roman*'s devoting himself to Death, and being swallowed up in the Gulph, and his Horse with him.

Infernal

Infernal Gods. Which done, he ſpurred on his Horſe, and rode full Speed into the Gulph. An Action, which the falſe Prejudices of thoſe Times made Men think Heroic, and which ſome Hiſtorians would willingly magnify with a Miracle; and therefore feign, that the Earth immediately cloſed up of itſelf. But the moſt judicious Writers own, that there was a vaſt Quantity of Corn, and Fruits, thrown into the Hole; and it is probable, it was afterwards filled up with Earth, and other Materials. Year of *ROME* CCCXCI. Q. Servilius, L. Genucius, Conſuls. *Val. Max. B. 5. c. 6. §. 2.*

However, after *M. Curtius* had thus devoted himſelf, the *Romans* hoped they ſhould not fail of being victorious over the *Hernici*. Their Troops were commanded by *Genucius*, who was the firſt *Plebeian Conſul*, *Rome* had ever ſeen at the Head of an Army: Which filled the Commons with Apprehenſions, leſt a Commander choſen from among them, ſhould tarniſh the Glory of *Rome* by ill Succeſs; and belie the Promiſes they had made the Republick, of furniſhing her with Generals capable of maintaining the Glory of her Arms. Mens Minds would naturally be determined to think well or ill, and have a liking, or diſlike, of the *Plebeian* Party, by the Event of the firſt Eſſay of a *Plebeian*, to whom was committed the ſole Conduct of the War. And it happened that *Genucius* was not ſucceſsful. He was too much in haſte to enter upon Action, and fell inconſiderately into an Ambuſcade, which was prepared for him. He was ſurrounded by a Body of Men, who did not know him, and was killed; after his *Legions*, being ſurprized with a ſudden Fright, had fled. The Hiſtorians leave it in Uncertainty, whether the *Plebeian* General did not fall by the Hands of a *Roman*. At leaſt it's certain, the melancholy News of his Defeat did not ſo much grieve the *Patricians*, as raiſe their Pride. They were heard exclaiming in all Places, *That the Misfortunes of* Rome *were occaſioned by having conſecrated a* Conſul, *who was not a* Patrician; *That Men might make Laws according to their own Humours, but that Heaven knew how to puniſh the deſpiſed Rites of Religion; That no ſooner had an Attempt been made, to uſe the* Auguries *in favour of prophane Perſons, but the Gods puniſhed* Rome *for it; That for this reaſon, a* Plebeian *General had loſt his Life in Battel, and his Troops had been diſgraced by a ſhameful Flight. Let this then*, Romans, added they, *let this teach you to ſhew Reſpect to the religious Traditions of your Forefathers. Hold no more of thoſe* Comitia, *in which both human and divine Rites are equally violated.* The Senate and the *Forum* rung with theſe Diſcourſes. Nor was this all. It was neceſſary to repair the Loſs, and wipe off the Diſgrace, which the *Romans* had received, in the War. For this reaſon, it was reſolved to create a *Dictator*; and *Servilius*, the ſurviving *Conſul*, nominated him. *Liv. B. 7. c. 6.*

§. V. It may be remembered, that *Appius Claudius* made uſe of all his Eloquence, to diſſuade the *Romans* from paſſing the Law, which allowed the *Conſuls* to be choſen out of the *Plebeians*. *Servilius* therefore ſhewed a Regard for his Zeal, and rewarded it. He choſe [28] him *Dictator*. So that the moſt formidable Enemy of the *Plebeian* Party, was pitched upon to repair the Loſſes occaſioned by the Miſmanagement of a *Plebeian Conſul*. The Hiſtorians have not told us [29], who was made General of Horſe by *Appius*; and Time has effaced Part of his Name, out of the *Capitoline Marbles*. However, whilſt the *Dictator* was raiſing a new Army in *Rome*, and preparing to march againſt the *Hernici*, the *Conſul Servilius* commanded the fugitive Troops of *Genucius* in the Country, with the Title of Lieutenant-General. The Enemy, flushed with their late Succeſs againſt a *Roman* General, whom they had ſlain in Battel, came, with an Air of Confidence, to beſiege the Camp of the Vanquiſhed: and then it appeared what the *Roman* Valour could do, when conducted by a *Patrician*. *Servilius* made a Sally upon the *Hernici*, without giving them time to begin the Attack. The Enemy's Troops immediately diſperſed, and their haſty Return to their own Entrenchments, had the Air of a real Flight. By this means, the *Dictator* found the Glory of *Rome* a little re- Year of *ROME* CCCXCI. Appius Claudius, Dictator.

28 This *Appius Claudius* was the Son of *Publius Claudius*, and the Grandſon of *Appius* the *Decemvir*, as appears evidently from the *Faſti Capitolini*, under the Year of *Rome* 404, when they mention this *Dictator*'s *Conſulſhip*.

29 Some Letters which Time has ſpared in the *Capitoline Marbles*, made *Sigonius* conjecture, that the Name of this General of Horſe was *Servilius Priſcus*. *Panvinius* queſtions whether it was not *Lucius Scipio*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 403. *Marlian* makes it to have been *Mucius Scævola*. *Pighius* thinks, that the Name of *Scapula* agrees better with the Traces remaining in the *Faſti*. But in ſuch Uncertainties as theſe, it is rather Gueſswork than Proof.

Year of ROME CCCXCI.
Appius Claudius, Dictator.

trieved, when he arrived at the Camp. He led with him a new Army, which he had juſt raiſed in the City. He was a Man of Eloquence, and harangued his Troops, upon his Arrival. He commended *Servilius*, and his Soldiers, for their Bravery, in repulſing the Enemy: and then turning his Diſcourſe to the *Legions* he brought with him, he exhorted them to imitate the Bravery of the former Levies, and filled them with Emulation. The *Hernici*, on the other hand, knew that there was a freſh Reinforcement come to the *Roman* Army, and that a *Dictator* was at the Head of it. With full Reſolution therefore to preſerve the Advantage they had gained over *Genucius*, they alſo augmented their Forces. They exhauſted their whole Country of Men, for this Purpoſe; and none, who were of Age to bear Arms, were excuſed. Among this Multitude of Soldiers, they choſe out 3200 Men, whom they divided into eight *Cohorts*, of 400 Men each. This was the Flower of their Army; and the Generals ſhewed them great Marks of Diſtinction. They not only promiſed them double Pay, but exempted them from all the laborious Offices of the Army. This was ſhewing them, that their main Hopes of Victory were founded in them, and engaging them, to exert themſelves to the uttermoſt, in the Battel. When the Army was drawn up, theſe three thouſand brave Men had the Poſt of Honour, where they were moſt expoſed.

Neither the *Romans*, nor their Enemies, were dilatory in marching their Men out of their Entrenchments. There was a Plain between the two Camps, of about a League over; which was the Field of Battel. Never were Forces more equal, or Victory more doubtful. Thoſe invincible Troops, the *Roman Knights*, engaged the eight *Cohorts*, which conſiſted of the braveſt of the *Hernici*. But tho' the *Roman* Horſe had fallen upon the Enemy with their uſual Impetuoſity; yet the *Cohorts* of the *Hernici* continued unſhaken. The ill Succeſs therefore of this firſt Onſet made the *Roman* Cavalry reſolve to fight another Way. By order of their General, they firſt diſmounted, and then, upon leave given, poſted themſelves in the firſt Line, at the Head of the Infantry. Upon this, the Enemy's Battalions could ſcarce withſtand theſe brave Horſemen; which made the General of the *Hernici* command his choſen *Cohorts*, to make head againſt the *Roman* Horſe. Theſe two Bodies were both formidable, for their great Strength of Body, and great Courage. And then the Flower of both Nations came to a cloſe Engagement. The reſt of the Soldiers in both Armies were idle Spectators of the Battel. One would have thought, that the *Romans*, and the *Hernici*, had laid the whole Charge of maintaining the Intereſts and Honour of their Nations, the one on their Cavalry, the other on their eight *Cohorts*. Men were mutually loſt on both Sides; but the Greatneſs of the Loſs is not to be judged of, ſo much by the Numbers, as the Merit, of thoſe who fell. At length, the *Roman Knights* thus exhorted one another to make their laſt Efforts: *If the Enemy eſcape in this Battel, what Methods elſe have we to put in practice againſt them? We have already charged on Horſeback, and we now fight on Foot. What other Way of fighting have we to try? Shall we have quitted our own Ranks, and our Horſes, to appear at the Head of the Infantry, to no purpoſe?* And with theſe Words they raiſed each other's Courage. They fell on the Enemy's *Cohorts*, with a great Shout, all on a ſudden. The *Cohorts* firſt retreated, and then being hardly preſſed, at length gave way, and fled. Doubtleſs the Good-Fortune of the *Romans*, which was always ſuperior to that of the neighbouring Nations, was what determined the Victory in their Favour. In ſo great an Equality of Forces and Courage, that alone might incline the Balance to the Side of *Rome*. The Conquerors purſued the Enemy to their Camp, and the Night only hindred them from forcing it. The Battel had been begun ſomewhat late, becauſe the *Dictator* had ſpent all the Morning, till Noon, in ſearching for happy Preſages 30, in the Entrails of Victims. The next Morning the

30 In the Sacrifices which were offered up, before a Battle, or on any important Expedition, the Entrails of the Victims were conſulted. In which, moſt Regard was had to the Tongue, the Heart, the Liver, the Spleen, the Lungs, and the Reins. If theſe Parts were ſound, it was preſumed, the Enterprize would be ſucceſsful. If, on the contrary, they were livid, and unſound, it was taken for granted, they foreboded ſome fatal Event. And it was another Cauſe of great Surprize and Fear, if any of the noble Parts were not to be found in the Victim; which ſometimes happened, thro' the Avarice of the Prieſts, and thoſe who ſlew the Victims, who conveyed them away deſignedly. Theſe Cheats found their Account in thus ſporting with the Superſtition of the People. They, by that means, procured themſelves a ſecond Victim, which they ſold repaired the Defects of the firſt. We ſee Lucian cri

the *Roman* Army took Poſſeſſion of the Enemy's Camp, which the *Hernici* had deſerted. Their Troops had retired in Confuſion, towards ſome of their Towns: but few of their Soldiers had returned to their Colours. So that ſome of them fell by the Swords of the *Romans*, on the Road; and the reſt were diſperſed in the Fields. Nevertheleſs, the Victory coſt the Conquerors dear. They loſt a fourth Part of their whole Army; and, which they moſt lamented, a great Number of the *Roman Knights* had been killed. That the *Dictator* ſhould not obtain the Honours of a Triumph, after ſo memorable a Victory, is ſurprizing. May not the reaſon be, that the People would not conſent to beſtow any Honour, on the moſt declared Enemy of the *Plebeian* Party?

Year of *ROME* CCCXCI. APPIUS CLAUDIUS, Dictator.

§. VI. AT leaſt, it's certain, that notwithſtanding *Genucius*'s Misfortune, and in ſpight of the Murmurs of the Nobility, the *Centuries* aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, choſe another *Plebeian Conſul*. The ſame [31] *C. Licinius Stolo*, who had been raiſed from the *Tribuneſhip of the People*, to the *Conſulſhip*, was now promoted to this Office, a ſecond time. As the moſt violent Enemy of the Commons had been nominated *Dictator* the laſt Year, by the *Patrician* Faction; ſo the moſt enterprizing Adverſary of the Nobility, was now put in the higheſt Office, by the Suffrages of the People. The Collegue *Rome* gave *Licinius*, was *C. Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*. He was a *Patrician*, by Birth, and was alſo now elected *Conſul*, the ſecond time. Under the Command of theſe two new Generals, the *Romans* carried on the War with the *Hernici*. The *Conſuls* entred the Enemy's Country together; but found no Army to engage with. They therefore contented themſelves with laying Siege to *Ferentinum*, formerly a City of the *Volſci*, which had been given up to the *Hernici*, by the *Romans*. As ſoon as this Place ſurrendred, the *Conſular* Army took its Rout towards *Tibur*; but was ſurprized to find the Gates ſhut. The *Tiburtes* had long had Differences with the Republick, which now came to an open Rupture; and War was declared between the *Romans*, and them. The Senate firſt ſent ſome *Feciales* to them, to demand Satisfaction in the Name of the Republick; and upon their refuſing to give it, Hoſtilities were begun. It is probable, the *Tiburtes* would not have had the Confidence to have contended with *Rome*, had they not kept a ſecret Correſpondence with the *Gauls*. However, the Apprehenſions the *Romans* were in, of a War, which they did not think trivial, made them deſirous of a *Dictator*: But their Writers give different Reaſons for his Nomination. One old Hiſtorian ſays, that the *Dictator* was nominated by the *Conſul Licinius*, to put a ſtop to the Intrigues of his Collegue *Sulpicius*. The latter had formed a Deſign, ſays this Author, to get himſelf continued in the *Conſulſhip*, the next Year. And in order to compaſs it, he would have had the *Comitia*, for electing *Conſuls*, held before the uſual time, and have got himſelf choſen, before he ſet out for the Army. But *Licinius*, adds he, gueſſed right at *Sulpicius*'s Intention; and in order to break his Meaſures, nominated a *Dictator*, purely to preſide in the *Comitia*. Nevertheleſs, it ſeems more probable, that the only Deſign of nominating *Quinctius Pennus* to the *Dictatorſhip*, was, that he might act againſt the Enemy, which threatned *Rome*. *Quinctius* choſe *Serv. Cornelius* to be his General of Horſe: and whilſt the *Romans* were preparing for the War, the [32] *Gauls* advanced as far as the Banks of the *Anio*. The *Roman* Army appeared on the oppoſite Banks of that River, to make head againſt the Enemy. The two Camps were divided by a Bridge over the River; which nei-

Year of *ROME* CCCXCII. C. LICINIUS STOLO, C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 9.

Licinius Macer. apud Liv.

QUINCTIUS PENNUS, Dictator. *Faſt. Capit.*

ries out with Vehemence againſt theſe pretended igns of the Anger of the Gods.

Atque iram ſuperum raptis quæſivit in extis,
Terruit ipſe color vatem; nam pallida tetris
Viſcera tincta notis, gelidoque infecta cruore,
Plurimus aſperſo ſatiabat ſanguine livor.

he Fleſh of theſe Victims was boiled in a Caulron, with the Wood of ſome Tree conſecrated to ome Divinity. For this Reaſon, *Virgil* and *Ovid* all the Fire which boiled the Entrails of the Victims, *Sanctos ignes*, and *Pium ignem*. When dreſd, it was put into Diſhes, and offered to the Gods, being placed on their Altars. *Cumulantque onetis lancibus aras. Virg. Æn.* 12. We ſhall often have Occaſion to ſpeak of the Ceremonies uſed before, in, and after, Sacrifices.

31 This was the ſecond *Conſulſhip* of *Licinius Calvus*, and *Sulpicius Peticus*. In the old Editions of *Livy*, the ſecond *Conſul*'s *Prænomen* of *Caius*, is very improperly changed into that of *Lucius*.

32 *Livy* ſays, the *Gauls* encamped on the further Bank of the *Anio*, or *Teverone*, in the *Salarian Way*, three Miles from *Rome*. The *Salarian Way* communicated its Name to the Gate *Collina*, which was alſo called *Porta Salaria*. The ſame Author adds likewiſe, that in the Diſturbance which this new Irruption of the *Gauls* cauſed, the Courts of Juſtice were ſhut up, and all the young Men, who were of Age to bear Arms, inliſted, without Diſtinction.

Year of ROME CCCXCII. QUINCTIUS PENNUS, Dictator.

ther the *Romans*, nor the *Gauls*, attempted to break down, leſt they ſhould ſeem afraid. So that this Bridge became the Scene of ſeveral Combats between the Champions of both Parties. The Queſtion was, which ſhould make themſelves Maſters of it. And one Day, when the Skirmiſh was more warm than uſual, a *Gaul*, of a gigantick Stature, who had a peculiar Fierceneſs in his Countenance, made Signs with his Hands, and with a loud Voice, deſired to be heard. Upon which, the Combat immediately ceaſed, both Parties kept Silence; and the *Gaul* cried out, *Let the braveſt Man in the* Roman *Army come and fight with me; and let the Succeſs of our Combat determine, which is the more valiant Nation!* But there was not a Man to be found among the *Romans*, who durſt enter the Liſts with this Giant. His very Looks terrify'd them. Then the *Gaul* thruſt out his Tongue in a frightful manner, by way of Inſult to the Enemy: and *L. Manlius* was the only Man, who had a juſt Senſe of the Affronts offered to the *Romans* by the Enemy's Bravadoes. This was the ſame *Manlius*, who had ſignalized his Piety, by defending his Father from the Proſecution of *Pomponius the Tribune of the People:* and he quitted his Poſt, and flew to the *Dictator: No*; ſays he, *tho' I were ſure of Victory, I would not fight this proud* Gaul, *without my General's Orders. But if you will give me leave, I will make this wild Beaſt know, that I am of the Blood of that* Manlius, *whoſe Valour proved ſo fatal to the* Gauls, *on the* Capitol. As for the *Dictator*, he had been very uneaſy, that no *Roman* had offered himſelf to humble the Pride of the Giant before; and he encouraged *Manlius* to undertake it. *Run*, ſaid he to him, *haſten to defeat this* Gaul. *Your Piety towards your Father is a ſure Pledge of your Love for your Country. Revenge the Cauſe of the City where you firſt drew your Breath, as ſucceſsfully as you relieved him, to whom you owe it.* Upon this, the young *Roman* went to prepare himſelf for a ſingle Combat: and his Companions helped him to put on his Armour. He changed his [33] round Buckler,

Liv. B. 7. c. 9.

Quadrig. ibid.

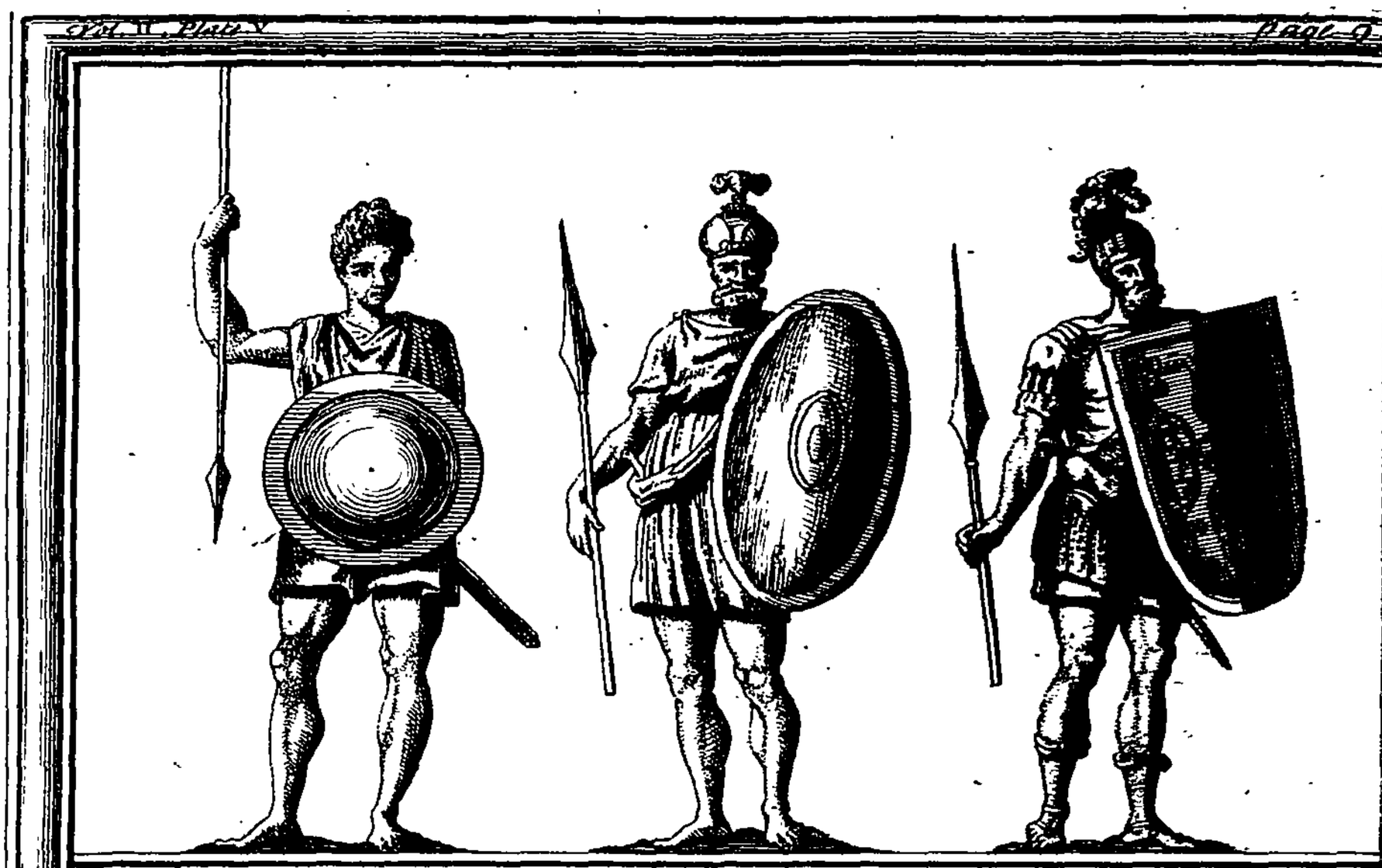
33 It is very difficult to ſay exactly, what was the Shape of the Bucklers the *Romans* uſed at this time. But it is certain they were not always the ſame. Every Age made ſeveral Alterations, in the offenſive and defenſive Arms, and in all the Military Affairs, of the ancient *Romans*, in general; according to the preſent Wants, or Circumſtances, or the Progreſs of the Military Art, which did not all at once gain that Perfection to which a long Experience brought it. Hence the Differences, and ſeeming Contradictions, of the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, when they ſpeak of the Diſpoſition of the *Roman* Armies, their Camps, their Arms, their Way of beſieging Places, and the Order they obſerved in Battel. This the Reader will obſerve himſelf, in the Proſecution of this Hiſtory, wherein we ſhall give a particular Account of theſe Alterations. We are not to judge of Infant-*Rome*, if I may ſo ſpeak, by what ſhe was in the Age of the *Scipio's*, *Cæſars*, and *Conſtantines*. Moſt Commentators are juſtly blamed on this Account. But to return to the *Roman* Bucklers; ancient Authors tell us of ſeveral Sorts, which were uſed among the *Romans*, in different Ages. 1. The Buckler called *Scutum*, was one of the defenſive Arms King *Servius Tullius* gave the firſt *Claſs*. By all the Hiſtorians ſay of it, it is evident it was oblong, and rectangular; (*Scutis protecti corpora longis. Æn. B.* 8.) *i. e.* in the Shape of a Door. Theſe Bucklers are what the *Greeks* call Θύρας. *Plutarch* calls them Θυρεοὺς Πολίτας. Which *Greek* Expreſſion alludes to the Bigneſs of the *Scutum*, which was large enough to cover the whole Body of the Soldier every Way, from his Breaſt to his Feet. It was indeed, at leaſt in *Polybius's* Time, 30 Inches broad, and 48 long. This was the Size of two Sorts of long Bucklers, one of which was oval at the End, and the other in the Shape of a Pan-tile, or an hollow half Cylinder: with this Difference, that the Breadth of the former is reckoned croſs-ways, from Side to Side; that of the latter, from Top to Bottom. 2. *Livy*, *B.* 2. ſpeaks of a Sort of *Scutum*, or long Buckler, which the *Romans* borrowed of the *Samnites*. His Deſcription of it is this. *Forma erat Scuti qua pectus atque humeri teguntur, faſtigio æquali, ad imum cuneatior, mobilitatis cauſa.* So that he repreſents the upper Part of it to be like an elliptic Section, parallel to the little Diameter of an Ellipſis, as may be ſeen at firſt Sight, by the Figure we have given of it. 3. The *Romans* likewiſe uſed another Sort of Buckler, which differed in nothing from the ἀσπὶς of the *Greeks*, and the *Clypeus* of the *Latins*. It is probable, it was anciently in Uſe among moſt of the People of *Italy*, who came originally from *Greece*. But it is not ſo certain, that the *Clypeus* was the Buckler generally uſed by the *Roman* Soldiers, till *Romulus* (according to *Plutarch*) choſe another of a different Make, like thoſe of the *Sabines*. It is Pity he has not given us a Deſcription of it. Nevertheleſs it is true, that the *Greek* Buckler, or the *Clypeus*, was conſtantly uſed by the *Romans*, after *Romulus's* Time. We need no other Authority for it, than that of *Dion. Hal.* who tells us, that *Servius Tullius* armed the firſt *Claſs* with a Buckler made after the *Greek* Faſhion. But *Livy* tells us likewiſe, *B.* 8. that the *Latins* made Uſe of round Bucklers, after the Manner of the *Romans*; and adds, that when this Nation became tributary to the Republick, they made their Bucklers of the Shape of the *Scutum*. And laſtly, the Medals and ancient Monuments agree with the Hiſtorians in this Particular. *Varro*, *Feſtus*, and the Poet *Accius*, all ſay, that the *Greek* Buckler was round. The latter ſays the *Clypeus* repreſented the Surface of the Heavens, in little. *Ovid* compares it to *Polyphemus's* Eye.

Unum eſt in media lumen mihi fronte, ſed inſtar
Ingentis Clypei . . . . . Meta. 13.

Virgil has likewiſe the ſame Compariſon, in the 3d Book of the *Æneid*.

Telo lumen terebramus acuto
Ingens, quod tetra lumen ſub fronte latebat,
Argolici Clypei, aut Phœbeæ lampadis inſtar.

Nevertheleſs it muſt be granted, that the *Clypeus* was ſometimes not quite round, but pretty near an Oval, as is evident from Multitudes of Places in ancient



The different sorts of Roman *Bucklers.*

Year of ROME CCCXCII.

QUINCTIUS PENNUS, Dictator.

Buckler, which he wore as a *Roman Knight*, for one of the ſquare ones, which were generally uſed by the *Roman* Foot. He put on a ſhort, but pointed 34 Sword, which was fit both for ſtabbing and cutting. It was ſuch a one, as the *Spaniards* have ſince uſed. And it may be obſerved, that the judicious Choice which the *Roman* made of his Weapons, was almoſt the only thing, that gained him his Victory over the *Gaul*. When thus, more advantageouſly armed for a ſingle Combat than his proud Enemy, *Manlius* went out to meet him. But the latter, after the manner of his Country, ſung, and triumphed, before the Victory. He had no *Cuiraſſe* on, but was dreſſed 35 in a light ſtriped Stuff. His Stature was gigantick, and his Arms glittered with Gold. In all appearance, there could not be a more unequal Match. *Manlius* was of a moderate Stature, and his Arms rather convenient for fighting, than magnificent. He did not ſtrut about in his Armour, or make any ſilly oſtentatious Shew of his Strength. He wholly reſerved himſelf for the Battel, and did not ſpend his Fire, either in Words, or uſeleſs Motions. The two Camps continued unactive Spectators of the Combat: and tho' theſe Duels were ſcarce ever uſed among the *Romans*, every one retired to his Poſt, and left the Bridge free for the two Champions. Which done, *Manlius* came up to the *Gaul*, and 36 ſtriking his own Buckler againſt his Enemy's with Violence, made him ſtagger. At which, the *Roman* ran againſt the *Gaul's* Buckler a ſecond time; and then ſeized the Opportunity of his recoiling backwards, to cloſe in with him; and he got within his Enemy's Shield. The *Gaul* in vain endeavoured to give *Manlius* a heavy Blow with his Sabre; the *Roman*, who had ſlipped under

Quadrig. ibid. *Liv. B.7. c.10* *Quadrig. ibid.*

ancient Authors, who call the Buckler which was peculiar to the *Roman* Horſe, ſometimes by the Name of *Clypeus*, and ſometimes by that of *Scutum*. 4. There was alſo another ſort of little Buckler among the *Romans*, which they diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Parma*. It was, according to *Polybius*, round, and like the *Greek* Buckler, or *Clypeus*, but leſs. And yet *Polybius* makes the *Parma* to have been three Foot Diameter, and conſequently at leaſt nine Foot in Circumference, according to the Proportion of 7 to 22, which *Archimedes* ſettled to be the Proportion of the Radius of a Circle, to its Circumference. How then can the Hiſtorians, and *Polybius* himſelf among the reſt, call the *Parma*, a little Buckler? All things conſidered, I find it to have been, near as long as the *Scutum*, or long Buckler, which the *Legionary* Infantry choſe to wear. Beſides, how large muſt then the *Clypeus* of the Horſe have been? For, according to *Polybius*, it was broader and larger than the *Parma*, which he ranks among the Arms of thoſe, who, in his time, were called *Velites*, or light-armed. If the *Clypeus* was bigger than the *Parma*, it muſt have been at leaſt as large as the long Buckler of the Foot. And therefore the ancient Authors are miſtaken, in ſaying the *Clypeus* of the Horſe was leſs than the *Scutum*. As for my ſelf, I am of Opinion, that when the Hiſtorians ſpeak of greater and leſs Bucklers, they are to be underſtood only of their Length. It is certain the *Scutum* was longer than the other Bucklers, and therefore more troubleſome. 5. The Bucklers were made of ſeveral Boards joined together, ſurrounded with a Rim of Iron, and covered with ſeveral Skins, to faſten them together the better. The *Umbo* (that is, the Center, or the Place where it was moſt convex) was armed with Iron, or Braſs. It was by that means Proof againſt the moſt violent Blows, which were either broken by his Armour, or the Weapons ſlid off, by reaſon of the Convexity of the Buckler. In the Inſide, was an Handle by which the Soldier held it. The Wood theſe Bucklers were made of, was yielding and aquatick, ſuch as the Linden, Birch, Elder, Poplar, and eſpecially the Willow, and the Fig-tree: Beſides that theſe Woods are light, they likewiſe eaſily cloſe again, after they have been pierced, and are not ſubject to ſplit. *Frigidiſſima quæque aquatica, lentiſſima autem, ideo ſcutis faciendis aptiſſima; ictorum plaga contrahit ſe protinus, & claudit ſeum vulnus, & ob id contumacius tranſmittunt ferrum; in quo genere eſt Ficus, Salix, Tilia, Betula, Sambucus, Populus utraque. Leviſſima autem ex his Ficus, & Salix, ideoque utiliſſima . . . . Plin. B. 16. c. 40.* We have engraven the different Bucklers of the *Romans*, from Medals, and ancient Monuments, that the Reader may thereby better underſtand the Differences between them. *Polybius* obſerves, that in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, the Bucklers of the *Roman* Horſe, were nothing but one Ox-Hide cut in a circular Form. Theſe loſt their Hardneſs, and grew ſoft, as ſoon as expoſed to the Rain; and were then no longer of Uſe, by way of Defence.

34 When *Livy* ſays *Manlius* armed himſelf with a *Spaniſh* Sword, we are not to underſtand him to mean, that the Republick then borrowed this Sort of Sword of the *Spaniards*. Theſe People were then great Strangers to the *Romans*; nay, *Spain* may be ſaid, to have been in a manner utterly unknown to them. The two Nations did not begin to have any great Knowledge of one another, till the Beginning of the *Carthaginian* Wars. It was about this time, according to *Polybius*, that the Generals ordered the Swords the *Legions* uſed, to be made like thoſe uſed by the *Spaniards*. He adds likewiſe, that their Blades were excellently well tempered; but thoſe of the *Roman* Swords, which were of the ſame Make, were not ſo. The Art of tempering and hardening Steel, was then unknown. *Livy* therefore means, that *Manlius's* Sword was, as to Length and Shape, like thoſe which the *Romans* afterwards borrowed from the *Spaniards*. Nevertheleſs, this was but a ſhort Sword. Moſt Antiquaries make it but 22 Inches long; and ſome, but 15. It had both Point and Edge. So that the Soldiers, whoſe chief Uſe of it was to ſtab the Enemy, ſcarce ever came to cloſe with them, without giving them great Wounds. The Swords of the Cavalry were longer, and leſs convenient for the Foot.

35 It is not very certainly known, what was the Shape of the Habit of the *Gauls*, in theſe earlieſt Times, before they were ſubdued by the *Romans*. *Virgil*, as well as *Livy*, gives them a ſtriped Habit.

Virgatis lucent Sagulis. Æn. 8.

36 *Livy* ſays, the *Gaul* began the Battel with ſtriking fiercely at *Manlius*; but the Stroke made a great Noiſe, and did no Execution. *Vanum caſum cum ingenti ſonitu enſem dejecit.*

his

Year of *ROME* CCCXCII. QUINCTIUS PENNUS, Dictator.

his Enemy's Shield, was too near him for the *Gaul* to hurt him: But he had his own Sword at Liberty; which being ſhort, he had room enough to ſtab the *Gaul*, both in the Belly and the Groin. Nor was this all. He gave the *Gaul* ſeveral Cuts with the ſame Sword, in the right Shoulder, and redoubled his Blows, till the *Gaul* fell, and covered [37] a vaſt Piece of Ground, with his great Body. Then the Conqueror cut off his Adverſary's Head, and without troubling himſelf about the reſt of his Spoils, only ſeized a golden Collar, which he tore from his Neck, and, bloody as it was, put it upon his own. The Joy this gave the *Romans*, is not to be expreſſed. They ran to the Bridge in all haſte, and carried the brave *Manlius*, amidſt the Acclamations of the *Roman* Army, to the *Dictator*. And this being too glorious an Action, not to be rewarded; the General aſſembled his Troops, gave the Victor great Commendations, and made him a Preſent of a Crown of Gold. This was one of thoſe military Rewards, which were never granted to the braveſt Men, but after the moſt conſiderable Exploits. Tho' after all, the Surname of *Torquatus*, which was ever continued to him, and all his Branch of the *Manlian* Family, was a greater Mark of Diſtinction to him, than either the Applauſes of the Army, or the Rewards of the General. It was given him, by a common Soldier, who ſeeing him adorned with the *Gaul's* [37] Collar, which was called in *Latin*, *Torquis*, immediately formed out of it, the Name of *Torquatus*; and he called him by this Appellation, in the Songs which were ſung immediately, to the Conqueror's Praiſe. This glorious [38] Action of *Manlius* was alſo of no ſmall Service to the Republick. It diſcouraged the *Gauls*, who deſerted their Camp the next Night, and diſperſed themſelves in *Campania*. Nor could they even have retired, without the Aſſiſtance of the *Tiburtes*, who ſupplied them with Proviſions. Had the *Gauls* been more expeditious, and ſate down before *Rome*, as ſoon as they arrived; it is probable, they would have made themſelves Maſters of it, a ſecond time. Their Army was formidable, both on the account of the Numbers, and even the Looks of their Soldiers. But it was the Fate of *Rome* to have a ſecond *Manlius* to deliver her from them. And the Memory of ſo great a Benefit to her, was not perpetuated only by the Pen of the Hiſtorians: There was to be ſeen in the *Forum* at *Rome*, near the Banker's Shops, ſeveral Ages after the Action, a Monument of it, either engraven, or, which is more probable, painted, on a Buckler. The Combat between *Manlius* and the *Gaul*, was here repreſented with ſuch Life, that ſome have thought the Hiſtorians drew their Deſcriptions from this Painting.

Orſius, B. 5. c. 6,

Quint. Inſtit. Orat. B. 6. c. 4. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. B. 35. c. 4.

§. VII. As for the *Tiburtes*, they had now appeared too open Enemies to the Republick, to be left unpuniſhed. When therefore the new *Conſuls*, *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and [39] *C. Pætelius Libo*, were choſen, Levies were raiſed in *Rome* to chaſtize them. *Tibur* was, according to *Pliny*, a more ancient City than *Rome*. Its Origin was carried up to one [40] *Tiburs*, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, who lived

Year of *ROME* CCCXCIII. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, C. PÆTELIUS LIBO, Conſuls.

37 *Livy*'s Expreſſion is, *in ſpatium ingens ruentem porrexit hoſtem.*

38 Collars were formerly Marks of Diſtinction. We find in *Geneſis*, xli. 42. that *Pharaoh* gave *Joſeph* this Ornament. And we find others mentioned, *Judges* viii. 26. They were given to Soldiers, as Rewards for their Valour. The ancient Inſcriptions ſhew, that the *Romans* were proud of this military Reward. *Strabo*, *B.* 4. ſpeaks of Ivory Collars, or rather like Ivory, which the Inhabitants of the *Britiſh* Iſlands uſed to adorn themſelves with: And, according to him, the *Spaniſh* Women wore none but Iron ones. The Pagans likewiſe put this Ornament on their Gods.

39 We cannot but obſerve here, the Miſtake of *Claudius Quadrigarius*, an ancient Writer, (quoted by *Livy*, and *Aulus Gellius*) who places this ſingle Combat under the laſt *Dictatorſhip* of *Camillus*, in the Year of *Rome* 386. But this is a manifeſt Anachroniſm. And *Valerius Maximus* is no leſs miſtaken, in ſaying, That *Manlius* and *Valerius Corvinus* challenged the Heads of the Army of the *Gauls*, and, That the latter fell by the Swords of theſe two *Romans*. And laſtly, *Aurelius Victor* ſays, contrary to the Teſtimony of the beſt Hiſtorians, that *Manlius* was *Military Tribune* when he fought the *Gaul*. He plainly confounds this *Titus Manlius*, with *Publius Manlius*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year 386.

40 *Livy* gives *Pætelius* the Surname of *Bulbus*; and diſfigures his Name likewiſe by calling it *Petilius*. This was the proper Name of the *Petilian* Family, which was different from the *Pætelian*. And *Caſſiodorus* is as incorrect as *Livy*. The *Faſti Capitolini* give this *Conſul* the Surname of *Viſolus*.

41 *Pliny*, *B.* 16. ſays *Tibur*, or *Tivoli*, was founded by a *Greek*, who gave his own Name to it. He was the Son of *Amphiaraus*, who was killed before *Thebes*. But other Authors make him to have been the Son of *Catillus*, and Grandſon of *Amphiaraus*. And ſome ſay he was Brother to *Catillus* and *Coras*, and that all three Brothers together founded the City of *Tibur*. Theſe different Accounts gave occaſion to this Line in the 18th Ode of the firſt Book of *Horace*,

Circa mite ſolum Tiburis & mœnia Catili.

And to theſe three Lines in *Virgil*,

Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia mœnia linquunt,
Fratris Tiburti dictam cognomine gentem,
Catilluſque, acerque Coras, Argiva Juventus. Æn.

Tiburs was, according to *Cato* and *Sextius*, one of *Evander*'s Companions.

ſome Years before the Siege of *Troy*. This City, which was about eighteen Miles from *Rome*, had joined with the *Hernici*, in their Revolt: and both Nations had been encouraged to it, by thoſe fierce Enemies of the *Romans*, the *Gauls*. The Republick was then wholly left to herſelf. The *Latins* indeed, who had formerly been ſo faithful to her, had not undertaken any thing againſt her; but then, neither did they give her any Aſſiſtance; they had abſolutely ſtood neuter. So little had *Rome* been yet able to recover herſelf from that weak Condition to which ſhe had been reduced, upon her being taken by the *Gauls*. Nevertheleſs, ſhe ſtill found a ready Remedy, in her own Boſom; her indefatigable Citizens were always ready to take up Arms, at the Command of her *Conſuls*, and eſpecially of her *Dictators*. At preſent therefore two Armies were raiſed, one to act againſt the *Hernici*, and the other againſt the *Tiburtes*. The Command of the former was given to *Fabius*; that of the latter, to *Pætelius*. Ever ſince the Eſtabliſhment of *Prætors* in *Rome*, for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, the *Conſuls* Office was in a manner wholly confined to the Buſineſs of War, and the Command of the Troops. The *Conſuls* therefore took the Field; but upon the firſt Rumors of their March, the *Gauls* left *Campania*, and ſpread themſelves in the Territories of *Labicum*, *Alba*, and *Tuſculum*. So that, almoſt all *Latium* was expoſed to Pillage. The Army of the *Gauls* ventured to advance even into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and the Gate *Collina* was already blocked up. But notwithſtanding this Danger, the Republick did not think it proper to recall *Pætelius* from the Territory of *Tibur*, where he kept the Rebels in Awe. *Rome* only nominated a *Dictator*, to make head againſt theſe dangerous Enemies, which kept her inveſted. The *Conſuls* pitched upon *Servilius Ahala*, who choſe *T. Quinctius* to be his General of Horſe. The Danger was imminent; ſo that the *Dictator* loſt no time, in raiſing freſh Troops. The military Oaths were adminiſtred to all the Youth which were left in *Rome*, and none of them were excuſed from taking up Arms. This done, they had not far to go in queſt of the Enemy. The *Gauls* were encamped under the Walls of *Rome*, on the Side of the Gate *Collina*. So that, the *Romans* were to fight, in ſight of their Fathers, Wives, and Children, who were on the Ramparts. As then, if they had been in a diſtant Country, the Remembrance of their Relations would have ſpurred them on to Victory; they were now invincible, in the Sight of ſo many Perſons, who were ſo dear to them. The Battel indeed was fought with Fury on both Sides. Blood was ſhed in great abundance in each Army, and the Field of Battel was covered with dead Bodies. But at length, the *Gauls* gave way, and fled towards *Tibur*. This was to have been an *Aſylum* for them; but *Pætelius*'s Army endeavoured to prevent their entering it. He came and fell upon the Fugitives. Nevertheleſs, the *Tiburtes* relieved them, and made a Sally, which facilitated the Retreat of the *Gauls*. They entred *Tibur*, in Confuſion with the *Tiburtes*, and by that means eſcaped the Purſuit of the Conquerors. So that, the Victory was, properly ſpeaking, the Work of the *Dictator Servilius*; the *Conſul Pætelius* had but a ſmall Share in it.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCIII. M. Fabius Ambustus, C. Pætelius Libo, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 11.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCIII. Servilius Ahala, Dictator.

On the other hand, *Fabius* fought the *Hernici*, with Succeſs. His Troops were the ſame he had formerly led againſt them; and he firſt haraſſed them with ſlight Skirmiſhes, and then overcame them in a general Action. Thus was the Republick victorious on all Sides. The Honours of a Triumph were indeed chiefly due to the *Dictator*: but *Servilius* had either Pride enough to deſpiſe them, or Modeſty enough to decline them. When he returned to *Rome*, he highly commended the two *Conſuls*, both to the Senate, and the People; gave them all the Glory, he might have claimed himſelf, from the Succeſs of the Campaign; and immediately abdicated the *Dictatorſhip*. As for *Pætelius*, it is probable that he ſollicited for a Triumph; and he obtained it on two Accounts, both for having conquered the *Gauls*, and defeated the *Tiburtes*. Tho' at the ſame time, his Victory was a little dubious; and the Inhabitants of *Tibur* made a Jeſt of it. *Triumphs*, ſaid they, *are ſurely very eaſy to be had at* Rome. *Have we been conquered by* Pætelius *in any pitched Battel? Or do the* Romans *think the having forced us to retreat within our Walls, a conſiderable Victory? A ſmall Number of our Citizens went out of* Tibur *to ſee a Battel, and as ſoon as it was over, returned; and for this the* Conſul *has obtained a Triumph! If affrighting the* Romans *at their own Gates, be ſufficient to make* Rome *think her Deliverance juſt Matter of Triumph, we will give her Occaſion*

Year of ROME CCCXCIV. M. Popilius Lænas, Cn. Manlius Imperiosus, Consuls.

Cic. in Brut.

casions enough for them hereafter. As for the *Consul Fabius*, tho' he had conquered the *Hernici*, he was content with an *Ovation*; and by accepting a less pompous sort of Triumph, he shewed more Modesty, and gained more Honour, than his Collegue.

§. VIII. The Menaces of the *Tiburtes* made the *Romans* sensible, that they were neither conquered, nor humbled. The new *Consuls* therefore for the next Year, *M. Popilius Lænas*, and [42] *Cn. Manlius Imperiosus*, expected to have carried the War into the Territory of *Tibur*. But they were diverted from it; doubtless by the sudden Sedition which arose in *Rome*. *Popilius* was both *Consul*, and the *Pontifex* of the Goddess *Carmenta*: and when the Sedition was at the height, he was offering a publick Sacrifice. He therefore left the Altars, upon the first News of the Revolt of the People against the Senate; ran in his Pontifical Habit to the Place where the People were assembled; and there, by his Discourses, and the Authority the *Consulship* gave him, he had so much influence on them, that he put a stop to the Sedition. From hence the Surname of *Lænas* was given him, and transmitted to his Posterity. The People surnamed him *Lænas*, from the [43] *Wool* of which his Robe was made, and which was then called *Læna*, and not *Lana*. Nevertheless, his Office of *Pontifex* did not hinder him from immediately putting on the Soldier. The *Tiburtes* were actually marched out of their City in the Night, to commit Hostilities in the *Roman* Territory. They were indeed but a Handful of Men; nevertheless the Noise of their Arrival filled the City with Terror. The *Romans* were awakened by the Outcries of the Centinels, and surprized at the Approach of an unknown Enemy in the Dead of the Night, when Mens Fears are usually strongest. They ran tumultuously to Arms, not knowing whether the *Gauls* were not come again: but the Return of the Light discovered to the affrighted People, only a small Number of *Tiburtes*. They indeed came to *Rome*, rather out of a Rodomontade, to put in execution their late Threatnings, than with any concerted Design to surprize the City. The *Consuls* marched out at two different Gates, and had all the Citizens in *Rome* under Arms with them. They attacked the Enemy on both Sides, while they were making an Attack upon the Walls. But the *Tiburtes* were scarce able to sustain the very first Onset of the *Romans*. So that this Insult was so far from being prejudicial to the Republick, as to be of great Service to her. It wholly extinguished all the remaining Inclinations to Sedition in the People, and left them in Tranquillity.

Liv. B. 7. c. 12.

Liv. ibid.

To this first War, a second succeeded, under the same *Consuls*; which forced the *Romans* to march an Army the next Year beyond the *Tyber*, into *Hetruria*. The *Roman* State extended beyond *Veii* on that Side; the Republick still preserving the Conquests *Camillus* had made there. It was indeed the finest Part of her Dominions: and here the People of *Tarquinii*, an ancient City, and the Capital of one of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies*, entered the *Roman* Territory in Arms. But as their Hostilities consisted only in plundering the Country, *Rome* postponed her Revenge, till a new Election had given the Republick new *Consuls*.

Year of ROME CCCXCV. C. Fabius Ambustus, C. Plautius Proculus, Consuls.

§. IX. The *Centuries* chose [44] *C. Fabius Ambustus*, and *C. Plautius Proculus*: and *Rome* had never had more formidable Enemies to engage, in so many different

42 *Diodorus* is mistaken in *Manlius*'s *Prænomen*; he calls him *Caius*, instead of *Cneius*. He was *Titus Manlius*'s elder Brother.

43 Ancient Authors often speak of this Habit, from whence the Surname of *Lænas* was taken. It was a Sort of *Surtout*, or lined Mantle, open before, and capable of being lapped over, almost like the modern Cassocks. It was pretty much like the *Pallium* of the *Greeks*, and the *Macedonian Chlamys*; except that the latter was not open at Bottom, nor so long as the *Læna*: For this is the Name of the Dress *Popilius* was in, when he received the News of the People's Revolt. The *Læna*, or *Clæna*, was, according to the Antiquaries, in Use even in the heroic Ages. Χλαίνα ἡρῴικον φόρημα King *Juba*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Numa*, says Monarchs used to wear it. *Læna*, (Festus) *vestimenti genus habitus duplicis, quidam appellatam existimant Tusce, quidam Græce, quod* χλαῖναν *dicunt*. *Virgil* gives his Hero this Habit.

——*Tyrioque ardebat murice* Læna
Demissa ex humeris.——

Servius is mistaken, when he says the *Læna* did not differ from the *Roman Toga*. From all we can collect from the most celebrated Writers of Antiquity, we cannot but believe they were very different Habits. They all agree the *Læna* was worn over the *Toga*, by way of Cloak, in very cold Weather. For this Reason this Garment was sometimes lined with Furr, and the Stuff of it very thick. It was called *Læna*, from the *Latin* Word *Læna*, says *Varro*, *B. 4* *Læna, quod de lana multa, duarum enim togarum instar*. *Servius* tells us, that the *Augurs* and *Flamines* generally used this Sort of *Surtout*, when they officiated: And it's probable, theirs was of Purple, to distinguish it from the common one.

44 *Cassiodorus*, and the old Editions of *Livy*, give *Caius Plautius* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*: And *Diodorus* gives *Fabius* the same *Prænomen*. But it is a Mistake, which may be corrected by *Livy* himself, who calls him ever after nothing but *Caius*.

Places,

Places, at the ſame time, than now. She was not only deſerted by all her Allies, newly inſulted by the *Tiburtes*, and attacked by a Canton of *Hetruria*, but had alſo thoſe importunate *Gauls* to repulſe, who gave her no time to ſubdue her Neighbours. Their Troops appeared again in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, notwithſtanding their Loſſes, as ſoon as any Enemy of the *Romans* called for their Aſſiſtance. Nor was it only the *Senones* that made War with the Republick, the moſt ancient *Colonies* of the *Gauls* alſo declared againſt her. The *Boii*, who ſettled in *Italy*, upon the firſt Tranſmigration of the *Gauls* under *Bellovesus*, were preparing to fall upon the *Roman* State. The Affairs of *Rome* ſeemed then to be brought to a Criſis, which muſt neceſſarily determine her Fate. However, as the *Boii* had yet made no Motion, the *Romans* raiſed only two Armies, one to act againſt the *Hernici*, that is, againſt their Enemies on this Side the *Tyber*; and the other, againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, who lay on the other Side of it. *Plautius* commanded the former, and *Fabius* the latter. *Plautius* marched againſt the *Hernici*, and made War, with Succeſs. He not only overcame them in a pitched Battel, but totally ſubdued them; and put them upon the ſame Foot, on which they were, before their Revolt. The Victory he gained, was ſo glorious, and of ſo much Importance to the *Romans*, that they rewarded it with the Honours of a Triumph. *Plautius* entred *Rome* in Triumph, on *The Ides of May*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCV.
C. Fabius Ambustus, C. Plautius Proculus, Conſuls.
Appian. in Celtiis.
Liv. B. 7. c. 12.
Faſt. Capit.

But his Collegue *Fabius* was not ſo ſucceſsful againſt the *Tarquinienſes*. He attacked them inconſiderately. His Loſs indeed was not great; but there was ſomething exceſſively inſulting in the Affront the *Tarquinienſes* offered the *Romans*, in the Perſons of the *Roman* Priſoners they had taken. They firſt treated three hundred and ſeven of them very ill, and then cut their Troats: Which Inhumanity was underſtood to be committed, to ſhew their Contempt of the Republick.

And this Diſadvantage was ſeconded by the Trouble of a new War. The *Boii* appeared in the Plain of *Præneſte*, all on a ſudden, and from thence advanced as far as 45 *Pedum*. Theſe two Cities were in *Latium*; and the latter not above ten Miles from *Rome*, between *Tibur* and *Tuſculum*. And what Motives could induce the *Latins* to reconcile themſelves to the Republick, and renew their ancient Treaty of Alliance with her, juſt at this time, I know not. Indeed, they might perhaps be influenced by the Example of the *Hernici*, whom the *Romans* had forced to ſubmit; or they might be tired with ſeeing their Lands inceſſantly expoſed to be plundered by the *Gauls*, who were ſo obſtinately bent on paſſing thro' *Latium*, into the *Roman* Territory, almoſt every Year. But whatever their Inducement was, they actually became Allies to the *Romans* again, in a very ſeaſonable time; and furniſhed their Army with the ſame Quota of Men they had formerly ſtipulated to grant, in their old Treaties. So that, with this Reinforcement the *Romans* were well ſecured againſt the *Boii*, tho' the moſt formidable Nation of the *Gauls*. However, the two *Conſuls* were both employed; and it was therefore neceſſary for the Republick to appoint a General to command the Troops which were to be raiſed, to oppoſe their Hoſtilities. *Rome* had uſually ſent a *Dictator* againſt them, as being more formidable Enemies than thoſe in her Neighbourhood: and according to this Cuſtom, *Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Peticus*, was created *Dictator* on this Occaſion, by the *Conſul Plautius*, who left his Army for a time, and returned to *Rome*, on purpoſe to nominate him. *Sulpicius* choſe *M. Valerius* to be his General of Horſe; and they both choſe out the beſt *Legions* in the *Conſular* Armies; and after being reinforced with the *Latin* Auxiliaries, marched againſt the *Gauls*. Both Armies were very impatient to come to a Battel: but the Ardour of the *Romans* ſeemed to be greater than that of their Enemies. Nevertheleſs, the *Dictator* reſtrained their Impetuoſity, and kept them in their Camp. This wiſe

Liv. B. 7. c. 12.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCV.
Sulpicius Peticus, Dictator.

45 No Diſcoveries have yet been made of the Situation of the ancient City of *Pedum*. We only know, by *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* that it ſtood almoſt between *Tuſculum*, *Tibur*, and *Labicum*. Father *Kircher*, after having examined the Situation of the Places himſelf, gueſſes that *Pedum* formerly ſtood near the Place which he calls *L'Oſteria dell' oſa*, upon the Banks of a little River, of the ſame Name, which riſes in the Lake *Regillus*. He judges ſo, from the old Rubbiſh and Ruins which are found in this Canton. *Cluver* places it as far as the preſent *Gallicano*, above 15 Miles from *Rome*. But this Situation does not agree with the Diſtance mentioned by *Livy*. He, *B.* 2. places the ancient City of *Pedum* four Miles beyond the *Foſſa Cluilia*, towards *Labicum*. Now the *Foſſa Cluilia* was but five Miles from *Rome*; and conſequently *Pedum* could be but ten. And this Diſtance agrees with *Father Kircher*'s Conjecture. *Holſtenius* will have it to have ſtood near the Place which is now called *Zagarolo*.

General

Year of ROME CCCXCV. SULPICIUS PETICUS, Dictator.

General was fully ſatisfied, that his proceeding ſlowly, would do the *Gauls* more Prejudice, than he could draw Advantage from the Animoſity of his Soldiers. *Sulpicius* knew the *Gauls*. *It is no eaſy matter*, ſaid he, *to ſuſtain their firſt Fury; but it abates in time, and their Courage waſtes away of itſelf.* Beſides, he knew the *Boii* had neither brought Proviſions with them, nor prepared any Magazines. And the People of *Latium*, where they were encamped, were now little inclined to furniſh them with Proviſions, ſince the *Latins* had reconciled themſelves to the *Romans*. *To what purpoſe then*, ſaid the *Dictator*, *ſhould we run the hazard of a Battel, and expoſe the Republick to the Danger of being ruined?* But the Soldiers, who did not enter into the General's Views, imputed theſe wiſe Delays to his Timorouſneſs. The Murmurs in the *Roman* Army ſoon became univerſal. He had already forbidden his Soldiers coming to any manner of Engagement with the Enemy, under grievous Penalties; but it was now become neceſſary to uſe Violence with his Troops, if he would keep them in their Entrenchments. Every one in his Poſt, and even upon Guard, was heard to blame *Sulpicius*'s Conduct. They even complained of the Senate, for having ordered *Plautius* to nominate a *Dictator*. *Were not the* Conſuls *of the Year*, ſaid they among one another, *ſufficient to have commanded us? What ſort of a General have they given us? Does this ſole Commander expect, that Victory ſhould come down from Heaven to him, while he ſits ſtill, and does nothing?* Nor were theſe ſeditious Diſcourſes only whiſpered ſecretly in the Night: they were uttered in the middle of the Day, and openly. *Let us attack the Enemy*, ſaid the Soldiers, *in ſpight of the General; or elſe let us leave the Camp, and march back to* Rome, *in order of Battel.* And it was not only the private Soldiers who talked thus, but the *Centurions* alſo. The Diſcontents ſpread to the commanding Officers, and reached even the General's Quarters. There was an univerſal Outcry among the Soldiers, who came in Crowds thither, demanded Acceſs to the *Dictator*, and nominated *Sextus Tullius* to ſpeak to him, in the Name of the whole Army. *Tullius* had been the firſt Captain of the firſt Corps in the Army, for ſeven Years laſt paſt. No Officer in the Infantry had made more Campaigns, or diſtinguiſhed himſelf more by his Valour. And he undertook the Commiſſion, and came into the *Dictator*'s Preſence, attended with a great Multitude, when he was ſitting on his Tribunal. *Sulpicius* was ſurprized to ſee himſelf ſurrounded with a Company of ſeditious Men, and more ſo, to ſee *Tullius* at the Head of them. He had always been thought an unblameable Officer, and very Obedient to his Commanders. But nevertheleſs, he made this Speech to the *Dictator*. *Your Army, Sir, think you entertain an ill Opinion of their Courage, and that you, in contempt to them, treat them, as if they had neither Arms nor Valour. This is what they have forced me to come and repreſent to you. What Occaſion have they given for ſuch injurious Suſpicions? Have we fled from our Colours, turned our Backs upon the Enemy, or ſuffered our Battalions to be broken? If it were ſo, yet ought we to be encouraged to recover our loſt Glory, and blot out the Shame of a Defeat. Our* Romans, *who fled to* Veii, *after the Battel of the* Allia, *recovered their Courage, and recovered their Country. But as to us, what Overthrow have we met with? The Gods, and your Good-Fortune, have preſerved us from any. Not that I can pretend to ſay, our Glory is unſullied. Our Enemies deſpiſe us, as ſo many Women, for not daring to venture out of our Entrenchments. But what gives us moſt Concern, is, that our General ſhould diſtruſt our Strength, and Skill, and Courage. He thinks us unfit to engage in a Battel, tho' he has never tried us. At leaſt, how can we judge otherwiſe, when an experienced General, and a Man of known Bravery, ſuffers us to languiſh in Idleneſs. We had rather you ſhould ſuſpect our Courage, than we yours. But if it be out of any Refinement in point of Policy, or by Order of the Senate, that you keep us thus with our Arms a-croſs; what I dare venture to offer to you, Sir, not indeed as a General of an Army, but as a* Dictator, *and Repreſentative of the Senate, is this. The* Patricians *have their Views, and their Authority: but the People have alſo their Suffrages, and their Liberty. Shall it be ſaid, that we ſhall be Slaves to the Senate here? We are Soldiers, and not Outlaws. Let them order us to fight, and we will behave ourſelves as becomes* Romans. *But if they will force us to continue idle and unactive, while we have Arms in our Hands; we can be ſo at* Rome, *as well as in a Camp. This is what we are not afraid the*

Liv. B. 7. c. 13.

Year of ROME CCCXCV.

SULPICIUS PETICUS, Dictator.

Patricians *ſhould know. But as for you, moſt illuſtrious* Dictator, *we intreat you to lead us to a Battel. Our great Deſire is, to follow you, to conquer under your Command, to do you all the Honour of the Victory, to attend your Triumph, and to accompany you to the* Capitol, *to return Thanks to* Jupiter *for your Succeſs.*

THIS Diſcourſe of *Tullius* was followed with the Acclamations of the Multitude that accompanied him. They all asked leave to arm, and march to the Battel. But tho' the *Dictator* thought this Ardor commendable in Soldiers; the Step they had taken, was a bad Precedent. However, *Sulpicius* could not forbear promiſing his Troops, that he would ſatisfy them: and then taking *Tullius* aſide, he ſaid to him, *What can have put you at the Head of a Faction? or what can be the meaning of this unexpected Proceeding?* To which the wiſe *Centurion* replied, *I did not undertake the Commiſſion the Soldiers gave me, either out of want of Reſpect for you, or Ignorance of the Martial Laws. If I complied with the Deſires of the Mutineers, it was only to divert them from chuſing themſelves a factious and inſolent Leader, who might have done ſomething injurious to the Dignity of the* Dictator. *As for me, you will always find me, ready to obey your Orders, and obſervant of the Diſcipline of the Army. And do you, Sir, on your part, endeavour to recover the Affections of your Soldiers. Comply with the Deſires of theſe impetuous Men: and the rather, becauſe they are very ſtrongly inclined to ſeize the firſt Opportunity they have of fighting, without asking leave, if the General makes any difficulty of granting their Requeſts.*

AND indeed, while they were ſpeaking, an Accident had like to have brought on a Battel. A *Gaul* was carrying away ſome Cattel, which were grazing without the Entrenchments; but two *Roman* Soldiers took them from him. Upon this, the *Gauls* threw Stones at them; and then the *Romans* upon the Ramparts, cried out, *To Arms*; and the Action had been begun, if the *Centurions* had not checked the Ardor of the Soldiers. However, this Accident ſatisfied the General, that *Tullius*'s Information was true: and he therefore did not think proper to delay any longer, but gave notice in the Camp, that he would offer Battel the next Day. The *Roman* Army was indeed inferior in Number to that of the *Gauls*; and therefore *Sulpicius* thought it neceſſary to ſupply this Defect, by Stratagems, and his Skill in the Art of War. Before the Battel began, he took Meaſures to deceive and intimidate the Enemy, by making them think his Cavalry numerous. The Horſe were always that Part of the *Roman* Army, which the Enemy moſt dreaded. He therefore ordered the Muleteers of his Camp to put upon their Mules the Furniture of War-Horſes; for Saddles were not in uſe among the *Romans*. Then he mounted theſe Servants to the Army, upon their Beaſts of Burden; and gave them the Arms of the ſick Soldiers, and of the Priſoners, which had been taken from the *Gauls*. This Troop amounted to near a thouſand Men: and the *Dictator* joined an hundred Horſemen with them, to be their Guides and Commanders. And in the Night, *Sulpicius* ordered this Black-Guard Squadron to go out of the Camp, march ſilently up to the Mountains, and there hide themſelves in the Woods, and not ſtir, till they received Orders from him. This was then a new Artifice; tho' it was afterwards often practiſed both by the *Roman* Officers, and foreign Generals. As ſoon as it was Day, the *Dictator* led his Troops out of their Entrenchments, contrary to the Expectations of the *Gauls*, who did not imagine the *Romans* would appear ſo ſoon in the Plain: and then *Sulpicius* made uſe of a new Stratagem in his way of fighting. He drew up his Army ſo, that all thoſe *Legionaries* who uſed, at the Head of their *Legions*, to attack the Enemy with a ſort of Darts called *Pila*, ſucceeded one another in Files. So that, as ſoon as one Company of them was within reach of the *Gauls*, they diſcharged their Darts, and inſtantly retired, leaving a Space of Ground between them and the Enemy. By this means, the Darts of the *Gauls* did no Execution. Then a ſecond Company of the *Romans* took the Place of the former, and did the ſame thing. In ſhort, no leſs than four Companies of them ſucceeded one another, at the Head of the Army; where they firſt made an Attack with their Darts, and then immediately fell back. And this Diſcharge of Darts, which continued a great while, was no ſooner over, but the *Romans* marched up to the *Gauls*, Sword in Hand, and attacked them on all Sides. This unuſual way of fighting had a little terrified the Enemy. But nevertheleſs, they attacked the *Dictator*'s Right Wing ſo vigorouſly, that they would have routed

Liv. B.7. c.14.

Frontin. Strat.

Appian. in Celticis.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCV. SULPICIUS PETICUS, Dictator.

it, if he had not been there himſelf. In order to encourage his Men, he thus addreſſed himſelf to *Tullius*, who was ſo earneſt in demanding a Battel: *Is this the Effect of your Promiſes? What is become of the Ardor of the Soldiers for fighting? Will all your Boldneſs in the Camp, end in playing the Coward in the Battel? Follow your General. He calls you himſelf, and ſhews you the way to Victory.* Theſe Reproaches of *Sulpicius* were very juſt; and ſo confounded the *Romans* with Shame, that they ran into the Enemy's Battalions like Madmen. There was indeed more of a ſavage Fierceneſs, than true Courage, in this Attack; but it ſucceeded. The *Gauls* were put into Diſorder, and the *Romans* purſued them; but they rallied, near their Right Wing, which kept its Ground. The *Dictator* therefore flew thither, and led the victorious Troops of his own Right Wing againſt it. And then he ſent Orders to the Black-Guard Cavalry, to leave their Ambuſcade. They appeared in the Plain, and marched an indirect Way towards the Camp of the *Gauls*, round the Mountain they had been poſted upon. But the *Gauls*, as ſoon as they perceived them, and heard their Shouts, quitted their Ranks, were afraid of being ſurrounded, and ran in Confuſion, and with all ſpeed, to defend their Camp. Then *M. Valerius*, the General of Horſe, came and intercepted the Fugitives. He had poſted himſelf near the Enemy's Camp, (after the Defeat of their Left Wing) and kept hovering round it, with his Squadrons. So that the *Gauls* had no Retreat left, unleſs to the Woods, and Mountains. And accordingly, they fled thither for Refuge, but were attacked by the Muleteers, and moſt of them put to the Sword. By this means, the Slaughter was greater after the Battel, than in it.

THIS complete Victory left the Republick no Enemies in *Latium*. The *Hernici* were ſubdued, the *Latins* quieted, the *Gauls* vanquiſhed and diſperſed. In ſhort, *Rome* was almoſt ſettled upon as good a Foot, as it had been, before it was taken by the *Senones*: And ſhe was indebted to *Sulpicius*'s *Dictatorſhip* for the beſt Part of this great Proſperity. So that the Honours of a Triumph were decreed him; and it was confeſſed, that ſince *Camillus*, no Body had more juſtly deſerved them than *Sulpicius*. The Day on which he entered the City in Triumph, was *The Nones of May*. And as the *Gauls*, at that time, loved to adorn themſelves with Collars and [46] Bracelets of Gold, in which almoſt all their Riches conſiſted, and the *Dictator* had taken many of them; he made a Preſent of ſome of his Spoils of this Sort to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and ſhut it up in a little Free-ſtone Vault. After this, it is probable *Sulpicius* abdicated his *Dictatorſhip*, and the Government of the State returned into the Hands of the two *Conſuls* for the Year: And then the *Romans* applied themſelves wholly to Works of Peace. Indeed, the Inhabitants of two of the Cities of the *Volſci*, *Velitræ*, and [47] *Privernum*, made ſome freſh Incurſions into the *Roman* Territory; but theſe Hoſtilities were then neglected, as being thought of little Importance. Nevertheleſs, ſome of the Citizens of *Rome* ſeem to have been ſent into the *Pomptin* Diſtrict to put a Stop to them: And theſe New-Comers made a new [48] *Tribe*. To which, if we add the Tribe *Publicia*, or rather *Popilia*, which was alſo newly eſtabliſhed; theſe two added to the twenty five old *Tribes*, made them in all twenty ſeven. The City then enjoyed Tranquillity enough to make the People think of publick *Games*. *Camillus* had made a Vow, in the Year of *Rome* 386, to celebrate ſome, by way of Thankſgiving, for

Faſt. Capit.

Liv. B. 7. c. 15.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCV. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS, Conſuls.

46 Bracelets were in Faſhion in ſeveral Nations, and in particular, among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Sabines*, according to *Livy*, wore them on their left Arms. But it was more common to wear them on the right: often, indeed, on both. They were worn both by Men and Women. They were one of the Military Rewards the Generals gave to brave Soldiers, as appears by the Hiſtorians, and ancient Inſcriptions, particularly the following one of *Gruter*. L. ANTONIUS. L. F. FABIUS QUADRATUS DONATUS TORQUIBUS, ARMILLIS AB TIBERIO CÆSARE BIS. Authors mention Gold and Silver Bracelets, which were uſed by Great Men. Thoſe of leſs Value were for the meaner Sort of People.

47 *Cluver* thinks *Privernum* formerly ſtood beyond *Setia*, in the Road to *Terracina*, and in a little Diſtrict, in which the little City of *Piperno* now ſtands. He declares, that there are yet to be ſeen ſeveral old Buildings, about two Miles beyond it, near the River *Amaſene*, on the Side of *Anagnia*.

48 Theſe two *Tribes* added to the twenty five beforementioned, make in all twenty ſeven. THE TRIBE POMPTINA, took its Name, according to *Feſtus*, from the *Pomptin* Territory, which was ſo called from the City of *Pometia*, the moſt conſiderable City in the whole Canton, which belonged to the *Volſci*. As to the TRIBE PUBLICIA, it lay likewiſe as the former did, in a Part of the Territory of the *Volſci*. But ancient Authors have not ſaid enough of it, to let us know its exact Situation. This *Tribe* is ſometimes called *Popilia*, and ſometimes *Publilia*, in the ancient Monuments. *Panvini* thinks it was ſo called, from one of the principal Places in the Country where it lay; but *Sigonius* gueſſes that *Popilius Lænas* gave this Tribe the Name of *Popilia*.

the

the Peace eſtabliſhed between the People and the *Patricians*. But it was neceſſary that *Rome* ſhould enjoy an Interval of Peace for it; which did not happen till nine Years after *Camillus* had made the Vow. And then the *Tribunes of the People* at the ſame time corrected an Abuſe, which began to creep into the Republick. The *New Men* being more ambitious of Offices than the moſt noble *Patricians*, canvaſſed for them openly. Nor were they ſatisfied with ſolliciting the Suffrages of the People in the *Forum Romanum*; they even went to the Country-Fairs, and other publick Meetings, to buy Votes. The *Tribune Pætelius* therefore drew up a Law, againſt a Corruption which was ſo fatal to the publick Welfare; and his Bill both paſſed the Senate, and was accepted in the *Comitia*. This was the firſt Law which was made in *Rome*, againſt open Canvaſſings for Votes; for that which had been made in the Year 332, forbidding all Candidates for Offices to wear Robes whiter than ordinary, was only a cautionary Law, to prevent even all Appearances of intriguing.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCV. M. Fabius Ambustus, C. Plautius Proculus, Conſuls.

§. X. Under the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, the Avarice of the *Patricians* was, to their Shame, reſtrained. No ſooner were 49 *C. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rutilus*, and *Cn. Manlius Imperioſus*, elected by the *Centuries*; but *Duilius* and *Mænius*, two of the *Tribunes of the People*, undertook to regulate the Intereſt which ſhould be taken for Loans, for the future. It had long been arbitrary; and from thence came the Ruin and Murmurs of the People. It was therefore determined, at the Requeſt of the *Tribunes*, how much the Creditors ſhould annually receive for their Debts. Money was ſettled at one *per Cent.* and it is ſcarce credible, with what Greedineſs the People preſſed the paſſing, and confirming this Law, which they 50 thought favoured them.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCVI. C. Marcius Rutilus, Cn. Manlius Imperiosus, Conſuls.

Liv. B.7. c.16.

But it is probable, the *Patricians*, being diſpleaſed with a Law, which was a Clog to their Covetouſneſs, and ſet Bounds to their Profits, thought to revenge themſelves on the *Plebeians*. *Licinius Stolo* had long been a formidable Adverſary to the Nobility. They could not forget that he had given them their greateſt Wounds, in his *Tribuneſhips*; which laſted no leſs than ten Years together, contrary to Law. This *Licinius Stolo*, had been the Author, or Promoter at leaſt, of the four Laws, which were ſo fatal to the *Patrician* Party. And the time was now come, for the Nobility to make him feel the Weight of their Reſentments. Tho' this *Plebeian* had been twice *Conſul*, yet he was brought before the Tribunal of *M. Popilius Lænas*, the preſent *Prætor*. His Accuſation turned ſo much the more to his Confuſion, becauſe he had himſelf been the Author of the Law, he was accuſed of breaking. We have already obſerved, that the People had formerly made a Law, at the Inſtigation of *L. Sextius*, and *Licinius Stolo*, which forbad any Citizen to poſſeſs more than five hundred Acres of Land. But now this Lawgiver was himſelf in Poſſeſſion of a thouſand, contrary to his own Law. He had indeed 51 emancipated his Son, and put him in the nominal Poſſeſſion of half his Lands, the better to cover his Breach of this Law. But it was eaſy to prove before the *Prætor*, that this Emancipation was made purely to evade the Law. Otherwiſe the Father, and the emancipated Son, had been, in the Eye of the Law, two different Perſons, and the thouſand Acres when divided between two, had not exceeded the Limits the Law preſcribed. In ſhort, *Licinius* was convicted of fraud, and 52 fined 10000 *Aſſes* of Braſs. Which Condemnation of a Man, who was attainted for having broken his own Law, was thought by the *Romans* ſo extraordinary, that all their Hiſtorians have mentioned it, as a very unuſual Caſe, and a pernicious Precedent.

Liv. B.7. c.16. Val. Max. B. 8. c.6. §.3. and Plin. B. 18. c.3.

32 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d. Arbuthnot.*

49 Neither *Diodorus*, *Livy*, nor *Caſſiodorus*, mention the Surname of either of theſe *Conſuls*; and the *Greek Tables* omit both their *Prænomina*. But the *Faſti Capitolini* give *Manlius* both the Surnames of *Imperioſus* and *Capitolinus*. This was his ſecond Conſulſhip.

50 *Tacitus* has Reaſon to ſay, *Annal. 6.* that the Laws of the *Twelve Tables* had already fixed the Intereſt of Money at 1 *per Cent.* It is probable the Rich Citizens ſoon broke thro' a Law, which reſtrained their Avarice; and this obliged the *Tribunes* of the *People* to renew it.

51 The Form of emancipating a Son, and freeing him from his Father's Authority, has been mentioned before. To which we ſhall here add, that the Emperor *Juſtinian* aboliſhed thoſe tedious and ſilly Ceremonies, which a learned *Civilian* calls the Sport of the *Roman* Laws, in their Infancy.

52 The 10000 *Aſſes* of Braſs, at the Rate of a *French Sol*, *per* As, don't amount to more than 500 *Livres* of *French* Money. But according to the Weight, and in Proportion to the preſent Value, of a Pound of Braſs, the Fine will amount to 6700 *French Livres*; as has been already obſerved in ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory.

After

Year of *ROME* CCCXCVI.
C. Marcius Rutilus, Cn. Manlius Imperiosus, Conſuls.

After theſe inteſtine Commotions, the *Romans* reſolved to enter upon a foreign War. The Inhabitants of *Velitræ* and *Privernum* had openly declared againſt the Republick, the laſt Year: and ſhe had deferred puniſhing them. The *Conſul Marcius* was therefore commiſſioned to revenge the Cauſe of *Rome*. He marched thence with an Army, and entered the Territory of *Privernum*. This was the Capital of the *Volſci*; the Lands belonging to it, were fruitful; and a long Peace had given the Inhabitants time to breathe, and increaſe their Wealth. So that the Soldiers enriched themſelves with the Booty they got there. For the *Conſul* reſerved [53] none of it for the publick Treaſury. By this means the General got the Affection of his Troops. They were ready to undertake any thing, under his Command. *Marcius* therefore had thoughts of forcing the Enemy's Camp, which was poſted near *Privernum*, and of laying Siege to the City; and in order to take advantage of the good Diſpoſition of his *Romans*, he beſpoke them thus. *If you promiſe me, not to be more intent upon Plunder than upon fighting, I will immediately make you Maſters of the Enemy's Entrenchments. After the Victory is gained, I know how to reward your Moderation. I give up the Booty of both Camp and City, wholly to you.* Thus we ſee, that the *Romans*, at this time, were not led to Victory by the ſole Love of Glory, or their Country. The Hopes of Plunder was their chief Incentive to behave themſelves valiantly. They demanded a Battel, with great Shouts; and full of Hopes, and Courage, fell on the Enemy with Fury. Their firſt Attack was ſo vigorous, that *Tullius*, the *Centurion* before-mentioned, who loved Diſcipline, and was beloved by the Soldiers, took notice of it to the General. *You ſee*, ſaid he to him, *how your Troops keep their Word!* After which, he threw down his Javelin, drew his Sword, joined the Commanders of the Troops, and fell upon the Enemy. The *Privernates* retired upon the firſt Onſet; and then being put into Diſorder, and routed, fled for Refuge to *Privernum*. The *Roman* Army purſued them with ſuch Ardor, that they followed them cloſe, to the Foot of the Walls; and prepared to take the City, by Aſſault, without delay. But the *Privernates* prevented the ſacking of their City, by their Submiſſion. They ſurrendred up *Privernum* to the *Conſul*. So that *Marcius* having merited the Honours of a Triumph, by this glorious Campaign; he entred triumphantly into *Rome*, on the firſt Day of *July*.

Faſt. Capit.

But the Glory of *Cn. Manlius*, the ſecond *Conſul*, did not equal that of his Collegue. *Rome* had entruſted him with the Conduct of an Army in *Hetruria*, againſt the [54] *Faliſci*, who had again declared themſelves Enemies to the Republick.

The

[53] In this the *Conſul* ſeems to have deviated from the common Cuſtom, which obliged the General to deliver, at leaſt the greateſt Part of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, into the publick Treaſury. This Liberality of Generals to their Soldiers, often gave Umbrage to the *Tribunes of the People*. They frequently took Occaſion from thence to proſecute the Conqueror; out of a Perſuaſion that theſe Bounties were not given without Deſign.

[54] The Country of the *Faliſci*, was a conſiderable Territory among the twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria*. Theſe People were originally *Greeks*. A Colony of *Pelaſgi* came into this Country, under the Conduct of *Haleſus*, who is ſaid to have been the Son of *Agamemnon*. It ſettled and continued here ſeveral Ages. *Dion. Hal.* ſpeaking of *Falerii*, the capital City of this Canton, ſays, that there were there ſome Footſteps of its Antiquity remaining in his Time. Some old Monuments which were preſerved there, ſhewed the Origin of the Nation, according to this Hiſtorian. He ſays, ſeveral Cuſtoms of the ancient *Greeks* were long obſerved here; as the Form and Ornaments of their Arms, the *Argian* Bucklers, their Pikes, their Way of building Temples, their Sanctuaries of the Gods, their Expiations, or Purifications, Sacrifices, and ſeveral other Practices, after the *Greek* Taſte, as particularly the Cuſtom of declaring War by *Feciales*, who marched at the Head of their Armies, when they paſſed their Frontiers, either to attack others, or by Way of Self-Defence. But the moſt evident Proof that theſe People, who drove the *Siculi* out of their old Habitation, were originally *Greeks*, was the Temple of *Juno*, which was built at *Falerii*. It was built upon the ſame Plan as that of *Argos*: And the ſame Ceremonies were obſerved in the Sacrifices, in both. Prieſteſſes had the Care of this Temple. A young Virgin, called in *Greek*, Καλαφόρος, becauſe ſhe carried a Basket on her Head, began the Solemnity. Choirs of Girls ſung Hymns to the Goddeſs, in their own Languages. *Strabo* and *Solinus*, *B.* 8. ſuppoſe, without Reaſon, that the *Faliſci* were ſo called from a City of that Name, which was different from *Falerii*. The Words of the latter are theſe: *Quis ignorat conditam eſſe Argyllam a Pelaſgis, ab Haleſo Argivo Phaliſcam, a Phalerio Argivo Phalerios, Feſcenniumque ab Argivis?* The Abridger of *Stephens* is of the ſame Opinion. Φαλίσκοι πόλις Ἰταλίας ἄποικος Ἀργείων, καὶ Φαλίσκοι οἱ οἰκήτορες. But it is evident from many Paſſages in *Livy*, that there was no City which bore the Name of *Faliſci*, and that this Name was given only to the Country, and its Inhabitants. This Hiſtorian knew no other City which belonged to the *Faliſci*, but *Falerii*. The only remaining Queſtion is, where it formerly ſtood. *Zonaras* mentions two Cities of the ſame Name; one of which was ancient, and built in the *Flaminian Way*, upon an high Mountain, which overlooked the *Tyber*. This was probably that which *Manlius Torquatus* deſtroyed. *Cluver* thinks it ſtood in the Place called *Civita Caſtellana*. And as for the other City mentioned by *Zonaras*, he ſays, the Inhabitants of it came down into the Plain, and built a new City, the Ruins of which, *Holſtenius* and *Cluver* ſay, were

The *Romans* had not forgotten the Injuries they had formerly done them. The *Faliſci* had joined with the *Tarquinienſes* the laſt Year, and aſſiſted them, with their Infantry. Nor was this all. After *Fabius*'s Defeat by the *Tarquinienſes*, ſome of his Soldiers had fled to *Falerii* for Refuge, as to a City in Amity with the *Romans*: but the *Faliſci* had detained them, and refuſed to ſurrender them up to the Republick, tho' demanded by the *Feciales*. Theſe were the two Affronts given by the *Faliſci*, whom *Manlius* went to puniſh. But there was nothing memorable in the Advantages he gained over them. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, but this *Conſul*'s Attempt againſt the Conſtitution. He had ventured to aſſemble the *Comitia by Tribes*, near *Sutri*, and had there made a Law, in his Camp, and at the Head of his Army; which was a Novelty, that might prove dangerous to the Commons. The Senate had indeed conſented to this Law, and perhaps had even drawn it up. It was thereby enacted, That the 20th part of the Price of every Slave that was ſold, ſhould be paid into the publick Treaſury. This was a pretty good way to fill it, tho' then very much exhauſted. So that, the Law had paſſed, by the Favour of the *Conſcript Fathers*, notwithſtanding its Irregularity. But in order to have aſſembled the *Comitia by Tribes*, in a legal manner, ſeveral Formalities ought to have been obſerved, which were then omitted. Every *Tribe* ought to have been ſummoned by Name: They could not be legally aſſembled any where, but within the Compaſs of *Rome*: and the Law ought to have been propoſed three Market-Days. The *Tribunes of the People* therefore thought this Step of the *Conſul Manlius* might be of dangerous Conſequence to the publick Liberty. *Is it not to be ſuſpected*, ſaid they, *that the* Tribes *were forced to give their Suffrages out of Fear, when aſſembled in a Camp, by a* Conſul *in Arms?* Beſides, were not the Soldiers, who were ſworn to obey their General, obliged of courſe to give their Suffrages as he thought fit? In order therefore to prevent the Inconveniencies that might ariſe from theſe military *Comitia*, the *Tribunes of the People* got a Law paſt, which forbad any Man to aſſemble the People in *Comitia*, any where but in *Rome*, under Pain of Death. But it is not any where ſaid, that the Law for paying the 20th Part of the Price of every Slave [55], was repealed. However, the *Tribunes of the People* wiſely provided againſt future Inconveniencies, by reſtraining this growing Tyranny of the *Conſuls*; who would have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Power of paſſing any Laws, how diſadvantageous ſoever to the Commons.

Year of ROME CCCXCVI. C. Marcius Rutilus, Cn. Manlius Imperiosus, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 16.

§. XI. The *Plebeians* were alſo made more powerful than ever, by this Humiliation of the *Conſul*, and Senate. The next Year, (in which *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas*, were both *Conſuls*, the ſecond time) ſhewed the Aſcendant the People had gained over the *Patricians*. We ſhall ſoon ſee the higheſt Dignity in *Rome*, in the Hands of a *Plebeian*; and many Victories gained, by Generals choſen out of the People. As ſoon as the *Conſuls* were entred upon their Office, they choſe their military Employments by Lot. *Popilius Lænas*, a *Plebeian*, commanded the Army which was appointed to act againſt the *Tiburtes*. What Reaſon the *Romans* had for declaring War againſt the Inhabitants of *Tibur*, Hiſtory has not told us. But it may be ſuppoſed to have been only on account of ſome freſh Robberies they had committed in the *Roman* Territory. *Popilius* therefore made Repriſals, ravaged their Lands in return; and as no Enemy appeared in the Field, but they continued ſhut up within their Walls, he found it an eaſy Matter to revenge himſelf upon them.

Year of ROME CCCXCVII. M. Fabius Ambustus, M. Popilius Lænas, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 17.

As for the *Conſul Fabius*, his Collegue, he undertook a more difficult Affair. He marched out of *Rome*, to make War with the *Faliſci*, and *Tarquinienſes*, united. The firſt thing the latter did, was to make uſe of a Stratagem, which has been ſe-

to be ſeen, near *Falari*. *Antonius Maſſa*, in his Work, of the Origin and Antiquity of the *Faliſci*, s led, by his Affection for *Galeſe*, his native City, o believe that it was built upon the Ruins of old *Falerii*. *Virgil* calls the Inhabitants of this City Lovers of Equity, according to *Servius*'s Interpretaion, *Æquoſque Faliſcos*, *Æneid* 7. becauſe, accordng to him, the *Decemviri* had from them the Law f the *Feciales*, which was inſerted in the 12 *Tables*, nd which *they* had brought from *Greece*. But ivy, B. 1. *Dion. Hal. B.* 2. *Aurelius Victor*, and rvius himſelf, *upon the* 10*th Æneid*, ſay this Ceremony was borrowed from the *Æqui*, in the Reign of *Ancus Marcius*, long before the Time of the *Decemviri*. Nevertheleſs, *Dion. Hal.* queſtions whether it did not come originally from the *Ardeates*.

55 If this Law was then aboliſhed, it is certain, it was afterwards revived; ſince it was in being, in the latter Ages of the *Roman* Empire. *Tacitus* ſays the *Romans* payed the twenty fifth Part of the Price of Slaves, by way of Tax. But, according to *D. Hal.* this Tax was afterwards reduced to a fiftieth Part.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCVII.

M. Fabius Ambustus, M. Popilius Lænas, Conſuls.

Liv. B.7. c.17. Flor. B.1. c.8.

veral times [56] practiſed ſince, in different Places. Their Prieſts made Snakes of Ribbons of different Colours, which they carried in one hand, and lighted Flambeaux in the other; and affecting the Air of Furies, advanced towards the Entrenchments of the *Romans*. A Sight, which at firſt affrighted them. They thought themſelves ſurrounded by a *Legion* of infernal Spirits. It was as much as the *Conſul*, Lieutenant-Generals, and *Legionary Tribunes*, could do, to recover them from their Fright: but they, at length, made them aſhamed of being terrified with Bugbears, like Children. And when once recovered from this childiſh Fear, they turned their Rage, and Arms, againſt theſe pretended Spectres, and diſperſed them. After this, they fell upon the Enemy, beſieged their Camp, forced it, and after having plundered it, returned to their own Entrenchments. In their way, they made themſelves merry with their own Fright, and the Enemy's ſilly Artifice.

But in the mean time, the *Tarquinienſes* and *Faliſci* were raiſing up more formidable Enemies to *Rome*, than Prieſts metamorphoſed into Furies. They ſtirred up all *Hetruria* againſt the Republick. The whole Nation of the *Hetrurians* were already upon their March towards the *Roman* Territory, and were advanced as far as the Place called [57] *The Salt-Pits*, on the Banks of the *Tyber*. Their Approach therefore threw the *Romans* into a Conſternation: and they had recourſe to their uſual Remedy in great Emergencies. The *Conſul Popilius*, doubtleſs in the Abſence of his Collegue, named a *Dictator*: and as he was a *Plebeian* himſelf, he raiſed *C. Marcius Rutilus* to the *Dictatorſhip*, who was a *Plebeian* likewiſe. The latter was a Man of approved Valour. He had been *Conſul* the laſt Year, and had enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph, after the Defeat of the *Privernates*. The new *Dictator* alſo choſe a *Plebeian* to be his General of Horſe; whoſe Name was *C. Plautius Proculus*. So that the Government of the Republick was almoſt entirely in the Hands of Men of true Merit, who were all choſen out of the People. Then the Jealouſy of the *Patricians* was more warm than ever. They were even driven to Deſpair, to ſee a *Plebeian* made *Dictator*, which had not been done before, ſince the Eſtabliſhment of the Republick. They were enraged, that the higheſt Offices in *Rome* were left open, and made common to all: and in their Rage, they did their utmoſt to prevent the *Dictator*'s having the Neceſſaries for the threatned War, decreed him. But the People, on the other hand, haſtned the Preparations for the Campaign; every thing was got ready ſooner than uſual; and then he marched out to meet the Enemy, without farther delay. He coaſted along the *Tyber*, marching ſometimes on this Side, ſometimes on that, often croſſing the River in Boats, and always in purſuit of the *Hetrurians*. Wherever he underſtood any of their Parties had appeared, he ſent Troops to intercept them. And at length, *Marcius* arrived at the Enemy's Camp, ſurprized, and forced it. Hiſtorians don't tell us what Number of *Hetrurians* periſhed in the Battel, and the Attack of the Entrenchments: but leave us to gueſs at the Multitude of the Slain, by the Number of the Priſoners. All Authors agree, that eight thouſand were made Priſoners in this famous Action; except one Author, who, unleſs it be the Error of his Copyiſts, reckons but ſeven. So that this complete Victory well deſerved all the military Honours: But Party-Zealots will allow nothing to be Merit, out of their own Party. The Senate, which conſiſted of *Patricians*, oppoſed the Triumph of a *Plebeian Dictator*. Nevertheleſs, the People did him Juſtice, for their own Honour's ſake. They alone ordered the Conqueror a Triumph; and he entred *Rome* triumphantly, in ſpight of the Senators, on *The Day before the Nones of May*.

Faſt. Capit. — *Liv. B.7. c.17.* — Ibid. — *Oroſ. B.3. c.6.* *Eutrop. B. 2.* *Liv.* and *Oroſ. ibid.* — *Faſt. Capit.*

Upon *Marcius*'s return, he found the time drew nigh for aſſembling the *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*, to elect *Conſuls* for the Year enſuing: but there were then none but *Plebeian* Magiſtrates in *Rome*, to preſide in theſe *Comitia*. The *Conſul*

56 *Frontinus*, B. 2. ſays the Inhabitants of *Veii* made uſe of the ſame Stratagem againſt the *Romans*.

57 There were ſeveral Places in *Italy*, called *The Salt-pits*. 1. That near the Ford of *Volaterræ*, in *Hetruria*, at the Mouth of the River *Cenina*, which retains the ſame Name to this Day. 2. That in *Apulia*, or *La Poüille*, near the Lake called *Lago Salſo*, in the Neighbourhood of the River *Cerbalus*, or *Cervaro*. 3. *The Salt-Pits* that *Ancus Martius* made near the Port of *Oſtia*. And laſtly, thoſe which the *Veientes* ſurrendred up to *Romulus*, with the *Septem-Pagium*, according to *Dion. Hal.* at a little Diſtance from the Mouth of the *Tyber*. Tho' the Antients have diſtinguiſhed the Salt-Pits of the *Septem-Pagium*, from thoſe of *Ancus Marcius*, their Neighbourhood makes it probable that they were the ſame. The *Hetrurians* therefore were far advanced into the *Roman* Territory, to the Place now called *Campo di Saline*.

Fabius was abſent, and in all probability purſuing the Victory over the *Hetrurians*: and for this reaſon the Nobility raiſed Difficulties againſt holding theſe *Comitia*. The Pretence made uſe of, to prevent any *Plebeian*, even tho' a *Dictator*, or a *Conſul*, from preſiding in the *Comitia*, was that of Religion. The *Pontifical* Laws required, that the Election of chief Magiſtrates ſhould be conſecrated by *Auguries*; and *Auguries*, ſaid they, belong of right only to the Nobility: And for this time, the Nobility prevailed. The *Dictator Marcius*, and the *Conſul Popilius*, were excluded from preſiding in *Comitia*, on account of their Birth. And therefore, as there was a Neceſſity of having ſome Magiſtrate of the firſt Rank, to preſide in them, the Republick was forced to have recourſe to an *Interregnum*. Six *Patricians* were choſen to govern it, by turns. Their Names were, *Q. Servilius Ahala*, *M. Fabius*, *Cn. Manlius*, *C. Fabius*, *Sulpicius*, and *L. Æmilius*: To whom [58] *Livy* adds two more, who ſeem to us to be Supernumeraries; and to have been probably put into his Manuſcripts, by the Miſtake of the Copyiſts. From the Beginning of this *Interregnum*, the *Patricians* managed their Affairs ſo well, that they hoped to have only *Patricians* in the *Conſulſhip*; tho' one of the *Conſuls* had been a *Patrician*, and the other a *Plebeian*, for eleven Years laſt paſt. They held the *Comitia*, when it was *Fabius*'s Turn to preſide in them; and were indeed ſo ſucceſsful, as to prevent any *Plebeian*'s being elected. So that the *Plebeians* were, for ſome time, excluded from the higheſt Offices, in the very Year, in which they triumphed moſt: and it is ſcarce to be conceived, how ſenſible an Affliction this unforeſeen Stroke was to the *Tribunes of the People*. They exclaimed againſt the Election, which, they ſaid, was contrary to the Laws, and to the Cuſtoms which had been eſtabliſhed in the Republick, for the laſt eleven Years. But *Fabius*, the Preſident in the *Comitia*, ſilenced them, by quoting againſt them a Law of the *Twelve Tables*; whereby it was enacted, *That only the laſt Edict of the People ſhould be of force, and render all preceding ones null.* He from thence inferred, that the *Roman* People had repealed the Law, which divided the *Conſulſhip* between a *Patrician*, and a *Plebeian*, by giving their Votes for two *Patricians*, in this laſt Inſtance: and this reaſoning was admitted as ſolid. So that, [59] *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, were both confirmed in the *Conſulſhip*, tho' both *Patricians*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCVII. M. Fabius Ambustus, M. Popilius Lænas, Conſuls.

Year of *ROME* CCCXCVII. Interregnum.

§. XII. The new *Conſuls* entred upon their Office immediately after the Election: But whether they made War with the *Tiburtes* jointly, and under the ſame *Auguries*, or whether they ſeparated, and one led his Army into the Territory of *Tibur*, and the other into that of *Tarquinia*, is uncertain. However, (for Hiſtorians differ about it) this at leaſt is certain, that nothing very conſiderable happened, in any of this Year's Expeditions. We are only told, that the *Roman* Troops took the City of [60] *Empulum*, from the *Tiburtes*, after a ſlight Battel: and this was all that was done, by the two *Patricians*, who were artfully choſen, to the Excluſion of the *Plebeians*. But what was moſt extraordinary, was, the Method they took, to keep the *Conſulſhip*, wholly to their own Party, without ſuffering the Commons to have any ſhare in it. When the time came for proceeding to a new Election, *Sulpicius* and *Valerius*, abſolutely refuſed to reſign their Dignity into any Hands, but thoſe from whom they received it. *We hold the* Conſulſhip, ſaid they, *of the Senate and* Patricians; *and are bound both in Honour and Gratitude, not to reſign it into any Hands, but thoſe of* Patricians. *We will either wholly renounce this Dignity for ever, or keep it wholly out of the Hands of Men ignobly born.* On the other hand, the *Plebeians* were enraged at this unreaſonable Obſtinacy, and ſaid; *What ſignifies it to us, that* Sextius *and* Licinius *obtained the higheſt Offices, if all* Plebeians *are to be excluded from them, ever after? We will rather ſuffer* Kings, *or* Decemviri, *to rule over us, than* Patrician Conſuls. *Without this Variety, of*

Year of *ROME* CCCXCVIII. C. Sulpicius Peticus, M. Valerius Poplicola, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 7. c. 18.

Liv. ibid.

58 Theſe two ſupernumerary Magiſtrates, are *Quintus Servilius*, and *Marcus Fabius Ambuſtus*, who were probably the ſame Perſons as *Quintus Servilius*, ſurnamed *Ahala*, and *Marcus Fabius*, whom *Livy* had mentioned before.

59 In ſome old Editions of *Livy*, we read *Cneius Potitus*, inſtead of *Caius Sulpicius Peticus*. This was his third *Conſulſhip*; and the firſt, of *Marcus Valerius Poplicola*.

60 The Geographers ſay nothing of the ancient City of *Empulum*. They honeſtly confeſs they don't know the Situation of it. Only Father *Kircher*, in his Work called *Old and new Latium*, places it three Miles North of the *Tyber*, near a Place he calls *Ampiglione*, where he himſelf obſerved ſeveral conſiderable Ruins. And, according to him, upon theſe Ruins was alſo built what he calls *Caſtellum S. Angeli*, or *Caſtello Della Madama*, in the Territory of *Tivoli*. Beſides, this Father brings an old MS. in Proof of this, which MS. was put into his Hands by *Tarquin Pamata*. This Work contains the Hiſtory of the Origin and Deſtruction of *Empulum*.

ſometimes

Year of ROME CCCXCVIII. C. Sulpicius Peticus, M. Valerius Poplicola, Consuls.

sometimes governing, and sometimes obeying, what Equality will there be in the Republick? Shall all the Power be on one Side, and the other be condemned to perpetual Slavery? Which Lamentations had indeed the Air of Sedition; but the Malecontents had no one to head them. The *Tribunes of the People* raised the Tumult; but there was no body to regulate the Motions of the enraged Populace. The People went down to the *Campus Martius*, several times, in order to proceed to Elections; but the *Comitia* were always interrupted by popular Commotions. Nevertheless, the *Consuls* stood the Shock of these fruitless Storms, with Constancy. At length, a Day came, on which there were greater Disturbances in the *Comitia* than usual. The greatest number of the People cried out, that they ought not only to dissolve the Assembly, but likewise leave *Rome*, and separate themselves from the *Patricians*, as formerly; and a great number of Mutineers did in fact quit the *Campus Martius*, leaving only the least passionate behind them: But those who remained, gave their Suffrages for two *Patricians*, whereby the Election was concluded in their Favour.

Year of ROME CCCXCIX. M. Fabius Ambustus, T. Quinctius Pennus, Consuls.

§. XIII. Thus [61] *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *T. Quinctius Pennus*, both *Patricians*, took Possession of the *Consular* Dignity. But nevertheless, there is reason to suppose, from the different Accounts of Authors, that there was then a Schism in *Rome*; and that those who separated from the *Comitia*, chose *Plebeian Consuls*. *Livy* says, he had read the Name of *M. Popilius*, a *Plebeian*, among this Year's *Consuls*, in some Annals. On the other hand, the *Greek Tables* make *Marcius* the *Plebeian*, the Collegue of *T. Quinctius*, in the *Consulship* for this Year. May it not then be from hence supposed, that the different Parts of the divided People chose different *Consuls?* As for ourselves, we build upon the Authority of the *Fasti Capitolini*, and other Writers of Antiquity; and therefore acknowledge only, *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *T. Quinctius Pennus*, for *Consuls*.

D. Sic. Cassiod. Liv. B. 7. c. 18.

These two *Patrician* Collegues, both took the Field, but on different Expeditions. The War with the *Tiburtes* fell by Lot, to *Fabius*; and the War with the *Tarquinienses*, to *Quinctius*. Both were successful Campaigns to the *Romans*; but *Fabius* had the Advantage of subduing his Enemies, without much Blood-shed. He took [62] *Sassula*, a City of the *Tiburtes*, and was already preparing to take the rest of their Castles and Towns, by force: but the Fear of his Arms made the Enemy more tractable. The Inhabitants of *Tibur* knew their own Interest; they had recourse to the Conqueror's Clemency, surrendred at Discretion, and put all their Country under the Dominion of the Republick. An advantageous Conquest, which delivered the *Romans* from the Hostilities of a Nation, which was the more troublesome, for being near: and therefore a Triumph was decreed the Conqueror of the *Tiburtes*, who entred *Rome* in Pomp, on *The Third of the Nones of June*.

Fast. Capit.

The Battel *Quinctius* fought with the *Tarquinienses*, was indeed more bloody, and less decisive: so that he was not honoured with a Triumph. But the *Romans* had thereby the barbarous Pleasure of satisfying their Revenge, by reaking their Hands in the Blood of the Conquered. It has been observed, that the *Tarquinienses* had the Cruelty, about four Years before, to massacre 307 *Roman* Soldiers, whom they had taken after a Defeat: and the *Romans* had now an Opportunity of making Reprisals. *Quinctius*, after he had seen great Multitudes of these *Hetrurians* fall in Battel, had taken a great number of Prisoners: and the *Consul*, contrary to the Custom of the *Romans*, who generally contented themselves with reducing those they had taken in War, to Slavery; put all who escaped in the Battel, to the Sword: only he reserved 358 of these miserable Captives, and sent them to *Rome*. These were the most considerable among the Prisoners; and the Senate made them an Example of Terror to the neighbouring Nations. They were all first beaten with Rods, in the *Forum*; and then beheaded, by the *Lictors*.

Liv. B. 7. c. 19.

61 This was the third *Consulship* of *Marcus Fabius*; and the first, of *Titus Quinctius Pennus*, to whom the *Fasti Capitolini* give the two Surnames of *Capitolinus*, and *Crispinus*. *Solinus* places the Birth of *Alexander the Great*, and the burning of the famous Temple of *Diana* of *Ephesus*, in this Year. But his Chronology does not agree with the Years of *Rome*.

62 After the strictest Search *Cluver* could make for the Situation of the Cities of *Italy*, he confesses he knows not where the ancient City of *Sassula* formerly stood. But *Kircher*, who examined Things upon the Spot, guesses it stood on the Ground where *S. Gregorio* stands at present.

THESE Victories extended the Reputation of the *Romans*, to Nations, with whom the Republick had been very little concerned. The [63] *Samnites* ſent an Embaſſy to them, and courted their Friendſhip, and the Senate concluded a Treaty of Alliance with them, upon the foot, as I believe, of the Confederacy of the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The *Samnites*, without making any Alteration in their Laws, and Government, engaged to furniſh the Republick with Troops, as it had Occaſion for them; and the Republick promiſed to protect them againſt all their Enemies, at home and abroad. Thus *Rome* advanced, by very inſenſible Steps, to that immenſe Grandeur, at which ſhe at laſt arrived. Year of ROME CCCXCIX. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS, Conſuls.

§. XIV. SUCH was the Situation of the Affairs of the *Romans*, in the Cloſe of the fourth *Century*, after the Foundation of their City. The People continued ſtill inclined to get one *Plebeian*, at leaſt, choſen *Conſul*; but the Commons were in ſo bad a Condition, as would not ſuffer them to form, or carry on, any Intrigues. Tho' the Intereſt of Money borrowed, had been conſiderably leſſened, in favour of the *Plebeians*, they found the principal Sums alone ſufficient to keep them down. This was an Advantage the Nobility had over them, and they made uſe of it, to impriſon them, and reduce them to Slavery. The *Plebeians* had therefore neither Courage, nor Strength enough, to maintain their Rights, and ſecure the *Conſulſhip* to themſelves. So that the *Patricians* became Maſters of the *Comitia*, and got two of their own Body, namely, [64] *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, and *M. Valerius Poplicola*, choſen *Conſuls*. The *Romans* had then more Enemies than one upon their Hands. The *Tarquinienſes*, the Inhabitants of *Cære*, the *Faliſci*, and the *Volſci*, either actually diſturbed the Quiet of the *Romans*, or were preparing Work for their Valour. But the Republick, which could not provide for ſo many Wars at once, inclined moſt to extend her Limits on the Side of *Hetruria*. The *Cærites*, though hitherto in Alliance with the *Romans*, yet had thoughts of revolting, and ſeemed diſpoſed to ſurrender themſelves up to the *Tarquinienſes*. As the City of *Cære* was near *Tarquinia*, theſe two Nations often intermarried; and theſe Alliances, had gained the *Tarquinienſes* the Affections of the *Cærites*. *Rome* was therefore preparing to puniſh the one, and turn their Forces againſt the other; when an Embaſſy from the *Latins* diverted them from that Deſign. Theſe old Allies repreſented, That the *Volſci*, who were always reſtleſs, tho' often ſubdued, had drawn together an Army; and after having ravaged *Latium*, were ready to enter the *Roman* Territory. So that theſe Motions, which threatned *Rome* on both Sides, obliged the Senate to divide the Forces of the Republick, and raiſe two Armies. It fell to *Sulpicius*'s Lot to command that which was deſigned for *Hetruria*; and to *Valerius*'s, to conduct that which was to march againſt the *Volſci*. The *Conſuls* took the Field; and *Valerius* was already encamped on the Confines of the Territory of *Tuſculum*, in order to ſtop the Incurſions of the *Volſci*; when he was, all on a ſudden, recalled to *Rome*, to nominate a *Dictator*. *Sulpicius*'s Letters had terrified the Senate. They imported, That his Army was not ſufficient to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of the united *Tarquinienſes* and *Cærites*; That the Year of ROME CCCC. C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, Conſuls.

[63] The *Samnites* and the *Sabines* were, according to the *Roman* Writers and ancient Geographers, originally but one Nation. And being afterwards divided into two Nations, thoſe who advanced Weſtward retained their old Denomination of *Sabines*, and inhabited that Part of *Italy* near *Latium*, which was called, from them, *Sabinia*. The others ſpread themſelves Eaſtward, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a large Tract of Ground, reaching from the Confines of *New Latium*, to the Borders of *Apulia* and *Lucania*. The ſeveral Names of *Sabinites*, *Sabnites*, and *Sabelli*, which Authors give theſe People, ſhew their Origin. Theſe are they whom the *Greeks* called Σαυνίτας; and hence came the Name of *Samnites*, which the *Romans* gave them. Several other Nations ſprung from this People, namely, the *Picentini*, *Veſtini*, *Marrucini*, *Frentani*, *Peligni*, *Hirpini*, and *Marſi*, who all diſperſed into different Nations on the Eaſt of *Italy*, where each Nation got it ſelf a little Territory. So that the Name and Nation of the *Samnites* were, after this Separation, confined within the Bounds of *Samnium*: that is, between the Country of the *Volſci*, on the Weſt; the River *Vulturnus*, or *Volturno*, on the Eaſt; the River *Sagre*, or *La Sangro*, on the North; and *Campania*, properly ſo called, to the South. This Country contained the preſent County of *Moliſa*, Part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, the *Capitanata*, and *Terra di Lavoro*. *Feſtus* pretends, that the Name of the *Samnites*, or *Saunites*, was taken from thoſe Darts which the *Greeks* called σαύνια, and which were pretty much like the *Veruta* of the *Romans*. Theſe Arms were in Uſe among the *Samnites*, as appears by theſe Words of *Virgil*, *Æneid* 7.

Et Tereti pugnant mucrone, veruque Sabello.

Feſtus ſays indeed, that the *Samnites* being chaſed by the *Sabines*, fled for Refuge, under the Conduct of their Leader *Canus Caſtronius*, to a Hill, which was called *Samnium*. And *Strabo* repeats all the Particulars of this Story; but nevertheleſs acknowledges, that the *Samnites* were originally *Sabines*. This is likewiſe *Varro*'s Opinion, *B. 6. de Ling. Lat.*

[64] *Caius Sulpicius Peticus* was now raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*, the fourth time; and *Marcus Valerius Poplicola*, the ſecond. *Caſſiodorus*, and *Diodorus*, both neglect to give us the Surnames of theſe *Conſuls*; and the *Greek Tables* omit both their *Prænomina*.

Year of ROME CCCC.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, Dictator.

Faliſci had joined them; That the former had already plundered the Country, round about the *Roman Salt-pits*, near the *Tyber*, and had carried their Booty to the *Cærites*; and That laſtly, it was not to be doubted, but the latter had joined with the *Tarquinienſes* in this Expedition. In order therefore to have a third Army raiſed, to oppoſe the *Cærites*, whilſt one of the *Conſuls* kept the *Tarquinienſes* and *Faliſci* in Awe, and the other the *Volſci*; the Senate obliged *Valerius* to name a *Dictator*. The Perſon choſen, was that *T. Manlius Torquatus*, who had ſignalized himſelf, ſome Years before, in a ſingle Combat, with a proud *Gaul*, whom he ſtripped of his Gold Collar: and his Election ſeems to have been irregular. This brave *Roman* had never been *Conſul*, and the *Conſulſhip* was a neceſſary previous Step to the *Dictatorſhip*. But *Valerius* regarded nothing but *Manlius*'s Merit in the Choice; and his Nomination was not contradicted; tho' it ſeemed to be contrary to Law. As ſoon as the *Dictator* was nominated, he choſe *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his Maſter of Horſe; and theſe two brave Men may be ſaid to have wanted nothing to ſignalize themſelves in their Employments, but Enemies to fight with.

MANLIUS's firſt Buſineſs was to proclaim War with the *Cærites*, in a lawful manner, both by the Authority of the Senate, and the Edict of the People. And then, without raiſing new Troops at pleaſure, the *Dictator* contented himſelf with a *Conſular* Army; that is, [65] as I underſtand it, with two *Roman Legions*, and ſome Auxiliaries from the Allies. Which firſt Preparations were enough of themſelves to terrify the *Cærites*. They perceived the Republick ſhewed a greater Deſire of declaring War with them, than their Hoſtilities had deſerved; and therefore ſoon made amends for the little Ravages they had committed in the *Roman* Lands, by a ſpeedy Repentance. Being convinced that they never could be able to raiſe Forces enough, to equal thoſe of the *Romans*, and being full of Indignation againſt the *Tarquinienſes*, for having drawn them into ſo troubleſome a Quarrel, they neither raiſed Troops, nor made any Preparations for War. They made it their Buſineſs to ſend Deputies to *Rome*, from all their Towns, to implore the Clemency of the *Romans*. Theſe Ambaſſadors were at firſt received by the Senate, with ſome Indignation. They were referred by them, to treat with the People about their Reconciliation: and the *Cærites* hoped they ſhould be able to obtain their Favour, by religious Conſiderations. It may be remembred, that when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, *Cære* had been an *Aſylum* to the *Veſtals*, and tutelary Gods of the *Romans*: and this was the Topick, the Ambaſſadors made uſe of, to move the common People to pity them. When they had obtained leave to ſpeak in the *Comitia*, they firſt turned their Eyes, and lifted up their Hands in a ſuppliant manner, towards the Temple of *Veſta*, and the Habitation of the *Veſtals* and *Pontifices*; and then ſaid: *Diſdain not, O ye Gods, whom we preſerved from the Inſults of the Barbarians; and You,* Romans, *who found a ready Retreat among us in your Afflictions; Diſdain not, to have ſome regard to us, in our Misfortunes! Have we deſerved to be ſo haſtily reckoned among your Enemies? Shall ſome little Acts of Hoſtility, occaſioned rather by Ties of Blood and Relations, than any ſettled Hatred, or Fury, break all the Ties of a Friendſhip, which was founded in Religion? Shall a ſmall Fault, in which there was no premeditated Deſign to do Miſchief, make you forget the Zeal with which we ſerved you, when you were moſt in Diſtreſs? The* Tarquinienſes, *your Enemies, as they paſſed through our Territories, enticed ſome of our Husbandmen to go with them, in hopes of Plunder. This is all our Crime. And what is the Satisfaction you demand for it? Would you,* Romans, *have us ſurrender up the Offenders; or do you require, that we ſhould puniſh them ourſelves? Only give us your Commands, and they ſhall be obeyed. But at the ſame time, let it be remembred, That* Cære *was formerly conſecrated, by the Reſidence of your Gods; and That your Prieſts met with an honourable*

Liv. B. 7. c. 20.

[65] We have Reaſon to believe, that all the Troops of the Republick were then but four *Legions*, from ſeveral Paſſages of *Livy*, and particularly, from that where he ſays, *B.* 9. that the People aſſumed a Right of nominating ſixteen *Legionary Tribunes*, to be divided *among the four Legions*. Whence we infer likewiſe, that this Number was not increaſed for a long while, except in great Emergencies, when the *Romans* had ſeveral Enemies to contend with, at the ſame time; as it happened in the Year 259, when they had Wars with the *Veſci*, *Sabines* and *Æqui*, who then attacked them on all Sides. Then ten *Legions* were raiſed, which were divided into three Armies. But this was an extraordinary Caſe. Generally ſpeaking, the *Roman* Armies which were divided between the two *Conſuls* were not to conſiſt of more than two *Legions* each, exclusive of the Troops which the Confederate Cities raiſed voluntarily, or by Compact, for the Service of the Republick.

Reception, and your Veſtals *with an* Aſylum *there. Shall that City be given up a Prey to the Fury of your Soldiers, which was the Receptacle of your Religion, when driven from* Rome? A Diſcourſe, which, with the Repentance of the *Cærites*, raiſed the Compaſſion of the Aſſembly; and it was the conſtant Maxim of the *Romans*, that a Pardon was to be granted, to all Nations, who ſubmitted themſelves. Nor was this all that was to be ſaid in favour of theſe new Enemies. Their former Benefactions alſo pleaded ſtrongly for them, and Gratitude prevailed over the Rigour of Juſtice. So that the Republick received them into Favour, and granted them a Truce of an hundred Years. From which we may infer, that their former Alliance with the *Romans*, was not like that of the *Latins* and *Hernici*. The Treaty the Republick made with the latter, ſubjected them to her in ſome meaſure; and, properly ſpeaking, they were become the Subjects of the *Romans*, under the Title of Allies. But the *Cærites* had never been more, than barely the Friends of the *Romans*, and ſuch they ſtill continued to be.

Year of ROME CCCC. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, Dictator.

THE *Dictator* therefore, inſtead of marching againſt them, turned his Arms againſt the *Faliſci*, the Allies of both the *Tarquinienſes* and *Cærites*. But the Enemy left the Field. So that, *Manlius*, after he had laid their Country waſte, led back his *Legions* to the City, with no other Glory, but that of having filled her Enemies with Terror. The reſt of his *Dictatorſhip*, and of the Year, was ſpent in Works of Peace. The Walls of *Rome* were repaired, the Towers rebuilt, and the Temple of *Apollo* conſecrated. The City continued undiſturbed with any Diviſions, till the time came for proceeding to the Election of new *Conſuls*. The *Dictator*, who was to preſide in it, intended to prevent any *Plebeian*'s being elected. But the *Tribunes of the People* ſaw through his Deſigns, and revived the old Quarrels between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, about the *Conſulſhip*. They inſiſted, that the *Licinian* Law, which gave at leaſt one of the *Conſulſhips* to the *Plebeians*, ought to take place: whilſt the *Dictator* proteſted, he would rather abſolutely aboliſh the *Conſulſhip* in the Republick, than ſuffer any *Plebeian* to be raiſed to this ſupreme Dignity. But the Obſtinacy of the *Dictator* ruined the Affairs of the Nobility. The artful *Tribunes of the People* continued to oppoſe the aſſembling the *Comitia by Centuries*, and by that means gained time. *Manlius's Dictatorſhip*, and the *Conſul*'s Year, both expired at the end of ſix Months; and an *Interregnum* enſued. But thoſe, who had then the Government in their Hands, found both Parties irreconcilable. It is well known, that theſe Governors, in *Interregnums*, ruled each five Days ſucceſſively; and ten of theſe Five-Day-Reigns were already paſſed, and the *Tribunes of the People* could not yet be brought to abate of their Pretenſions, or ſuffer the *Comitia* to aſſemble, for the Election. So that theſe Delays tired out the Senate. They were afraid theſe Diſputes would end at laſt in an open Revolt. And indeed, to their Murmurings about this laſt Matter of Diſcontent, the People began already to add Complaints, in relation to the Debts, which overwhelmed them. Theſe they uttered in their private Aſſemblies, and were more ſtrongly affected with them, than with the Neglect of the *Licinian* Law. When therefore *L. Cornelius Scipio* was, in his Turn, declared the eleventh Governor of the Republick, during the *Interregnum*; the *Conſcript Fathers* gave him Directions, to ſatisfy the People; to let the *Licinian* Law take place; to aſſemble the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*; and to permit one of the *Conſuls* to be choſen out of the *Plebeians*. The Perſons elected, [66] were *Publius Valerius Poplicola*, a *Patrician*, and *C. Marcius Rutilus*, a *Plebeian*, who was now raiſed to this Office, a ſecond time.

INTERREGNUM.

Year of ROME CCCCI. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, Conſuls.

§. XV. THE firſt Buſineſs of the Republick, under theſe new *Conſuls*, was to regulate the Payments of the Debtors, and to get them diſcharged from their Creditors. All Parties were then inclined to live in Concord, and the Intereſt of Loans was the only Obſtruction to their Re-union. But this Difficulty was removed by the Wiſdom of the *Conſuls*. They no longer conſidered the Relief of the Debtors, as a private Affair, but as the general Concern of the Publick: and they therefore choſe out five Men, of known Probity, and very great Experience, to take an account of all the Debts of the *Romans*. And tho' the Office of theſe great Men was tranſient, yet their Names were tranſmitted to Poſterity. They were, *C. Duilius*, *Liv. B. 7. c. 21.*

66 *Diodorus*, upon the Credit of ſome defective Annals, diſplaces *Caius Marcius Rutilus*, in order to ſubſtitute *Marcus Fabius*, a *Patrician*, in his room.

P. Decius

Year of ROME CCCCI. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, Conſuls.

P. Decius Mus, M. Papirius, Q. Publilius, and *T. Æmilius.* The Title that was given them, was alſo far from a glittering one; they were called *Bankers* [67]. But theſe publick Bankers were very different from thoſe who traded with the Money of private Families, for their own Profit: They had the Command of the publick Treaſury, to enable them to diſcharge the Arrears of all Debtors; and, which rarely happens in ſuch Affairs, they diſcharged their Commiſſion to the Satisfaction of all the Parties concerned. They managed Matters ſo well, by their wiſe Oeconomy, that the publick Treaſury ſuffered very little; and only advanced the Money for making the proper Payments, without loſing any of the Money ſo advanced. Thoſe, who out of Sloth, rather than any want of Ability, had ſuffered themſelves to be over-run with Arrears, either borrowed the Money they wanted to diſcharge them, of the publick Bankers, and gave the Treaſury Security for it; or elſe depoſited the Value of their Debts, in their Creditor's Hands, in Effects which were valued by the publick Bankers. By this means, the greateſt Part of the Debtors were relieved, without Injury to any body, and, which is more ſurprizing, without any Murmurs.

ROME being therefore in Tranquillity at home, this made her the more willing to make War abroad. The *Conſuls, Valerius* and *Marcius,* were in the Field, whilſt the publick Bankers were eſtabliſhing Peace in the City; and, tho' the Hiſtorians have not told us ſo, it is natural enough to believe, they were both employed in making War with the *Faliſci,* and *Tarquinienſes.* But while theſe Affairs were tranſacting, a Report was ſpread, that the twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria* were going to declare War with *Rome,* in favour of the two Nations attacked. The News was indeed uncertain, and at laſt proved falſe; but nevertheleſs, the *Romans* choſe rather to be over cautious, than neglect any thing, which tended to their Safety. The Senate took the Alarm, and nominated *Julius Iülus Dictator,* who was, without doubt, one of the Anceſtors of *Julius Cæſar.* The *Dictator* choſe *L. Æmilius,* ſurnamed *Mamercinus,* to be his General of Horſe; and then it appeared, that he himſelf had been too precipitately choſen. All was quiet among the *Hetrurians*; which makes it probable, that theſe Reports of a War, were artfully ſpread by the *Patricians,* that they might have an Opportunity of placing a Man at the Head of the Republick, who was able to oppoſe the *Tribunes of the People,* prevent the Execution of the *Licinian* Law, and take effectual Care, that none but *Patricians* ſhould be raiſed to the *Conſulſhip.* And indeed, *Julius* made uſe of all his Credit and Power at home, againſt the Intereſts of the Commons. He laboured to get the two *Conſulſhips* filled with *Patricians:* But he was ſo warmly oppoſed, that both he, and the *Conſuls,* went out of their Office, before

Year of ROME CCCCI. JULIUS IÜLUS, Dictator.

67 This is the firſt time the Hiſtorians of old *Rome* mention theſe *Bankers* under the Name of *Menſarii*; to whom the Magiſtrates and Senate committed the Management of the publick Money. Their Buſineſs was to negotiate the publick Money, and turn it to Advantage; to receive the Revenues of the Republick, either in Perſon, or by Collectors appointed by them for that Purpoſe; to collect the caſual Profits ariſing from Confiſcations, Purchaſes, Sales, or Exchanges; and to receive the Depoſites and Securities of every private Perſon. They were looked on by the *Romans,* as the Guardians and Depoſitaries of the publick Faith. Their chief Buſineſs was to relieve Citizens over-run with Debts, who borrowed the publick Money of them, *gratis,* or at a very moderate Intereſt. Their Office was much the ſame as that of the Τραπεζῖται among the *Greeks.* Theſe, according to *Tully,* in his *Oration for Flaccus,* collected the Tributes and Taxes. He ſpeaks of a City of *Greece,* which had its own *Bankers,* thus: *Cum civitate mihi res eſt acerrima, & conſicientiſſima literarum, in qua nummus moveri nullus poteſt, ſine quinque Prætoribus, Tribus Quæſtoribus, quatuor Menſariis, qui apud illos a populo creantur ... Si Prætor dedit, ut ſcriptum eſt, a quæſtore numeravit; quæſtor, a menſa publica; menſa, aut ex vectigali, aut ex Tributo.* But this was not the Caſe of another Sort of *Bankers,* which were called indifferently, *Argentarii,* and *Menſarii.* They were profeſſed Money-Changers, and kept their Shops in the *Forum Romanum.* There they traded for Gain, and their own Profit, by lending Money, uſually at great Intereſt. They lived near the Place where *Tarquin the Firſt* built thoſe old Shops for them, which were called *Tabernæ Argentariæ. Plautus* deſcribes theſe Bankers, in his *Curculio,* in theſe Words; *Sub veteribus* (Tabernis) *ibi ſunt, qui dant, quique accipiunt fœnore.* Hence the Expreſſion of *æs circumforaneum,* which *Tully* uſes, in one of his Letters to *Atticus,* to ſignify Money borrowed at the Bank. Publick Sales were uſually made in the Preſence of a Banker. The Money ariſing from the Sale was put into his Hands; and he accounted for it with the Proprietor, after he had firſt entered the Sum received, in his Regiſter; which he produced as his Voucher, before the *Prætor,* in caſe of a Diſpute. This appears from *Cicero*'s ſecond *Oration againſt Catiline, Meo beneficio Tabulæ novæ proferentur, ſed auctionariæ*; and from *Quintilian* II. 2. *Hortentius actione dimiſſa, quod cuique vendidiſſent, teſtibus argentariorum tabulis, reddidit.* The uſurious Trade of this latter Sort of Bankers was much decried in *Rome. Suetonius* mentions, as a moſt bitter Invective, the Reproach which *Mark Anthony* and *Caſſius* caſt upon *Octavius,* of being the Grandſon of a profeſſed Banker, who was deteſted by all the People.

the *Comitia* could be assembled, for a new Election. Then, *C. Sulpicius Peticus*, and *Fabius*, both governed the Republick successively, for their five Days each, in the *Interregnum* that ensued; and they made a greater Impression on the People in these few Days, than the *Dictator* could do, in all his time. They brought the Commons to a Compliance with the *Patricians*: and it is therefore probable, that it was some private Dislike to *C. Julius*, that hindered them from complying with his Desires, of having two of the Nobility raised to the *Consulship*. For the *Plebeians* made less Opposition to the Request of the two Governors, during the *Interregnum*. In Consideration of the Relief given to the Debtors, they abated of their Pretensions, and suffered two *Patricians* to be raised to this high Dignity.

Year of ROME CCCCI. JULIUS IULUS, Dictator.

§. XVI. THE *Centuries* chose the same [68] *C. Sulpicius*, who had been one of their Governors in the *Interregnum*, for one *Consul*; and gave him *T. Quinctius Pennus*, for his Collegue. They both went to carry on, and finish, the War with the *Falisci*, and *Tarquinienses*. It was the Lot of the former to march against the *Tarquinienses*; and of the latter, to oppose the *Falisci*. But they did not subdue these two *Hetrurian* Nations, either by winning Battels, or taking Towns. No Army appeared to stop, or fight, them. The *Romans* entred into their Enemy's Lands, without Opposition, and plundered, and laid them waste. The Fire did more Mischief in their Territories, than the Sword. And in short, these Nations at last opened their Eyes, and being tired out with these Inundations of *Romans*, which were so often repeated, and the Calamities they brought upon them, came, and humbly implored the Clemency of the *Consuls*. But as it was customary for the *Roman* Generals, to refer the Petitions of the Nations they subdued by their Arms, to the Senate, or People; the *Falisci* and *Tarquinienses* were forced to send their Deputies to *Rome*. When they came there, their Submission was accepted: and the Republick granted them a Truce of forty Years. Thus, through her readiness to pardon the Nations, which she might have conquered, she made but little Progress; tho' almost continually in Arms, and tho' her Wars seldom failed of being successful.

Year of ROME CCCCII. C. SULPICIUS, T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS, Consuls.

AND now the Peace the *Romans* enjoyed, giving them a favourable Opportunity, to elect two new *Censors*, the Day was fixed for the *Comitia* to proceed to this important Election. The *Censors* Office was then very considerable. Insomuch, that none but the most illustrious *Patricians* had yet enjoyed it, and the *Plebeians* had always been excluded from it. But nevertheless, one of the present Candidates for this great Employment, was a *Plebeian*; but a Man, of Merit enough, to qualify him for the greatest Dignities. It was the famous *C. Marcius Rutilus*. After he had been twice *Consul*, and once *Dictator*, he thought he might aspire at any Office. Besides, he had been the first *Plebeian*, who had been chosen *Dictator*, in spight of the Oppositions of the Nobility; and therefore he did not despair of gaining the *Censorship* likewise, and thereby opening the way, for Men of distinguished Merit of his own Party, to enjoy it. Indeed, every body thought he had ill-timed his Affair, and that the two *Patrician Consuls* would oppose his Design, as they already declared they would. But nevertheless, the brave *Marcius* pursued his Sollicitations, with the Help of the *Tribunes of the People*, and waited for the Election. It chiefly belonged to the People to determine it, by Vote, in the *Comitia by Centuries*: and the Commons had been stirred up by their *Tribunes*, to make themselves amends for the Violence offered to the *Licinian* Law, in the last Election of *Consuls*. They therefore insisted on making *Marcius* the *Plebeian*, *Censor*; and their Party being strongest, in the *Comitia*, *Marcius* was chosen, and with him [69] *Cn. Manlius*, a *Patrician*. *Liv. B. 7. c. 22.*

68 This was the fifth *Consulship* of *Caius Sulpicius*, and not the second, as we find it said in the *Greek Tables*. According to *Livy*, Authors differ as to *Quinctius*'s *Prænomen*; some give him that of *Caius*, others that of *Caius*. The *Fasti Capitolini* call him *Titus*. And if we had not *Livy*'s Authority to add to them, we think these *Fasti* decisive of themselves, especially in relation to the *Prænomina* and Surnames of these Magistrates. The same Annals give *Quinctius* two other Surnames, *viz.* those of *Cincinnatus*, and *Capitolinus*. He was therefore a different Person from *T. Quinctius Pennus Capitolinus Crispinus*, who was *Consul* in the Year 399; and he now entered upon the *Consulship*, the first time.

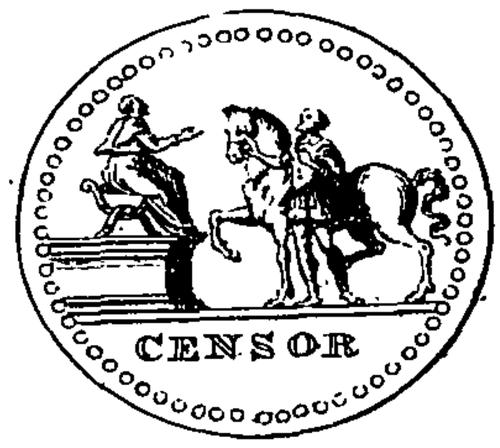
69 There is Reason to believe, from a Passage in *Tully*'s first *Philippic*, that the *Manlian* Family was divided into two Branches; one of which was *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. The *Roman* Orator's Words are these. *Propter unius Marci Manlii scelus, decreto gentis Manliæ, neminem Patricium Marcum Manlium vocari licet.* That is, it was decreed by the *Manlian* Family, on Account of the Crime of one *Marcus Manlius*, That no *Patrician* *Vid. Cic. Phil.* 1.

Year of *ROME* CCCCII.

C. SULPICIUS, T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS, Conſuls.

THESE two new Magiſtrates thought it neceſſary to have a new *Luſtrum*, and take a new Account of the *Roman* People, as well as of all their Eſtates. Since the Diſcharge of the Debts, the greateſt Part of the Lands had indeed paſſed into new Hands. It was therefore the Buſineſs of the *Cenſors*, to enquire who theſe new Poſſeſſors were: for it was a Part of the *Roman* Policy, to know the Worth of every Subject in the Republick. This is reckoned to be the 21ſt *Luſtrum*, ſince King *Servius Tullius* eſtabliſhed them.

IT is probable, that the *Cenſors* received at this time an Increaſe of Power, which was ever after continued to their Office. The Commons were very willing to give a Luſtre to an Office, to which a *Plebeian* had juſt been promoted. One *Ovinius* was then one of the *Tribunes of the People*; and he propoſed to get a 70 Law paſſed by the *Curiæ*, which augmented the Honour and Credit of the *Cenſorſhip*. The Number of the Senators is known to have been three hundred. Theſe were all choſen out of that vaſt Number of *Patricians* and 71 *Ple-*



cian of that Family, ſhould ever after bear his Name. However, it is paſt doubt, that *Cneius Manlius*, who obtained the *Cenſorſhip* with *Marcius Rutilus* the *Plebeian*, was a *Patrician*. There is no Inſtance of two *Plebeians* having been choſen *Cenſors* together, till many Years after this.

70 The *Roman* Hiſtorians have told us nothing of the *Ovinian* Law. Only *Feſtus* mentions it, and that without aſſigning the Time or Occaſion which gave Birth to it. *Formerly*, ſays *Feſtus*, *a Senator was not thought diſgraced or degraded, tho' his Name was omitted, in reading over the Liſt of the Senators; becauſe the Kings choſe and excluded whomſoever they pleaſed, without any other Reaſon but their own Wills. And the* Conſuls, Dictators, *and* Military Tribunes *exerciſed the ſame Power, and made thoſe* Patricians *or* Plebeians *Senators, who were moſt attached to them; without any Regard to others, upon whom they were not concerned in Intereſt to beſtow this Mark of Diſtinction. Things continued on this Foot, till the* Tribune Ovinius *paſſed a Law, which empowered the* Cenſors *to make Senators, and to exclude all but Perſons of known Probity, out of this venerable Body. From that time, thoſe of this Body, who were omitted in the* Cenſor's *Liſt, were thought degraded, and not ſuffered to go into the Senate.* From which we obſerve two things. 1. That the *Cenſor*'s Office was, in the Beginning, confined to the Buſineſs of taking an Account of the People, and the Ceremony of the *Luſtrum*. But afterwards, it extended itſelf very ſuddenly, beyond its firſt Limits; and this is ſaid to have been chiefly done in the Year 403, when *Ovinius* was *Tribune of the People*. 2. That they had not only a Right of Inſpection over the Senators, but likewiſe over the *Roman Knights*, whom they reviewed in this manner. Every *Knight* was ſummoned by the publick Crier, to come and preſent himſelf before the *Cenſor*, on horſeback. This Cuſtom of reviewing the *Roman Knights*, is repreſented on one of the Emperor *Claudius*'s Medals, as above, whereon the Emperor appears ſeated on his Tribunal, and performing the Office of *Cenſor*, in reviewing a *Roman Knight*. If the *Knight* was in a bad Condition, the *Cenſor*, to puniſh his Negligence, retrenched the Pay he had out of the publick Treaſury, which was called *Æs Hordearium*. But this Puniſhment, which was called *impolitia*, was the mildeſt. *Aulus Gellius* tells us, that a *Knight* in good Plight appeared before the *Cenſors*, *Scipio* and *Marcus Pompilius*, with a very lean and ill-dreſs'd Horſe. And being ask'd why he was ſo fat, and his Horſe ſo very lean, he replied ſneeringly, Becauſe he took Care of himſelf, but his Man took Care of his Horſe. Upon which the *Cenſors* were angry at this Anſwer, took away his Horſe from him, and degraded him from the Rank of Knighthood. This was likewiſe done to thoſe who did not behave themſelves agreably to the Laws of Honour and Honeſty; and this Puniſhment was carried ſo far, that they were often put down from a ſuperior to a leſs honourable *Tribe*, without any Regard to their Rank, when the Offence was great. Nor were the *Cenſors* more favourable to the common People, whoſe Names they ſometimes ſtruck out of the Tribe-Roll; and whom they ſometimes deprived of their Right of Suffrage, and conſequently of ſtanding for any publick Office. This was called *referri in tabulas Cæritum*, becauſe this Degradation ſunk the Offenders to the ſame Rank with the Inhabitants of *Cære*, who obtained the Title of *Roman* Citizens, without any of the Privileges annexed to it. But they, who were thus diſgraced by loſing their Privileges, were not therefore free from the Poll-Taxes which were laid on the *Romans*; for which Reaſon they were called *Ærarii*. And in this they were in a worſe Condition than the *Cærites*, who were honoured with the Quality of Citizens, without being ſubject to be taxed.

71 In the firſt Ages of *Rome*, only Nobles, or the moſt conſiderable of the Citizens, could aſpire at the Order of Senators. But the *Plebeians* afterwards enjoyed that Dignity; and, according to ſome, as early as King *Servius Tullius*'s Time. Nevertheleſs, they did not begin to acquire this Dignity till after *Tarquin*'s Expulſion. Then *Brutus*, or, as others, *Valerius Poplicola*, choſe out proper Perſons among the People, to fill up the vacant Places of the Senators, which the laſt *Tarquin* had ſacrificed to his Suſpicions, and his Ambition. And the *Plebeians* were more frequently raiſed to the Senatorial Dignity, after they had aſſumed a Right of ſtanding for the *Curule* Magiſtracies.

beians,

beians, whoſe Eſtates were conſiderable enough to entitle them to be ranked in the firſt *Claſs*. The Right of filling up the Senate, and chuſing theſe Senators, in the time of the *Kings*, belonged to them only. After the Revolution, which inveſted the *Conſuls* with Regal Power and Authority, *they* had this Right of chuſing the Senators, and filling up theſe three hundred Places, with whom they pleaſed: and the *Conſuls* kept Poſſeſſion of this honourable Prerogative, till *Ovinius* became *Tribune of the People*, and *Marcius* the *Plebeian*, *Cenſor*. Then the People thought fit to ſtrip the *Conſuls* of this Part of the *Conſular* Power, and transfer it to the *Cenſors*. By this Step, the *Tribunes* ſeverely revenged the paſt Breaches of the *Licinian* Law, which ſo much favoured the Commons. The two *Patrician Conſuls* were now deprived of the fineſt Privilege belonging to their Office: and it is ſurprizing, that ſo great a Change ſhould be made in the Republick, without raiſing any Diſturbances. But the Hiſtorians don't mention any; and it is certain, *Cn. Manlius*, and *C. Marcius*, aſſumed a Right, as *Cenſors*, of removing whomſoever they pleaſed out of the Senate, and continuing whomſoever they pleaſed in it. The Ceremony of doing it, which was ever after practiſed in *Rome*, was this: After the *Cenſus*, and the *Luſtrum* with which it ended, were over, the *Centuries* ſtill continued under Arms, in the *Campus Martius*. Then the *Cenſors* appeared, and from an Eminence read the Liſt, in which the Names of all thoſe, of whom the Senate was to conſiſt, were written. The Perſon firſt named, became then [72] *The Prince of the Senate*, that is, the Preſident of that Aſſembly, in the Abſence of the *Conſuls*. This was ſometimes an Office for Life, and was not always changed at every *Luſtrum*. The reſt the *Cenſors* named, had alſo the Right of ſitting and voting in the Senate. Thoſe they did not name, were deemed [74] *ipſo facto* deprived of their Dignity, and no longer ranked among the Senators: So that it was indeed a Reproach to a Man, to be omitted in theſe Liſts, but not an indelible one. Some appealed from the Judgment of the *Cenſors*, to other Tribunals; and others reformed their Manners, and by a wiſe Conduct, became fit to be raiſed to the higheſt Poſts, the *Cenſorſhip* itſelf not excepted. However, this new Addition of Power to the *Cenſors*, aggrandized their Office, and made them always formidable to the Senate itſelf.

Year of ROME CCCCII.
C. SULPICIUS, T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS, Conſuls.
Feſt. Pompon. Sextus.

AND now that the *Cenſorſhip* was open to the *Plebeians*, the *Patricians* were afraid they ſhould likewiſe loſe the two *Conſulſhips*, by virtue of the *Licinian* Law. The two preſent *Conſuls* were *Patricians*, and they made it their whole Buſineſs to get two more of their own Body choſen *Conſuls* the next Year. But tho' the Expedient they made uſe of was well contrived, it did not ſucceed. Tho' the Republick was neither threatned with any Danger, nor had any War to maintain, yet the *Conſuls* nominated a *Dictator*. The Pretence for this Nomination, which was ſomewhat irregular, was, that he ſhould preſerve the publick Peace in the Aſſembly, which was ſoon to be held in the *Campus Martius*, for the Election of Magiſtrates for the next Year. They hoped an abſolute Governor would be more reſpected in the *Comitia* than they: and be able, by Dint of Authority, to get two of the Nobility choſen *Conſuls*. The Perſon they pitched upon to be *Dictator*, was a Man diſtinguiſhed by his Birth, his Employments, and his perſonal Merit. It was the famous *M. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who had at that time been thrice *Conſul*; and had been honoured with a Triumph, but three Years before. And the General of Horſe he choſe, was little inferior to himſelf, namely, the famous *Servilius Ahala*, whoſe Zeal for the Republick had made him immortal.

Liv. B. 7. c. 22.

Faſt. Capit.

§. XVII. WITH this Aſſiſtance, the Nobility depended on being able to confine the *Conſulſhip* to themſelves: and were therefore ſurprized to ſee, *M. Popilius Lænas*, a *Plebeian*, who had been *Conſul* twice already, promoted again to this ſupreme Dignity. The Collegue the People gave him, was [74] *L. Cornelius Scipio*, a

Year of ROME CCCCIII.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, Conſuls.

[72] The higheſt Station in the Senate was generally beſtowed on him who had gained moſt Glory by his Employments, or Virtues, or Great Actions. In the Choice of the other Senators, the *Cenſor* had regard to their Age, Wealth, Reputation, Honeſty, &c. Several Hiſtorians ſay it was neceſſary for them to have had ſome Employment before: But it is difficult to reconcile this with what the ſame Writers ſay, *viz.* that the *Plebeians* were made Senators before they had enjoyed the higheſt Offices. It is probable, that to this time, the *Plebeians* were rarely choſen Senators. The having been *Quæſtor*, was a ſufficient Qualification for being made a Senator. The *Quæſtorſhip* was enjoyed by both *Patricians* and *Plebeians*.

[73] The *Cenſors*, eſpecially when required, publickly declared their Reaſons for degrading a Senator; and the Sentence of the *Cenſor* was almoſt always ratified by his Collegue. So much Deference had they for one another.

[74] The Names of theſe two Magiſtrates are altered by *Diodorus*, who gives the firſt *Conſul* the Name

Year of ROME CCCCIII.
M. Popilius Lænas, L. Cornelius Scipio, Conſuls.

Patrician. But nevertheleſs, the Senate was mortified, to find themſelves as little able to get two *Conſuls*, as they had been to obtain two *Cenſors*, of their Body; and could not but be uneaſy, even at the Succeſs *Popilius* had in his *Conſulſhip*. The *Plebeian Conſul* only, happened to have the Command of an Army. The *Gauls* had lately appeared in the Country of the *Latins*, all on a ſudden, and drawing near to *Rome*, had made one of thoſe tumultuary Incurſions into her Neighbourhood, wherein they always laid waſte all the Country in their way: and *Popilius*'s Collegue fell ſick of a languiſhing Diſtemper, when he ſhould have taken Arms againſt an Enemy, which the *Romans* always thought formidable. So that *Popilius* became poſſeſſed of the Generalſhip, without a Competitor, and was ordered to march againſt the *Gauls*, without either having drawn Lots for it, or borne the Uneaſineſs of having entred into an odious Competition with *Cornelius Scipio*, before the People. The *Conſul* immediately ordered Troops to be raiſed: and that he might be the ſooner ready to march, and come to a Battel, he ordered the Aſſembly for making the Levies to meet without *The Gate* 75 *Capena*, and not on the 76 *Capitol*. All was peacable; and ſo many enrolled their Names, that the *Conſul* got an Order of the Senate, that they ſhould be divided into two Armies.

Appian in Celtic.

Liv. B.7. c.23.

That

Name of *Marcus Pompilius*, and the ſecond the *Prænomen* of *Caius*; and not that of *Lucius*, which the *Faſti Capitolini* and *Livy* give him.

75 *The Gate Capena*, now called *the Gate of St. Sebaſtian*, led to *The Appian Way*; as we learn from *Frontinus*, who tells us, that the *Cenſor Appius* made a great Road from this Gate, quite to *Capua*. The Entrance into it was very dirty, and ſometimes it was overflowed; either becauſe it lay very low, or becauſe ſeveral Aqueducts met near it: which *Martial* ſeems to inſinuate in theſe Words, *Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta*. *Juvenal* alſo ſays the ſame thing.

Subſtitit ad Veteres Arcus madidamque Capenam.

Aſconius aſſures us, there was a Grove, and a Temple dedicated to the Honour of the *Muſes*, without *The Gate Capena*; and that it was therefore called *Porta Camœna*.

76 When Troops were to be raiſed, the Standard, ſays *Feſtus*, or rather two Standards, were ſet up in the *Capitol*; one red, for the Infantry; the other blue, for the Cavalry. *Virgil* expreſſes this ancient Cuſtom in this Verſe,

Ut belli ſignum Laurenti Turnus ab arce
Extulit——

The Day and Place for inliſting, were generally ſettled by an expreſs Edict of the Chief Magiſtrate for that Purpoſe. All the *Romans* who were of Age to bear Arms, were obliged to obey the *Conſul*'s Orders, and appear at the Place appointed, without Delay, under Pain of being fined; and ſometimes the refractory were condemned to be beaten with Rods, or reduced to Slavery; or puniſhed with Confiſcation of Goods, and the Loſs of all the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. But thoſe were excepted from this Law, who had lawful Reaſons for abſenting themſelves. A Funeral, a Family-Feſtival, Sickneſs, the Loſs of a Limb, a Sacrifice, a Day of Expiation, when Families purified themſelves after Funerals, or important Affairs to be tranſacted with Foreigners, were allowed to be reaſonable Excuſes. And tho', generally ſpeaking, all Perſons were obliged to ſerve in the Army after they were ſeventeen Years of Age, yet ſome were diſpenſed with, at leaſt for a time, on account of their Employments, or the Services they had done their Country. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Camillus*, mentions a Law which excuſed the Prieſts from going to any War, unleſs with the *Gauls*. *Cicero*, *B.* 2. *De Nat. Deor.* ſpeaks of one *Publius Vatienus*, whom the Senate excuſed from Military Service. *Publius Vatienus & agro a Senatu, & vacatione, donatus eſt.* But it was impoſſible for any of the Citizens to eſcape the Vigilance of thoſe who had the Care of the Levies. The publick Regiſters, or Tables of the *Cenſus*, contained an exact Liſt of all Families, the Names of each Perſon in them, and of thoſe who were newly born, or dead. When the Day for the Levies came, the *Conſuls* appeared in the *Capitol*, or *Forum*, or elſewhere, as there was Occaſion. And there the *Conſul*, whoſe Turn it was to govern, ſate on a *Curule Chair*, and incorporated as many Soldiers as he wanted, into the *Legions*. The Soldiers were at firſt enrolled by *Claſſes* and *Centuries*, according to the Laws *Servius Tullius* had eſtabliſhed. But from the Courſe of the Hiſtory we infer, that this Method did not laſt long. No Regard was had but to the Order of the *Tribes*, who were called upon, one after another, as their Turns came by Lot. In each *Tribe*, the *Conſul* either choſe what Soldiers he liked, ſtill obſerving the Order of the *Claſſes* and *Centuries* of which it conſiſted; or elſe choſe every particular Man by Lot; eſpecially when any factious Men appeared, who were determined not to take Arms, and refuſed to anſwer, when their Names were called. *Val. Max. B.* 6. *c.* 3. §. 4. confirms this by the Example of the *Conſul Curius*, who did ſo, when thoſe who were ſummoned to take the Military Oaths refuſed to appear. He therefore, ſays *Val. Max.* choſe to draw the *Tribes* by Lot, and the Lot fell upon the *Tribe Pollia*; then *Curius* proceeded in the ſame manner, with reſpect to the Citizens in that *Tribe*. The Perſon whoſe Name came up firſt, made no Anſwer to his Summons to appear before the *Conſul*. His Silence was underſtood to be a Refuſal, his Goods were ſold by Auction, and himſelf ſold for a Slave. *Varro* alſo ſays the ſame thing, in *Nonnius*. *Curius Conſul in Capitolio cum delectum haberet, nec citatus in tribu civis reſpondiſſet, vendidit tenebriorem.* But moſt commonly, the *Conſul* himſelf choſe his Soldiers out of the *Tribes* by Lot, according to the Order of the *Claſſes* and *Centuries*. And laſtly, if only a ſmall Body was to be raiſed, the *Tribes* out of which they were taken, were choſen by Lot. The greateſt Care of the Magiſtrate who inſpected the Levies, was to ſee that the firſt Soldiers who were choſen ſhould have lucky and auſpicious Names; *Cicero*, among others, tells us, *B.* 1. *De Divinat.* that this was done in the Levies, as well as *Cenſus* of the People. His Words are theſe: *Itemque in luſtranda Colonia, cum Imperator exercitum, Cenſor populum luſtraret, bonis nominibus qui hoſtias darent eligebantur; quod idem in delectu Conſules obſervant, ut primus miles fiat bono nomine.* And *Feſtus* ſays the ſame thing. Great Care was taken, ſays he, that the firſt Perſons named, either when the People were numbered, or new Levies raiſed, ſhould

That which the *Conſul* commanded, conſiſted of four *Legions*, that is, about twenty thouſand Men, excluſive of the Auxiliaries. The *Roman* Eagles, and other Standards, if we may ſo call them, which were put in the *Quæſtors* Hands, during the Peace, and depoſited in the publick Treaſury, were brought to *Popilius*. He gave each *Legion* an Eagle, and divided the Standards among the *Manipuli* and the *Cohorts*. The reſt of the Levies he formed into another Army, to guard the City, or to be ready to take the Field, upon the firſt Orders: And *M. Valerius Poplicola*, the preſent *Prætor*, had the Command of it. This was the firſt time *Rome* ever ſaw a *Prætor*, whoſe Office had hitherto been wholly confined to hearing and judging of Civil Affairs, placed at the Head of an Army, for Want of a *Conſul*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCIII. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, Conſuls.

In the mean time, *Popilius* began his March, and led his Troops within Reach of the Enemy. He made it his firſt Buſineſs to poſt himſelf well, and fortify himſelf, in order to form a Camp: But while the *Romans* were marking it out, the *Gauls* made haſte to offer them Battel. As ſoon as they ſaw the Eagles, they marched out of their Camp, and drew up in Battalia, in the Valley which lay between them and the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, the prudent *Popilius* would not ſuffer himſelf to be drawn into a precipitate Engagement. He knew the natural Fire of the Enemy; and he gave them time, to let the firſt Heat of it abate a little. But the *Gauls* aſcribed the *Conſul*'s prudent Conduct to a Diffidence of his own Strength. They thought Fear alone had been his Motive to encamp on an Eminence, and cover himſelf with Entrenchments. And the Raſhneſs of the *Gauls* was increaſed by the Inaction of the *Romans*, who ſtill continued to guard their Lines, and carry on their Works, without expoſing themſelves to the Hazard of a Battel. The *Triarii* 77, that is, the Troops in which the main Strength of the *Roman Legions* conſiſted, were buſy in fortifying the Camp. The *Gauls* therefore advanced with a great Shout, and fell upon the *Romans*. Thoſe Soldiers in the *Roman* Army, who were called *Principes*, and *Haſtati*, ſtood the firſt Shock of the *Gauls*. They had been poſted in the firſt Lines, to cover the Workmen; and they had great Advantage from their Situation. The *Romans* fought from the Upper-Ground; ſo that their Darts could not but fall with the more Force; and ſcarce any of them were thrown in vain. A great many of the *Gauls* were wounded, and their Bucklers ſo overloaded with them, that they could ſcarce move forwards. Inſomuch, that tho' they had already ſurmounted one Part of the Hill, in order to come to a cloſer Engagement with the *Legions*, they heſitated for ſome time, and were in doubt, whether they ſhould advance or retire. At length they determin'd to continue the Attack; but this Uncertainty itſelf, abated the Ardour of the

ould always have ſuch Names, whoſe Significaons foreboded good Succeſs, and prepoſſeſſed the ople, with favourable Prejudices of a good Event. *minis boni gratia, in delectu, cenſuve, primi nonantur, Valerius, Salvius, Statorius.* The Peoe firmly believed, that ſuch Names as, *Valerius, lvius*, and *Statorius*, had a wonderful Power of arding them againſt Diſgrace and bad Fortune: ey inferred from them, that *Rome* would always ntinue in her firſt *Vigour*, and ſtand *immovable*, ainſt the Attacks of the Enemy. In a word, they ought this beginning a manifeſt Sign of the Proction of the Gods, and the happy Succeſs of the ffair in hand. This Superſtition took place, even private Affairs, Offices of Religion, Marriages, rths of Children, Banquetings, and eſpecially in blick Tranſactions, which were therefore begun th this Form. *Quod felix, fauſtum, fortunatumque*

But to return to the Levies; they were genely made, in the Order deſcribed. But in *Polyus*'s Time, as he himſelf aſſures us, the *Legionary ibunes* met the *Conſul*, at the Place appointed for ſing the new Levies, or Recruits. Then theſe *ibunes* were ſo divided, that the firſt and third *gion* had each of them ſix of theſe Officers, four Horſe, and two of Foot: and the ſecond and rth had ſix, three of Horſe, and three of Foot. e latter could not be promoted, till they had ved ten Years, and therefore *Polybius* calls them *iores Tribuni*. The former were not obliged to have ſerved more than five: and they were therefore called *Juniores Tribuni*. After this Diſtribution was made, the *Conſul*, or General, choſe out four young robuſt Soldiers, of near the ſame Size and Strength; and then the *Tribunes* of the firſt *Legion* choſe one of theſe four Men, and the other three were placed in the ſecond, third, and fourth *Legion*. Then the *Conſul*, or *Tribunes* by his Order, inliſted four more, the Choice of which belonged to the Commanders of the ſecond *Legion*; and ſo on, to the Commanders of every *Legion* in its Turn, till the Number was completed. By this juſt Method, all the *Legions* were equally well filled. After this, ſays *Feſtus*, the *Romans* did not march againſt the Enemy, till thirty Days were paſt, reckoning from the Day the Standard was erected. But if the Danger was imminent, all theſe Precautions were not taken. The Levies were then raiſed in a tumultuous, and diſorderly manner; after which, the Troops began their March immediately.

77 We have already ſaid enough, *B. 5.* of the four different Bodies, of the *Triarii*, *Principes*, *Haſtati*, and *Velites*, of which the *Roman Legions* conſiſted, to inform the Reader, what they were. And we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of them hereafter, when we come to the Times, in which the *Romans* brought the Art of War to Perfection: and we will then give him a complete Plan of the *Roman* Soldiery.

Year of ROME CCCCIII. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, Conſuls.

Gauls, and raiſed the Courage of the *Romans*. The latter repulſed their Enemie and then tumbled them down from the Top of the Hill. Nay, the Flight of th *Gauls* was ſo ſudden, that there were more of them ſtifled and trodden to death by their Fellows, than fell by the Sword. However, *Popilius*'s Victory was ye only begun; but the Fierceneſs of the Enemy completed it. The *Gauls* were in manner innumerable, and few of their Men had been engaged in this firſt Attack. Their Commanders were ſcarce ſenſible of the Loſs they had ſuſtained. So that the Multitudes of freſh Troops they had left, encouraged them to return to the Charge; and they accordingly renewed the Fight. The *Romans* waited for them with Reſolution, without leaving their Poſts on the Eminence: and in the firſt Onſet of this ſecond Battel, the *Conſul*, who expoſed himſelf too much in the Advanced-Guard, was wounded with the Point of one of [78] thoſe Javelins, the *Gauls* uſed, which were longer than thoſe of the *Romans*. The Javelin had like to have gone quite through his Shoulder: and when the General was retired, to have his Wound bound up; the *Romans*, fatigued with having fought two Battels in one Day, contented themſelves with barely reſiſting the Enemy, ſo as not to ſuffer themſelves to be broken, but without either preſſing upon them, or purſuing them. But when the *Conſul* appeared again, his *Legions* took new Courage. *Fellow-Soldiers*, ſaid he to them, *what checks your Valour? We have not now* Sabines *and* Latins *to deal with, who from being Enemies, may become our Allies; but* Gauls, *no wild Beaſts, which will certainly devour us, if we don't kill them. You have already ſtained the Hill with their Blood; go next, and deluge the Valley with it.* At theſe words, the *Romans* forgot their Wearineſs, repulſed the Enemy, and drove them from the Declivity of the Hill into the Plain: And then they changed their Order of Battel. The *Roman Legions* drew up into the Form of a *Wedge*, and made an [79] acute Angle, in order to penetrate the more eaſily into the Enemy's Battalions: and this Diſpoſition ſucceeded. The *Gauls* diſperſed. And indeed they, in a manner, fought without either Commanders, or Diſcipline. Their Impetuoſity, and natural Bravery alone ſupported them in Battel. But when they began to give way, they were as impetuous in their Flight, as they had been in the Engagement; and did not ſpare even their own Men. The firſt Lines fell upon thoſe behind them, and having no other Obſtacle in the Way of their Retreat, turned their Arms againſt their own Fellow-Soldiers. In this manner, the *Gauls*, being diſperſed, partly by the *Romans*, and partly by themſelves, fled beyond their Camp, and retired to the Hills of *Alba*. But the *Conſul* did not think proper to follow them beyond their Entrenchments. He was wounded himſelf, and his Army tired with fighting. So that, he contented himſelf with plundering the Enemy's Camp, all the Booty of which he gave to his Troops; and then he led back his victorious Army to *Rome*, enriched with the Spoils of the *Gauls*.

§. XVIII. THE Conqueror had merited the Honours of a Triumph; it was univerſally acknowledged, that no *Roman* General, ſince *Camillus* and *Sulpicius*, had given the *Gauls* a greater Overthrow; and a Triumph was decreed *Popilius* the *Plebeian*. But the Ceremony was poſtponed, till he was cured of his Wound. His Colleague *Cornelius Scipio* ſtill continued ſick: And therefore the Republick, ſeeing that both the chief Magiſtrates were incapable of performing the Duties of their Office, deſired them to nominate a *Dictator*, to preſide at the Election of

78 This Javelin is called by *Livy*, and other Writers, *Matara*, *Mataris*, and *Materis*. This was ſo common a Weapon among the *Gauls*, that the Author of the Books *ad Herennium*, which ſome aſcribe to *Cicero*, makes uſe of this Term, to expreſs the whole Nation by: *nec tam facile ex Italia Materis Tranſalpina depulſa eſt*. The People of *Gaul*, ſays *Siſenna*, in *Nonnius*, ſtrike with their *Materis*; and the *Suevi* with their Lances. This Weapon continued long in uſe among the *Gauls*; there are ſome Traces of it yet remaining in the *French* Language, ſince the Word *Matras* is uſed in ſome Provinces in *France*, to ſignify a Javelin.

79 *Livy*, *B.* 7. deſcribes this Way of fighting, thus. *Cuneus deinde in medium agmen perrumpunt.* It was in uſe among the *Greeks*, and ſeems to have been tranſmitted from them to the *Romans*. The *Cuneus*, or *Wedge*, of the Ancients, was, according to *Ælian*, equilaterally triangular. And *Vegetius* gives us the ſame Idea of it, *B.* 3. The *Wedge*, ſays he, is a Body of Infantry drawn up into a triangular Battalion, ſo that it narrows more and more, from the Baſe to the Top, till it ends in an acute Angle. *Cuneus dicitur multitudo peditum, quæ juxta acie, primo anguſtior, deinde latior procedit, & adverſariorum Ordines rumpit, quia a pluribus in unum locum tela mittuntur. Quam rem milites caput porcinum appellant.* *Ammian. Marcellinus* mentions the *Cuneus*, *B.* 17. and ſays, the Soldiers compared it to a Pig's Head. *Deſinunt in anguſtum fronte, quem habitum caput porcinum ſimplicitas militaris appellat.* *Agathias* and *Suidas* compare this Body of Men, drawn up in a Wedge or Triangle, to the capital *Greek* Letter, Δ.

the

the *Conſuls* for the Year enſuing. They pitched upon *L. Furius*, ſurnamed *Camillus*, the Son, as I ſuppoſe, of the great *Camillus*: and he choſe *P. Cornelius Scipio* to be his General of Horſe. The latter ſeems to have been the *Conſul Scipio*'s Brother: and theſe two *Patricians* endeavouring to get only *Patricians* choſen *Conſuls*, not only gained that Point, but likewiſe prevailed to have the *Dictator* himſelf choſen one of them, and *App. Claudius*, ſurnamed *Craſſus*, was his 80 Collegue. But before they entred upon their Office, *Popilius* enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph. The Proceſſion was made, on the Day the *Romans* celebrated the Feaſt of the *Quirinalia*, inſtituted in Honour to *Romulus*: which falling upon *The Third of the Ides of February*, it is therefore probable the *Conſuls* entred upon their Office on *The Calends*, that is, the firſt Day, *of March*.

Year of ROME CCCCIII. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, Dictator. *Faſt. Capit.*

But the *Conſul Furius* was not ſo agreable to the People at firſt, as his Predeceſſor *Popilius* had been. The latter was the Idol of the *Plebeian* Party. When he entred *Rome* in Triumph, the common People openly inſulted the *Patricians*, with asking; *Do you now repent of having choſen a* Plebeian *to command your Armies?* But the Commons were uneaſy to ſee *Furius* at the Head of the Republick. He had, in his *Dictatorſhip*, excluded the *Plebeians* from the *Conſulſhip*, and had made uſe of the Authority that Office gave him, to get himſelf choſen *Conſul*. But this was a Reproach which he ſoon wiped off. The War he was forced to renew with the *Gauls*, reconciled all the People to him. Theſe *Gauls* were the Remains of thoſe *Senones*, who had formerly made themſelves Maſters of *Rome*. Since their being put to flight the laſt Year, by the *Conſul Popilius*, they were come down from the Hills of *Alba*, whither they had fled for Refuge; had ſpread themſelves upon the Sea-ſhore; and there committed their Robberies, and lived at Diſcretion, in the Country of the *Latins*. The *Romans* therefore reſolved to make War with them, and drive them out of their Neighbourhood, But whilſt they were making Preparations for this new Expedition, *Appius Claudius*, *Camillus*'s Collegue, died: and this Accident put the *Romans* into ſome Confuſion. They wanted two Generals to oppoſe the Incurſions of two foreign Enemies, which threatned them, the one by Sea, and the other by Land. On one ſide, the *Gauls* had ſeized the Lands in *Latium*, and ravaged them: and on the other, a Fleet of *Greeks* were come to make a Deſcent in *Italy*, on the ſame Coaſt, where the *Gauls* had ſpread themſelves; that is, from the Mouth of the *Tyber*, to *Antium*. From what Country belonging to *Greece*, theſe Pyrates came, to land in *Italy*, *Livy* would not determine; tho' he was inclined to think them 31 *Sicilians*, who eſcaped from *Syracuſe*,

Year of ROME CCCCIV. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, APPIUS CLAUDIUS, Conſuls. *Liv. B. 7. c. 25.*

Auth. of Lives of Illuſt. Men.

Year of ROME CCCCIV. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, Conſul.

Liv. B. 7. c. 25.

80 *Diodorus the Sicilian*, puts other *Conſuls* for this Year, *viz. Marcus Æmilius*, and *Titus Quinctius*. But this is an evident Miſtake; and there is the like Miſtake in ſeveral Editions of *Tully*'s *Cato*. Where there read *Lucius Æmilius*, inſtead of *Lucius Camillus*; and *Publius Claudius*, inſtead of *Appius*. *Clarean* alſo falls into another Miſtake, when he confounds this *Appius*', with another *Appius* ſurnamed *Cæcus*. He did not conſider, that the latter was not *Conſul*, till the Year 446. *Cicero* places *Plato*'s Arrival at *Tarentum*, in this Year 404, where this Philoſopher became acquainted with *Archytas*, after he had heard him hold long Diſcourſes with *Caius Pontius* the *Samnite*, againſt the bewitching Charms of Senſuality. And what ſeems to confirm the Truth of this Date, is this, that *Plato* did not die, till about forty Years after. It therefore cannot be true, as ſome pretend, that he came to *Tarentum*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Appius Claudius*, ſurnamed *Cæcus*. The *Conſul Furius Camillus*, was the Son of the great *Camillus*.

81 The Ancients comprehended under the Name of *Greece*, not only that great Peninſula, which lies beyond the *Adriatic* and *Ionian* Seas, but alſo all the neighbouring Nations, which lay on this Side, thoſe two Seas, *viz. Sicily*, and the Southern Parts of *Italy*. Several *Greek Colonies* had diſperſed themſelves, eſpecially in theſe two Countries, where they had eſtabliſhed their own Government, Language, and Cuſtoms, after they had ſubdued the Natives. Hence the Name of *Great Greece* was given to all that Part of *Italy*, which was inhabited by thoſe, who were originally *Greeks*. But the difficulty is, how to know the Limits of it. Authors differ much on this Topick. *Pliny* confines it within the Gulphs of *Tarentum*; *Squillaci*, formerly *Scyllacius Sinus*; and the Gulph formerly called *Sinus Locrenſis*, or *Brutius*, now the Gulph of *Girazzo*, or *Girace*; that is, between *Capo di Maria di Leuca*, and *Capo del l'Armi*; or to ſpeak more in the Language of the ancient Geographers, between *The Salentin Promontory*, and Cape *Leucopetra*. So that the Name of *Great Greece* comprehended only *Lucania*; the Country of the *Brutii*, or the two *Calabria's*; a great part of the *Baſilicata*, and of *The Hither Principality*. But *Ptolomy* adds to theſe, *Apulia*, or *La Poüille*. *Strabo* likewiſe adds to theſe Provinces, *Sicily* on one ſide, and *Campania* on the other. *Seneca ad Helvium, c. 6.* extends the Boundaries of *Great Greece*, much beyond the Provinces already mentioned, when he comprehends in it, all the Coaſt of *Italy*, which is watered by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. And *Feſtus* does not exclude any one Canton in *Italy*, out of it; *Major Græciâ dicta eſt Italia, quod cum Siculi quondam obtinuerunt, vel quod in eam multæ magnæ civitates ex Græcia profectæ ſunt.* *Ovid* had the ſame Opinion of it; as appears by theſe Lines,

Nec tibi ſit mirum Graiorum nomine dici
Itala, nam tellus Græcia Major erat. Faſt. 4.

Athenæus was alſo of the ſame Opinion. In order therefore to reconcile theſe different Opinions, regard muſt be had to the Difference of Times. It

Year of ROME CCCCIV. L. Furius Camillus, Conful. *Diod. Sic. B.* 16.

cuſe, when [82] *Timoleon* came to deliver that Iſland from its Tyrants. But nevertheleſs, it is more natural to believe, that they were a Swarm of thoſe miſerable [83] *Phocenſes*, whom *Philip of Macedon*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, drove out of their native Country, about this time; and who, according to the *Greek* Hiſtorian, in vain attempted to retreat into *Sicily*, and *Italy*. However, the *Romans* had the Pleaſure of ſeeing their Country defended by their Enemies themſelves. The *Gauls* were jealous of their Booty, and therefore oppoſed the *Greeks*, who were newly landed. The neareſt Part of the Sea-ſhore to *Rome*, was the

is very true, that the removal of ſeveral *Greek Colonies*, into almoſt all the Cities in *Italy*, gave the whole Country the Name of *Great Greece*, becauſe theſe Nations, in order to make their Conqueſts reſemble their native Country as much as they could, called it by the ſame Name. But after the People of *Rome* and *Latium* had communicated their Language, and Cuſtoms, to the neighbouring Provinces; the Name of *Great Greece* was confined to *Sicily*, and the moſt Southern Parts of *Italy*, which *Tully* ſpeaks of in his 3d Book *de Oratore*. *Inſtituitne Pythagoras totam illam veterem Italiæ Græciam, quæ quondam magna vocitata eſt?* That *Sicily* made a conſiderable Part of *Great Greece*, *Strabo* aſſures us, *B.* 6. and *Livy*, *B.* 7. All that now remains, is, to enquire why the Name of *Great Greece* was given to the Countries beforementioned, rather than to *Achaia*, *Peloponneſus*, *Epirus*, and in a word, to all *Greece*, properly ſo called. As to which, *Pliny* ſays, that this Appellation of *Magna Græcia* was moſt agreable to the Genius of the *Greeks*, who loved to give pompous Names to every thing that belonged to them. But it ſeems to me more probable, that all *Italy* and *Sicily* were firſt ſo called, in compariſon of old *Greece*, which was leſs than theſe Places: and that afterwards, Cuſtom appropriated the ſame Name to the moſt Southern Parts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, which are ſometimes called, *Græcia Subciſiva*, and *Græcia Exotica*; the former by *Apuleius*, the latter by *Plautus* in his *Menechmi*, to ſhew that *Great Greece* was a foreign Country, and ſeparated from old *Greece*.

82 *Timoleon*, who deſcended from one of the moſt noble Families in *Corinth*, raiſed the Glory of his Family, by his great Exploits. He had ſo great a Love for his Country, and for Liberty, that he did not ſpare his own Brother *Timophanes*, who had uſurped the Sovereignty. He was aſſaſſinated by his Brother-in-law *Æſchylus*, with *Timoleon*'s Conſent. After which, *Timoleon* long wandered about in deſert Places, tormented with his own Anxieties of Mind, and Remorſe for what was done; and much affected with the bitter Reproaches of his Mother. But at length, being pitched upon by the Magiſtrates of *Corinth*, to be Captain-General of the Troops, they were ſending to relieve *Syracuſe*, which was oppreſſed by *Dionyſius the Younger*; he went to *Delphos*, before he ſet ſail, in order to pray to *Apollo*, to make his Enterprize ſucceſsful. While he was offering Sacrifice there, a Fillet embroider'd with Crowns, fell down from the Roof of the Temple where it hung, and reſted upon his Head. This Accident was thought a ſure Preſage of Victory; and having there ſet ſail with ten Galleys, he landed in ſight of *Syracuſe*. After he had made himſelf Maſter of the Town, the Citadel of which he razed, and had taken *Dionyſius* Priſoner, whom he ſent under a ſtrong Guard to *Corinth*; he marched his victorious Army againſt the Tyrant *Icetus*, King of the *Leontini*, and *Mago* the *Carthaginian* General, who had a Deſign of ſeizing *Sicily*. After this, he alſo fell upon all the other Tyrants, who all felt the great Effects of his Valour. Having thus delivered *Sicily* from Oppreſſion, about the end of the fourth Year of the 110th *Olympiad*; he reſolved to ſpend the reſt of his Life in Peace at *Syracuſe*. Towards the end of it, he loſt his Sight:

and after his Death, the People of *Syracuſe*, in Gratitude for the great Services he had done them, erected a ſtately Monument to his Memory, which was ſurrounded with Portico's and Halls, wherein the Youth were taught bodily Exerciſes.

83 The *Phocenſes* here mentioned, dwelt in *Phocis*, a Province of *Greece*, between *Bœotia* and *Ætolia*. Theſe People engaged in a deſtructive War with the *Thebans*, and *Locrenſes*, and plundered the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, at the Inſtigation of their General *Philomelus*. But before he would be guilty of ſuch a Robbery, he communicated his Deſign to *Archidamus*, King of *Lacedæmon*, who promiſed to aſſiſt him privately with Men and Money, tho' he did not declare openly for him. With this Aſſiſtance *Philomelus* took Poſſeſſion of the Temple, after he had put all to the Sword who pretended to reſiſt him. Then he defeated the *Locrenſes*, in a pitch'd Battel; and, fluſh'd with Succeſs, forced the Prieſteſs to give him ſuch Anſwers from the Oracle as he deſired; that he might appear to act only by the Authority, and with the Conſent, of *Apollo*. He likewiſe found Means to ſupport himſelf with the Alliance of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, who joined with him againſt the *Thebans* and *Locrenſes*. This was the Beginning of *The Holy War*. And when he was attacked on all Sides, he ſeized the Riches of the Temple, which he had hitherto ſpared. He employed theſe Treaſures in raiſing a great Army, which at firſt ſtruck Terror into his Enemies; but being at length ſurrounded on all Sides, and forced into a narrow Paſs, which he could not get out of, to avoid being overtaken by the *Theban* Army, he choſe rather to end his Days, by throwing himſelf from the Top of a Rock, than to fall alive into the Hands of the Conquerors. And *Onomarchus* his Brother had no better a Fate than himſelf. His own Soldiers conſpired againſt him, and threw him into the Sea. His third Brother, *Phayllus*, who ſucceeded him, was burnt to Death in the Fire which conſumed the Temple of *Abes*, a City of *Phocis*. But *Diodorus* makes him to have died the next Year of a raging Fever, which was contagious. After the Death of his Uncle, *Phalæcus*, the Son of *Onomarchus*, had the Command of the Troops. But he did not long ſurvive him. He was killed in a Rencounter, and his Death put an End to *The Holy War*. *Philip* King of *Macedon* exterminated the miſerable Remains of the *Phocenſes*, razed all their Cities, except *Abes*, which had not been concerned in their Sacrilege, and forced them to leave their own Country, and ſeek a Retreat elſewhere. The Ancients have obſerved, that *Philomelus*, *Onomarchus*, and *Phayllus*, all died by one or other of thoſe three Kinds of Death, which uſed to be inflicted on thoſe who prophaned Holy Things. This War begun, according to *Diodorus*, *B.* 16. in the ſecond Year of the 106th *Olympiad*, *i.e.* in the Year of *Rome* 399. It laſted to the End of the ſecond Year of the 106th *Olympiad*. *Pauſanias* places the Beginning of this War, in the fourth Year of the 105th *Olympiad*. But it is evident that he is miſtaken in his Calculation. We need no other Proof of it than *Demoſthenes*'s Oration, *De ementita legatione*. This Orator declares, that the Cities of the *Phocenſes* were deſtroyed the ſame Year the *Pythian Games* were celebrated; which was uſually done, at the End of the ſecond Year of every *Olympiad*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCIV.

L. Furius Camillus, Conful.

Liv. B. 7. c. 25.

Place where theſe two Sorts of Robbers came to a Battel. After which, both Parties retired, the one to their Ships, the other to their Camp; without any other Advantage to the *Gauls*, than that of having driven away a Company of Robbers from their Prey, which they came to divide among themſelves. But nevertheleſs, as the *Gauls* had not left *Latium*, and the *Greeks* were ſtill coaſting about it; it nearly behoved the Republick, to drive theſe Enemies farther off. And yet, the *Conſul Camillus* ſeemed not to be ſufficient of himſelf, to act againſt both Enemies, which were equally formidable. It therefore ſeemed neceſſary to nominate a *Dictator*, that he, acting in concert with the ſurviving *Conſul*, might be able, to fight the *Gauls* on one hand, and alſo hinder the *Greeks* from ſettling in *Italy*, on the other. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* would not offer ſuch an Affront to *Camillus*, as to make any Man his Superior. They remembred, he had been *Dictator* himſelf the laſt Year. They much reſpected him for his perſonal Merit, and his Experience in War. Beſides, the very Name of a *Camillus* ſeemed a very good Omen, in a War, to be made with the *Gauls*. And in ſhort, all theſe Conſiderations made them accept of him as the ſole Governor of the Republick; and *Camillus* wanted little more, than a greater Number of *Lictors*, to commence a regular *Dictator*.

§. XIX. The ſingle *Conſul*'s firſt Buſineſs, was to raiſe two Armies. The *Latins* were ſummoned to furniſh their Contingent [84] of Auxiliaries, according to the old Stipulations. But theſe refuſed to march under the Command of a *Roman* General. In a national Diet, held in the ſacred Wood, near the Temple of *Ferentinum*, they had agreed to ſhake off this diſhonourable Yoke. *Since you want our Aſſiſtance*, ſaid they to the *Romans*, *it is your Buſineſs to ſubmit to be commanded by a* Latin *General. If not, we will defend our Country ourſelves, without ſubjecting ourſelves to the Government of others.* Then the Senate, who found the Republick under a Neceſſity of acting without foreign Troops, ordered the *Conſul* to be very rigorous in raiſing his Levies. Inſomuch, that no *Roman* Citizens, whether they lived in the City, or Country, were excuſed from marching. No excuſes whatſoever were accepted. Since the *Romans* were forced to truſt wholly to their own Strength, they raiſed ſo numerous an Army of Citizens only, as made the faithleſs *Latins* themſelves tremble. They found Men enough among thoſe who were obliged by Law to ſerve the Republick, to make up ten *Legions*. Each [85] *Legion* then conſiſted of 4200 Foot, and 300 Horſe: So that the whole Army amounted to at leaſt 45000 Men. Which muſt appear a ſurprizing [86] Number, if we conſider that they were all taken out of one City, which had ſcarce been founded 400 Years. The *Conſul* left two of theſe ten *Legions* in *Rome*, to guard the City, which he had ſtripped of its Defenders. The other eight, he divided between himſelf, and *L. Pinarius* the *Prætor*, whom he ſent to the Sea-Coaſt, to guard it againſt the Deſcent of the *Greeks*. As for *Camillus* himſelf, he went and cantoned his four *Legions* in the *Pomptin* Territory, a Country full of

84 The *Romans* and *Latins* were obliged by their ancient Treaties, mutually to defend each other againſt all foreign Enemies. So that the *Latins*, whilſt they continued faithful, uſed to join the *Roman* Armies, and ſerve in them as Auxiliaries, or Allies, to the Republick: And the *Latins* bore all their own Expences; only the *Romans* ſupplied their Allies with Corn, as well as their own *Legions*. The *Latins* had a General, and *Quæſtor*, of their own, but in Subjection to the *Roman* General, to whom they took an Oath. And ancient Authors ſay, that the *Conſuls* choſe twelve inferior Officers among the Allies, who had the ſame Authority, and the ſame Offices among them, as the *Tribunes* had among the *Romans*.

85 We have already obſerved, that the Number of Soldiers in each *Legion* was different, at different Times. It ſometimes conſiſted of 4000, ſometimes of 5000, and ſometimes of 6000 Foot, excluſive of the Horſe, which generally did not exceed 300, at this time.

86 This Number will appear yet more ſurprizing, if we underſtand *Livy* literally. He ſays that in *Auguſtus*'s Time, when *Rome* extended her Dominion almoſt all over the World, it would have been difficult to have raiſed ſo numerous an Army. Whence he concludes, that the *Romans* ſeemed to have multiplied their Conqueſts, only in order to multiply their Riches, and give themſelves up to Luxury. *Quem* NUNC *novum exercitum, ſi qua externa vis ingruat, hæ vires populi Romani, quas vix terrarum capit orbis, contractæ in unum haud facile efficiant: adeo in quæ laboramus, ſola crevimus, divitias luxuriamque.* But ſurely no one can think, that at a time when *Rome* gave Laws to the Univerſe, it could have been difficult for *Auguſtus* to raiſe an Army of 45000 Men. Beſides, *Dio* ſays this Emperor kept 23 *Legions* in conſtant Pay; and others ſay, 25. *Tiberius* alſo had the ſame Number, according to *Tacitus*, excluſive of the *City-Cohorts*, or the *Prætorian-Cohorts*. In order therefore to explain *Livy*'s Meaning aright, we muſt ſay, that, according to him, *Rome* alone, when arrived at her higheſt Pitch of Grandeur, could ſcarce raiſe ſo many Soldiers upon the Spot, in an Age, wherein Wealth, and Diſtinctions, had enervated the *Roman* Valour.

Year of *ROME* CCCCIV.

L. Furius Camillus, Conſul.

Aul. Gel. B. 9. c. 11. Liv. B. 7. c. 26.

Marſhes and Rivers. He had no Deſign of coming to a pitched Battel with the *Gauls*. It was enough for him, to haraſs them in their Poſts, to tire them out with little Skirmiſhes, prevent their Incurſions, intercept their Convoys, and if poſſible, to ſtarve them.

But whilſt both the *Romans* and their Enemies continued unactive, a fierce *Gaul*, of a gigantick Stature, and in Armor glittering all over with Gold, appeared between the two Armies. He was one of their Generals. After he had made a great noiſe with ſtriking his Lance upon his Buckler, he ordered Silence to be proclaimed. Then, with a threatning Countenance, and his Eyes ſparkling with Fire, he looked at the *Roman Legions*, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus: *Let the braveſt Man among you come and enter the Liſts with me, if he dares!* The *Gaul* made uſe of an Interpreter, to give the *Romans* this Challenge, which ſhews him to have been of the *Senones*, who had laſt paſſed the *Alpes*, and had not yet learned the Language which was ſpoken in *Italy*. His Words terrified the *Romans*: and the boldeſt of them were ſome time in ſuſpence between the Fear of being overcome, and the Shame of being wanting in Duty to their Country, in her Diſtreſs. But at length, a young Officer in the *Roman* Army preſented himſelf before the *Conſul*; offered to fight the Giant; obtained leave; and made no doubt, but he ſhould gain as much Glory by it, as *Manlius Torquatus* had formerly done, on the like Occaſion. This brave *Roman* was *M. Valerius*, great Grandſon to the famous *Dictator*, *M. Valerius Voluſus*. The Nobleneſs of his Extraction, and his Courage, had diſtinguiſhed him ſo much in the Army, that he was already *Legionary Tribune*, (that is, one of the ſix Commanders of a *Legion*) at twenty three Years of Age. *Valerius* marched boldly to meet his Rival, attended with the Shouts of his Countrymen, and carried a [87] Raven upon his Helmet, which had perched upon it, ever ſince Day-Break. He had perhaps made it tame, that it might defend him in Battel. At leaſt, it is much more rational to think ſo, than to aſcribe the ſudden Appearance of this Raven, to the miraculous Interpoſition of the Gods. But however, *Valerius* advanced towards his Rival, ſlowly, and with Intrepidity, but Modeſty. The *Gaul* was remarkable for his Strength and Preſumption; but the *Roman* had Addreſs and Skill on his Side. As ſoon as they were engaged, the faithful Raven fought for his Maſter. He flew ſwiftly at the *Gaul*, ſo intercepted his Sight with his Wings, that he could not ſee his Adverſary; ſtruck him in his Face and Eyes with his Beak and Claws, and in ſhort ſo incommoded and terrified him, that it was eaſy for his Rival to ſtab him. And as ſoon as the Death of the *Gaul* had put an end to the Combat, the Raven came and ſettled upon the Conqueror's Head. Then the *Romans* gave great Shouts, at the Sight of a Victory, which was entirely new to them: and the Raven [88], being, as is well known, one of thoſe Animals from which *Auguries* were taken; they therefore took it for granted, that Heaven had declared itſelf in their Favour. But the *Gauls* deſpiſed the Advantage *Valerius* had gained by the Help of a Bird; and crowded round the dead Body of their conquered General, to hinder the *Roman* from ſtripping him of his Armor, and making a Trophy of it. Upon this, the *Romans* ran to aſſiſt, and defend their Champion; which naturally led both Armies to a Battel. It was begun by ſome Companies of the Advanced-Guard; and then all the *Legions* prepared

Zonaras, B. 7. ch. 25.

Auth. Lives of Illuſt. Men, Art. 29.

Aul. Gell. Florus, &c.

87 According to *Livy*, *B.* 7. and *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 9. the Raven did not reſt upon *Voleſus*'s Helmet, till after the Battel between the two Champions was begun.

88 We have already obſerved, to what Exceſs the Superſtition of the *Romans* carried the *Augural* Science, or the Art of gueſſing at future Events, by the Notes and flying of Birds. We ſhould never have done, ſhould we here enter into a Detail of all the childiſh Trifles, on which they made the Succeſs of the moſt important Affairs to depend: And therefore we think it better to mention them ſeparately, as Occaſion ſhall offer, in the Courſe of the Hiſtory. At preſent, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that the Ravens were the chief Birds which were thought to foretell future things, and explain the Will of the Gods. Their Cries, their beating of their Wings, their Poſitions, were all awful Signs, from which the Pagans drew Inferences of good or bad Succeſs; tho' no Mortal can imagine, what could give Credit to ſuch a kind of Prophecy. However, this Abuſe gave Riſe to thoſe ſilly Terms, in the Books of the *Augurs*, whereby they expreſſed the Manner, in which the Birds foretold future Things: As *Aves oſcines*, *aves præpetes*, *aves inferæ*, *aves arcivæ*, *aves inebræ*, *avis admiſſiva*, *avis altera*, *avis ambuſtana*, *avis aſtur*, *avis clivia*, *avis incendiaria*, *avis inhibi*, *avis remora*, *avis ſupervaganea*, *avis volſgra*, *avis ſecunda*, *avis dextra*, *avis ſiniſtra*. In a Word, theſe Birds, conſidered in theſe ſeveral Views, were the chief Objects of the *Augural* Science. Thoſe who are curious to know the Meaning of theſe Terms, may conſult *Varro*, *Feſtus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Columella*. *Bulenger* alſo explains them, in his Treatiſe of *Augurs* and *Auſpices*.

pared for an Engagement, ſo that a general Action ſeemed likely to enſue. *Camillus* thought it neceſſary to take advantage of the new Courage, with which Superſtition, and *Valerius*'s Victory had inſpired his *Romans*. He ſaid to them, pointing to the Conqueror of the Giant, *Go, follow the Example of the brave* Valerius. *Heaven has openly ſhewed itſelf for us. We have a ſure Pledge of its Protection, in the Perſon of the* Gaul *who lies dead on the Sand. Go, and fight round his Carcaſs.* With theſe Words he encouraged the Soldiers, to whom Religion had given new Strength. The Skirmiſh between the advanc'd Guards had been bloody, and the Succeſs pretty equal. But when the whole Armies advanced towards each other, the *Romans* prevailed. Before they came within reach of each other's Darts, the *Gauls* disbanded, and their Flight was general. They diſperſed, took their Way through the Country of the *Volſci*, and after they had entred [89] *Campania*, croſſed the Plains of [90] *Falernum*, penetrated as far as *Apulia*, and retired to the Coaſts of the *Adriatic* Sea.

Year of ROME CCCCIV. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS; Conſul.

AFTER the Rout of the *Gauls*, the General aſſembled his Soldiers, harangued them, and diſtributed among them the Rewards of their Valour. *Valerius* had deſerved the greateſt, and he received them. *Camillus* gave him a Crown of Gold, and two Oxen. This was a conſiderable Preſent at that time; but the Action was worthy of Immortality: Poſterity therefore afterwards honoured him with a famous Monument. *Auguſtus* erected a Statue to his Memory, in the Square he built at *Rome*: and the Raven, placed on *Valerius*'s Helmet in the Statue, was a Proof, that Tradition had tranſmitted down the Fact, as we have related it. After this ſingle Combat, *Valerius* daily encreaſed in Dignity, and Reputation. We ſhall ſoon ſee him promoted to the higheſt Stations in the Republick. He preſerved all his Life-time, which was an hundred Years, the unblemiſhed Reputation of a great Magiſtrate, a good Father of a Family, and a zealous Patriot. And after his Death, the Name of *Corvus* which was given him, and that of *Corvinus*, which his Deſcendants always bore, did Honour to his Branch of the [91] *Valerian* Family, and diſtinguiſhed it from all the other Branches of it.

Aul. Gel. B. 9. c. 11.

§. XX. THE *Conſul* had now nothing to do, to cloſe his annual Adminiſtration with Honour; but to drive away the *Greek* Pyrates, who infeſted the Coaſts of *Latium*, and prevent their making a Deſcent: And with this View *Camillus* joined his Army to that of *Pinarius* the *Prætor*. The Adventurers, who were ſeeking their Fortune, continued long at Sea, without daring to land; and their Obſtinacy forced the *Conſul* to continue longer in the Field, than he expected. So that, in the mean while, the time for aſſembling the *Comitia*, to elect new *Conſuls* for the next Year, drew on; which obliged *Camillus* to nominate a *Dictator*, with the Conſent of the Senate, to preſide in the Aſſembly of the *Centuries*, which was to be held in the *Campus Martius*. The *Conſul* promoted *T. Manlius* to the *Dictatorſhip*; who choſe *Cornelius Coſſus* to be his General of Horſe. The *Dictator Manlius* had been charmed with the Exploit of *Valerius Corvus*, as finding his own former Victory over the *Gaul*, whom he ſtripped of his Gold Collar, exactly copied in that of young *Valerius*; and his *Dictatorſhip* giving him a great deal of Influence in the Elections, he found means to prevail on the People to chuſe the *Legionary Tribune*, who was yet but three and twenty, *Conſul*. He was then in the Camp, and had made no Intereſt for the *Conſulſhip*; he was yet too young, even to have a Place in the Senate. Nevertheleſs, *M. Valerius* was named *Conſul*;

Year of ROME CCCCV. M. VALERIUS, POPILIUS LÆNAS, Conſuls.

89 *Campania*, the fineſt and moſt fruitful Country in *Italy*, is now the greateſt Part of the preſent *Terra di Lavoro*. Ancient Authors have contended who ſhould ſay moſt of the Beauty of this Province. *Non Italiæ modo, ſed toto terrarum orbe, pulcherrima plaga*, ſays *Florus*, ſpeaking of it. For this Reaſon it is generally called *Campania felix*, or *Campania the happy*. It was formerly bounded by the River *Vulturnus*, or *Voltorno*; but the *Romans* extended it to the Weſt and North, as far as the *Liris*, now the *Garigliano*, or *Scaphati*. It was bounded to the Eaſt, and South, by the River *Sarnus*, or the *Sarno*.

90 The Territory of *Falernum* was famous, among the Ancients, for its delicious Wines. It is watered by the *Savone* and *Vulturnus*. Its Boundary is Mount *Maſſicus*, which ſome call Mount *Falernus*.

91 The Family of the *Valerii* came originally from *Sabinia*. It ſettled in *Rome*, when *Titus Tatius*, King of the *Sabines*, ſhared the Government of the *Roman* State, with *Romulus*. *Valerius Voluſus* then began to raiſe the Reputation of his Family, which was divided into ſeveral Branches, ſome of which were *Patrician*, and others *Plebeian*. The Medals have preſerv'd the Names of ſome of them, which are diſtinguiſhed by the Surnames of *Aſſiculus*, *Flaccus*, *Meſſala*, and *Catullus*: But the ancient Monuments have not conveyed down to us any Traces of the Branch of the *Corvini*.

and

Year of ROME CCCCV. M VALERIUS, POPILIUS LÆNAS, Conſuls.

and his Collegue was *Popilius Lænas* 92 the *Plebeian*, who now entred upon this Office the fourth time. As for *Camillus*, he made ſo good an Appearance upon the Coaſt, that the *Greeks* durſt not come aſhore; and at laſt, wanting freſh Water, and other neceſſary Proviſions, they put out to Sea. But tho' *Camillus*'s Campaign had been ſucceſsful, he did not obtain the Honours of a Triumph. His Expedition was not ſo remarkable for Blood-ſhed in Battel, as for the Flight of the *Gauls*, and the Departure of the *Greeks*. Nevertheleſs, it deſerved an *Ovation* at leaſt; but that ſort of Triumph was lately grown more out of uſe at *Rome*, than formerly.

THE Glory of the preſent *Roman Conſuls* depended more on the accidental Events of their Year, than on their own Prudence and Courage. Whilſt *Popilius* and *Valerius* continued together at the Head of Affairs, the Republick was perfectly unactive. They had no War to make, no Enemy to fight, no inteſtine Faction to ſuppreſs. And as it was the Fate of *Rome* to be viſited with publick Calamities, during her Inactivity, a Plague robbed her of as many Citizens, as ſhe would have loſt in a War. *In order to remove this Scourge, recourſe was had to the Superſtition already introduced.* Beds were placed in the Temples, great Feaſts made, and Gods invited to them. All theſe Ceremonies were performed after the *Sybilline* Books had been conſulted, by Order of the Senate, and by the *Decemviri*, who were appointed to be the Guardians of them; but the Hiſtorians ſay nothing of any good Effect wrought by theſe Superſtitions.

§. XXI. WHILST the *Romans* enjoyed a profound Peace, the Happineſs of which was interrupted by nothing but the Contagion, ſome 93 Ambaſſadors came to *Rome*, from *Carthage*. Theſe two Cities, which were one Day to be Rivals, had been 94 founded much about the ſame time, the one by *Dido*, the other by *Romulus*. This fugitive Queen

92 *Diodorus Siculus* puts other *Conſuls* for this Year; and places this fourth *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Popilius Lænas*, in the Year of *Rome* 407. Which is another Miſtake, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper Place. The *Greek Tables* give *Marcus Valerius* the Surname of *Corvinus*; which is a Fault of which ſeveral Authors have been guilty. *Corvus* was *Valerius*'s Surname. The *Faſti Capitolini* give him no other: And the *Faſti of Cuſpinian*, the oldeſt Editions of *Livy*, and *Valerius Maximus*, exactly agree with them, in this Point. It is indeed probable enough that the Soldiers, who ſaw the Adventure of the Raven, might follow the ſudden Heat, which is natural enough to Military Men, and give their Officer the Name of the Animal, which was his Second in the Fight. But then, it is not ſo natural to believe his Deſcendants ſhould affect it. *Florus*, by Miſtake, changes the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, which the Hiſtorians give this *Conſul*, into *Lucius*.

93 *Livy* ſays, *B.* 7. under this Year 405, that the Inhabitants of the City of *Antium* ſent a Colony to *Satricum*, which had been entirely ruined by the *Latins*.

94 Such Darkneſs overſpreads ancient Story, that it is not poſſible to diſcover the exact Time when *Carthage* was founded. Both ancient and modern Authors are ſo divided about it, that it is beſt to leave the Reader to judge for himſelf, in ſuch a Variety of Opinions. I ſay nothing of *Virgil*'s Account of *Dido*'s Flight, and of the Arrival of the *Trojans* at *Carthage*. It is now univerſally agreed, that this long Epiſode is a mere Fiction, invented by the Poet, to magnify the Glory of *Rome*, the Rival of this Great City, to adorn his Poem, and ſet off his Hero. It is therefore taken for granted, that *Carthage* was not founded till ſeveral Ages after the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*. This all the Ancients allow, excepting only ſome few, and among the reſt *Appian*, who makes *Xorus* and *Carchedon* Founders of this City, 50 Years before the Deſtruction of *Troy*; tho' the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* themſelves always thought *Dido* the Foundreſs of it. *Euſebius* places it in the Year 804, of his *Chronicon*, the 3500 Year of the *Julian Period*, which anſwers to the 2769th Year of the World, about 30 Years before the taking of *Troy*, *i.e.* 460 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. His Authority for it, is one *Philiſtus*, whom *Cicero* mentions in the 5th Book of his Epiſtles to his Brother *Quintus*. *Siculus ille Capitalis, creber, acutus, pæne puſillus Thucidides.* *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Dion*, gives us an Account of this Author, who made himſelf odious to the People of *Syracuſe*, by becoming the Miniſter of *Dionyſius the Tyrant*'s Cruelties: And *Cicero* gives him the Epithet of *Capitalis*, to ſhew that he had deſerved a capital Puniſhment for his violent Counſels. Other Hiſtorians, as *Menander*, quoted by *Joſephus*, *Solinus*, *Velleius Paterculus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Theophilus*, *B.* 3. *ad Autolychum*, *&c.* place the Foundation of *Carthage* long after the taking of *Troy*. The firſt of theſe will have this City to have been built in the 7th Year of the Reign of *Pygmalion*, 144 Years after the building of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, the 3825th Year of the *Julian Period*, 296 Years after the Ruin of *Troy*, 114 Years before the firſt *Olympiad*, and 137 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. But the Misfortune is, that *Joſephus* has ſupported his Epocha, by a falſe Calculation. He reckons 155 Years, and 8 Months, from the firſt Year of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, to the 7th of *Pygmalion*; whereas he ought not to have reckoned more than 137 or 138 current. So likewiſe, from the Foundation of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, to *Dido*'s Flight, was but 123 Years, or thereabout, and not 144 Years, as *Joſephus* pretends; ſuppoſing, upon the Credit of the *Tyrian Annals*, that the Temple was built in the 11th Year of *Hiram*'s Reign. This Miſtake Father *Petau* ſeems to have rectified, when he fixes the building of this Temple to the 37th Year of his Reign. *Solinus* does not differ much from him, in this Epocha. He reckons 737 Years from the firſt Year of *Carthage*, to its utter Deſtruction; which he places in the 608th Year of *Rome*, when, ſays he, *Cneius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Lucius Mummius* were *Conſuls*; in the 4568th Year of the *Julian Period*. If therefore we take 737, out of 4568, there will remain 3831, which will be the Year of that

1

Queen did not indeed begin to ſettle her Colony of *Tyrians* in *Africa*, till ſixty five Years according to ſome, and ſeventy two Years according to others, before *Romulus* raiſed the Walls of *Rome*. And it appears, That the *Romans* were not acquainted with any Nation, out of *Italy*, before they knew the *Carthaginians*; and That the firſt Alliance they entred into with any People, out of their own Continent, was with the Inhabitants of *Carthage*. As early as the firſt Year, after the Expulſion of their Kings, and the Converſion of their Monarchy into a Republick, even in the time of the firſt *Conſuls*, *Brutus* and *Valerius*, the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* entred into a Treaty, chiefly in relation to 95 Navigation and Commerce. This firſt Treaty was found in *Rome*, ſo late as in the time of the ſecond *Punic* War, written on the Baſe of a Column, in the old *Roman* Language, which was then ſcarce underſtood. Such Alterations had the *Latin* Tongue then ſuffered! The *Greek* Hiſtorian has tranſmitted down this Treaty to us; and the Subſtance of it was this: *That the Ships of the* Romans, *and their Allies, ſhould not ſail farther on the Coaſt of* Africa, *than the Cape called,* 96 The Fair Promontory, *unleſs a Storm, or a purſuing Enemy, drove them beyond it; That if any* Roman *Veſſels touched at any Port beyond this* Promontory, *they ſhould not buy any thing there, but the Victims which they wanted for Sacrifices, and the Materials, which were neceſſary for refitting their Galleys; and That they ſhould not tarry there longer than five Days. On the other hand, the* Carthaginians *engaged, That if the* Romans *came to* The Fair Promontory, *to trade, there ſhould no Tax be laid upon them, but the Fees of the Crier and Secretary. That the* Romans, *who*

Year of ROME CCCCV.

M. VALERIUS, POPILIUS LÆNAS, Conſuls.

Polyb. B. 3. c. 22, 23, 24.

Polyb. ibid.

that Period; and 3100, will be the Year of the World; in which *Carthage* was built. According to *The Epitomy* of *Livy*, *Carthage* was razed in the 607th Year of *Rome*, after it had ſubſiſted 700 Years. According to *Velleius Paterculus*, it was founded but 65 Years before *Rome*. *Ante annos quinque & ſexaginta quam Urbs Roma conderetur, ab Elyſſa Tyria, quam quidam Dido autumant, Carthago condiatur: i. e.* in the 3897th Year of the *Julian Period*. *Servius* makes *Carthage* 70, and *Trogus Pompeius* 72 Years older than *Rome*. *Theophilus ad Autolycum, B.* 3. pretends, upon the Credit of Memoirs taken out of the Archives of the City of *Tyre*, that *Carthage* was built 34 Years, and 8 Months, after the Temple of *Solomon*. The Conſequence of which Variety of Opinions ſeems to be, that it was built by Parts, and at different Times. In order therefore to reconcile the Hiſtorians, I don't ſee why we may not ſay, 1. That the *Phœnicians*, who often cruiſed along the Coaſts of *Barbary*, ſettled a Staple there, and laid the firſt Foundation of *Carthage*, which was at firſt nothing but a Parcel of Huts. And, 2dly. That ſome Ages after, *Dido* fled thither, to avoid the Fury of *Pygmalion*, and that this Princeſs enlarged it, built Walls round it, and gave it the Form of a great City. *Virgil* ſeems to favour this Conjecture, *Æneid*, *B.* 1. in theſe Words,

Miratur molem Æneas magalia quondam.

Some pretend, that *Hiarbas*, King of *Mauritania*, founded *Carthage*; and that *Dido* only built the Forteſs of *Birſa*, or *Botſra*; an *Hebrew* Word, which ſignifies a fortified Place. It was fortified, according to *Marmol*, in the ſame Place, where he ſays the *Chriſtians* erected a Tower, called by them *La Roque de Caſtinace*, and by the *Africans*, *Almenare*. Others ſay that *Byrſa*, which ſignifies the ſame in *Greek*, as *Forum* does in *Latin*, was the Name of the City itſelf. *Dido*, ſay they, deſired only as much Land of the Natives of the Country, as ſhe could encompaſs with an Ox-Hide; but, add they, ſhe cut the Hide into very ſmall Thongs, and thereby found means to make her City very large; agreably to the Words of *Virgil*,

Mercatique ſolum facti de nomine Byrſam.

And Authors are no leſs divided about the Name of *Carthage*. It was, according to *Servius*, taken from a City of *Lybia*, called *Cartha*; according to others, from *Carchedon*, its firſt Founder; or from *Carthado*, which ſignifies, in the *Phœnician* Language, *A new City*. *Bochart* examines into the Truth of theſe Etymologies, in his *Canaan*, *B.* 1. [Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerves, that the Revolt of *Edom* from the Dominion of *Judah*, interrupted the Trade of *Judah* and *Tyre*, on the *Red Sea*, and thereby gave Occaſion to the *Tyrians* to build Ships for Merchandize on the *Mediterranean*, to make long Voyages there, and found ſeveral Cities in *Africa* and *Spain*, and among others, *Carthage*. This Revolt he places about the third or fourth Year of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*; and fixes the founding of *Carthage* to the fifth or ſixth Year of *Jehoram*; about the ſeventeenth Year after the taking of *Troy*; the ſeventh Year of *Pygmalion*; and the 883d Year before Chriſt. *Chron. p.* 32, 107, 108.]

95 The *Romans* don't ſeem to have gained any great Advantages by this Treaty, in Point of Navigation, the Art of which they did not underſtand till later Ages. At leaſt, Hiſtory gives us no Account of their Commerce, or maritime Affairs.

96 *Polybius* calls this Promontory, Καλὸν ἀκρωτήριον. It lay, according to him, to the North of *Carthage*, and near it. Which Situation agrees with that of *The Promontory of Mercury*; *Hermæ*, or *Mercurii Promontorium*, is the Name the Ancients give it. It is now called *Cape Bona*. It is on the Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and looks towards *The Promontory of Lilibæum* in *Sicily*. Yet we dare not affirm, that *The Fair Promontory* was the ſame as this *Promontory of Mercury*. *Livy*, *B.* 29. ſeems to diſtinguiſh them one from the other. Whilſt *Polybius*, on the contrary, ſays nothing of one, but what is applicable to the other. This Diſagreement of the Hiſtorians therefore will not ſuffer us to be poſitive, in a Caſe which is left undetermined by the moſt skilful Geographers. However, if the *Carthaginians* did ſet Bounds to the Navigation of the *Romans*, it was plainly, as *Polybius* obſerves, a political Precaution. They did not care to have their Coaſts open to all Comers; leſt the Fruitfulneſs of the Land, and the happy Situation of their Cities, for the Convenience of Trade, ſhould tempt their Avarice. Their Country was indeed ſo fruitful, that, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 5, & 17. it produced above an hundred Fold. This is the Country which was formerly called *Provincia Byzaſena*.

Year of ROME CCCCV. M. VALERIUS, POPILIUS LÆNAS, Consuls.

should come into 97 Sardinia, *or that Part of* Sicily, *which belonged to the* Carthaginians, *should be received there in the same manner as the* Carthaginians *themselves; and That they would not commit any Hostilities against the Inhabitants of* Ardea, Antium, Aricia, Circæum, Terracina, *or any other City in* Latium, *which was united to* Rome. *The other Cities of* Latium, *which were not subject to the* Romans, *were not included in this Treaty. Only, the* Carthaginians *promised, That in case they should make themselves Masters of any of them, they would restore them, without plundering them, and not raise any Fort in* Italy. *And the* Romans, *on the other hand, engaged, That if any* Carthaginian *Rebel fled for Refuge into* Italy, *he should not be suffered to tarry there, so much as one Night.*

FROM these Articles of this ancient Treaty, we may observe; 1. That the *Carthaginians* had then made themselves Masters of *Sardinia*, and a Part of *Sicily*. 2. That these *Africans* were even then afraid of the *Romans* coming with Ships of War, to discover the Coasts of *Africa*, and make Settlements there. 3. That the *Romans*, tho' confined within a very narrow Tract of Ground, were already formidable to foreign Nations. And 4. That it was then customary to entertain Merchants hospitably, who came into any Ports, to trade; and That they paid no Taxes for their Goods, but the Fees of the Crier and Secretary. Such was the first Treaty the *Romans* made with *Carthage*, at the Birth of their Republick; and now, when *Valerius Corvus*, and *Popilius Lænas*, were *Consuls*, the *Carthaginians* crossed the Sea, and came to *Rome*, to confirm this Treaty, and make Additions to it. The *Romans* were now suffered to pass beyond *The Fair Promontory*; and to sail as far as 98 *Utica*, *Carthage*, and even to 99 *Mastia*, and *Tarsejum*. But they were not at liberty to sail beyond these Places, or found Cities, or make Conquests. As to the *Carthaginians*, the *Romans* consented to their plundering the Cities of *Latium*, which were not in Confederacy with them; but would not suffer them to take possession of them, in order to settle there. The *Carthaginians* were forbidden to expose to Sale, any of the Slaves they took from the neighbouring Nations of *Rome*, in any of the *Roman* Ports; all such Slaves brought into them, were declared forfeited: And the *Romans*, on the other hand, laid themselves under the same Engagements, with respect to the *Carthaginians*, and their Allies. It was likewise stipulated, That if the *Romans* did any Injury to any People under the Dominion of *Carthage*, on the Coasts where they touched for fresh Water, or Provisions, it should be looked on as a publick Injury to the whole Nation; That no *Roman* should trade in *Africa*, or *Sardinia*, or continue ashore there above five Days; but That, in those Parts of *Sicily* which belonged to the *Carthaginians*, and at *Carthage* itself, they might sell any Merchandizes, which the *Carthaginians* were allow'd to purchase. The *Romans*, on the other hand, allowed the *Carthaginians* the same Privileges of Trade, with respect to the City of *Rome*. So that this second Treaty differed from the first in these Particulars. 1. The *Romans* were permitted to sail beyond *The Fair Promontory*; which was not allowed them before. 2. They were forbidden carrying on any Commerce in *Sardinia*, or any Part of *Africa*, except at *Carthage*, and *Utica*. As for the Cities of *Mastia* and *Tarsejum*, to which they were permitted to sail, we know no Cities in *Africa*, of those Names. Were they then two Cities in *Syria*? If so, what Power had the *Carthaginians* over them, that their Consent should be necessary to be had, before the *Romans* could trade thither? But wherever they were, it is plain that *Carthage* was then Mistress of the Seas, and set what Bounds she pleased to the Navigation of other Nations. And we may from hence infer likewise, that the two Republicks of *Carthage*, and *Rome*, were already afraid of one another

Polyb. ibid.

Polyb. ibid.

97 It appears by the Articles of this Treaty, that *Carthage* had already subdued *Sardinia*, and a Part of *Sicily*, as *Polybius* observes, *B.* 3. when he mentions this first Alliance which was made between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*.

98 *Utica*, situated on the Coasts of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, was the most considerable City in *Africa*, next to *Carthage*. It is now called *Biserte*, and retains no Footsteps of its ancient Grandeur. *Old Utica* lay between *Raxa-Musath*, or *The Cape of Apollo*, and the Mouth of the River *Bagrada* 52 Miles from *Carthage*. Some Geographers have thought it formerly stood in the Place where the present *Porto Farino* now stands; which is in the Neighbourhood of *Biserte*.

99 *Stephens*, and *Ortelius*, place the two Cities of *Mastia* and *Tarsejum*, near *Hercules's Pillars*. We see, the *Carthaginians*, at this time, peaceably shared the Empire of the *Mediterranean*, with the *Tyrians*, their Allies.

and Rivals for Power; tho' *Carthage* appears to have been much the moſt conſiderable of the two. All *Sardinia*, and a Part of *Sicily*, was already under the Dominion of the *Carthaginians*, beſides the Poſſeſſions they had gotten on the Continent of *Africa*. Whereas *Rome* was hitherto wholly employed in multiplying the Number of her Inhabitants; and had increaſed her Territories but very little. She contained Fighting-Men enough within her own Walls, to equal the Armies of the largeſt Kingdoms; and found Strength enough in her own Citizens, to enable her to conquer all the reſt of the World, in a little time.

Year of ROME CCCCV. M. VALERIUS, POPILIUS LÆNAS, Conſuls.

THE whole Employment of the preſent *Conſuls*, was to make theſe Treaties with the Ambaſſadors of *Carthage*, and offer up Vows to the Gods, to put a Stop to the Contagion. But I am at a Loſs to find, by what Accident, or with what ſecret Political View, they were not ſuffered to preſide in the *Comitia* for electing the chief Magiſtrates, for the Year enſuing. Nevertheleſs, it is not to be doubted but they were obliged to nominate a *Dictator*, to hold the Aſſembly which was to chooſe new *Conſuls*. That Part of the *Marble* indeed, wherein the Name of the *Dictator* was written, is defaced; but there are plain Marks enough upon it, to leave it paſt Doubt, that a *Dictator* did preſide at the Election. The *Centuries* [100] promoted *C. Plautius Hypſæus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, to the *Conſulſhip*. The latter had never yet been *Conſul*, tho' he had been twice *Dictator*. This was a Mark of Diſtinction, never before paid to any Man's Merit, but his own; and was in it ſelf irregular.

Faſt. Capit.

Year of ROME CCCCVI. C. PLAUTIUS, T. MANLIUS, Conſuls. *Liv. B. 7. c. 27.*

§. XXII. DURING this *Conſulſhip* of *Plautius* and *Manlius*, the Republick enjoyed a Peace, which left the *Conſuls* no room to gain themſelves any Glory by Feats of Arms. They therefore endeavoured at leaſt to promote the publick Welfare, by wiſe Regulations: The *Roman* People had long complained of the exceſſive Uſury the Rich had taken for their Money: And *Rome* had formerly endeavoured to remedy this Evil, by ſinking Intereſt to 1 *per Cent*. But nevertheleſs, the common People thought it a great Burden to pay this moderate Sum, every Year; and therefore the *Conſuls* now reduced Intereſt to ½ *per Cent*. So that only half an *As* Intereſt was paid for 100 *Aſſes*. They alſo gave the Debtors three Years time to diſcharge their Debts in, by paying one fourth preſently, and one fourth each Year after, till the whole was paid. But tho' this Regulation was much for the Eaſe of the indigent Populace, yet they found themſelves ſtill over-burdened, and demanded an abſolute Diſcharge from all their Debts. However, the Senate had, in that Caſe, more Regard to the Faith of Contracts, than to the Deſires of the People; and therefore, without abſolutely forbidding all Intereſt, they reduced it ſo low, that the Poor had no Reaſon to complain. Beſides, in theſe Times of publick Peace, the Commons were much eaſed. They did not pay the Taxes uſual in Time of War; nor did their Service in the Army divert the Husbandmen and Artificers from their Work.

Year of ROME CCCCVII. VALERIUS CORVUS, C. POETELIUS VISOLUS, Conſuls. *Liv. B. 7. c. 27.*

§. XXIII. THE next Year, the War broke out again with the *Volſci*, thoſe reſtleſs Neighbours, and old Enemies, which *Rome* had ſubdued, but had not been able entirely to quiet. The People raiſed the illuſtrious *Valerius Corvus* to the *Conſulſhip*, for the ſecond time; and one [101] *C. Poetelius Viſolus*, for the firſt. But *Valerius* alone was ſufficient to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of theſe Rebels, who had ſo lately taken up Arms anew, againſt their Conquerors. The City of *Satricum* was the Occaſion of this renewing of Hoſtilities. It was now about thirty Years ſince it had been deſtroyed by the *Latins*, upon a Quarrel with the *Volſci*, to whom it belonged. About three Years ſince, the *Antiates*, who were *Volſci* themſelves, had raiſed it out of its Aſhes, planted a *Colony* there, and both re-built, and repeopled it. Nor was this all. They had ſent Deputies of their own Nation to all the *Latin* Cantons, in order to ſtir them all up, to appear againſt *Rome*. *Satricum* was become the Magazine of the *Antiates*, and other *Volſci*; and was to be the *Rendezvous*, where all the Confederate Troops were to aſſemble. *Corvus*

[100] This is thought to be the firſt *Conſulſhip* of *Plautius Hypſæus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus Imperiоſus*; tho' they are ſaid to have been now made *Conſuls* the ſecond time, in ſome old Editions of *Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus*. But the *Faſti Capitolini* put it paſt all doubt. Thoſe two Authors ſeem to have confounded *Plautius Hypſæus*, with *Caius Plautius Proculus*, who had been *Conſul* before this time.

[101] The *Greek Tables*, and thoſe of *Cuſpinian*, give *Poetelius* the Surname of *Libo*, as well as that of *Viſolus*. *Diodorus* is miſtaken, when he puts one *Marcus Pompilius* in his room.

therefore

Year of ROME CCCCVII. VALERIUS CORVUS, C. POETELIUS VOLESUS, Conſuls. *Faſt. Capit.*

therefore no ſooner was informed of theſe Motions of the *Volſci*, but he marched from *Rome*, by Order of the Senate; encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Satricum*; prevented the Conjunction of the Confederates; and, without tarrying till the Number of the Enemy was increaſed, offered Battle to the *Antiates*, the Inhabitants of *Satricum*, and the reſt of the *Volſci* who were got together. The latter had immediately haſtened to defend *Satricum*, as ſoon as they underſtood the *Romans* were taking the Field. To what Length the *Volſci* always carried their Hatred to the *Roman* Republick, is well known; and now, they could no longer govern themſelves upon Sight of the Enemy. They immediately gave the *Romans* Battel, *Liv. B.7. c.27.* in the Neighbourhood of *Satricum*, without tarrying for any Reinforcements. And as we have already obſerved in general, That the *Volſci* were better at making Incurſions, and attacking Parties with Vigour, than at ſupporting a general Action; ſo the brave *Conſul* found it in this Inſtance, and immediately routed them. It was natural for the Conquered to fly for Refuge to *Satricum*; and therefore *Corvus* had provided himſelf with all neceſſary Machines to ſtorm it. But he no ſooner appeared before it, than the *Volſci* began to ſuſpect their Safety there. A Fright ſeized them, and above 4000 Soldiers, beſides a great Number of unarmed Men, ſurrendered to the Conqueror. Nevertheleſs, the City was not ſpared. The *Romans* reduced it to the ſame Condition, in which the *Latins* had formerly left it. It was burnt, nothing excepted but the Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*, which the *Latins* alſo had ſpared, when they burnt *Satricum*. But before the *Romans* ſet Fire to it, they plundered it, and all the Booty was given to the Soldiers. This Expedition, tho' fortunate, was not univerſally thought of Importance enough to deſerve a Triumph; nevertheleſs, it was granted to *Valerius Corvus*. His Merit, which was ſuperior to any Honours the Republick could pay him, made the *Romans* profuſe of them to Him; in a Caſe, in which they might have denied them to *Faſt. Capit.* another. He entered *Rome* in Triumph, on *The Calends of February*, with 4000 *Liv. B.7. c.27.* Captives before his Chariot. After the Ceremony was over, theſe Priſoners of War were all ſold, for the Benefit of the Publick. Some Hiſtorians indeed have been of Opinion, that it was contrary to the Law of Nations, to reduce thoſe Soldiers to Slavery, who had voluntarily ſurrendered; and have therefore thought that theſe 4000 Priſoners were only Slaves of *Satricum*, or of the Army of the *Volſci*. But to this it may be anſwered, That theſe Soldiers, who were ſold to the beſt Bidder, had not ſurrendered by Capitulation, but at Diſcretion; and That therefore it was not unjuſt in the *Conſul*, to make them Slaves.

THIS Triumph of *Valerius Corvus* is ſaid not to have been the only Shew at *Rome*, in this Hero's ſecond *Conſulſhip*; it is ſaid to have been followed by another, which was much more magnificent, and extraordinary. It is pretended, that the 102 *Secular Games* were then celebrated, the ſecond time. It is inſiſted on, That theſe *Games* were never celebrated, but every 110 Years; and, That they were firſt inſtituted

102 Authors are much divided about the Origin of the *Secular Games*. Some, as *Valerius Antias*, quoted by *Cenſorinus*, *c.* 17. *de Die Natali*, pretend, that *Valerius Poplicola* eſtabliſhed them at *Rome*, in the Year of *Rome* 245, after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*. Others, and particularly *Varro*, ſpeaks of the Inſtitution of theſe *Games*, in ſuch a manner, as ſeems to imply they were of later Date, than the 245th Year of *Rome*. His Account of them is this. The *Romans* were much alarmed, by ſeveral Prodigies, and chiefly by Lightning which fell upon the Wall and Towers between the Gates *Eſquilina*, and *Collina*. In this general Conſternation, the *Decemviri* conſulted the *Sybilline* Books, as uſual. The Anſwer was, That in order to appeaſe the Gods, *The Terentine Games* muſt be celebrated, in the *Campus Martius*, in Honour to *Pluto*, and *Proſerpine*; black Victims muſt be offered up to them; and this Ceremony be renewed every hundred Years. But whatever was the Origin of the *Secular Games*, we will confine our ſelves ſtrictly to the Teſtimony of the *Faſti Capitolini*. The Author of theſe *Faſti* had doubtleſs conſulted the Regiſters of the *Quindecimviri* eſtabliſhed by *Auguſtus Cæſar*, to preſide in religious Affairs. And we therefore, upon the Credit of theſe ancient Annals, fix the firſt *Secular Games* to the Year of *Rome* 297, and the ſecond to the Year 407. *Cenſorinus*, and *Zoſimus*, are the only Authors who have given us a particular Account of the Celebration of theſe Games. The latter ſpeaks thus of them, in a Fragment of his Hiſtory. They were called *Secular*, ſays he, becauſe renewed only once every *Age*. *Valeſius Valeſius*, who deſcended from the *Valerian* Family, and was a famous Man among the *Sabines*, from whom he originally deſcended, was the firſt Occaſion of the Inſtitution of this Feſtival. He had a Wood before his Houſe, the fineſt Trees in which were burnt to Aſhes with Lightning. Soon after, his Children were ſeized with a Diſtemper which the Phyſicians thought incurable. In this Extremity therefore, he had Recourſe to the *Aruſpices*: Who anſwered him, That the Gods were enraged. In this Fear therefore he and his Wife threw themſelves at the Feet of a Statue of *Veſta*, and offered to ſacrifice both their own Lives to the Goddeſs, to ſave thoſe of their Children. Then *Valeſius* turning his Eyes towards the Wood which had been burnt, imagined he heard a Voice, which commanded him to carry the ſick Children to *Te-*

instituted in *Rome*, in the Year of *Rome* 297; and thence it is inferred, That the second time they were celebrated after their Institution, must have been in the *Consulship* of *Valerius Corvus*, and *C. Pætelius*. But this Tradition, which has no better Foundation, than the obscure Words of one single Author of Antiquity, is not so certain, as to remove all Doubt. *Censorin. in libello. de die Natali. c.* 14.

§. XXIV. The War with the *Volsci* was no sooner ended, but a small Nation in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, ventured to try its Strength with her. The *Aurunci*, whom the *Greeks* often called *Ausonii*, because they were a Part of the great Nation of the *Ausones*, who gave all *Italy* the Name of *Ausonia*, by which it was some time called; the *Aurunci*, I say, were a little Nation, on the Confines of *Latium*, and upon the Coasts of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. Their Country was watered by the *Liris*, now called the *Gariglano*; and the *Volsci* were their Neighbours, to the North. These *Aurunci* were, no doubt, afraid, that the *Romans*, after they had completed the Conquests of the *Volsci*, would fall upon them, and enslave

Year of ROME CCCCVIII.
M. Fabius Dorso, Serv. Sulpicius. Consuls.

rentum, and give them some of the Water of the *Tyber* to drink, after it had been warmed on a Fire burning on an Altar of *Pluto*, and *Proserpine*. The perplexity into which he was thrown by this pretended Oracle, the Meaning of which he could not understand, obliged him to address himself to the *Haruspices* to unriddle it. And they advised him to obey it, tho' they understood nothing of the Matter. He therefore embarked on the *Tyber* with his Children; but the excessive Heat forced him to bring his Bark to a Part of the Shore where the Stream was not so rapid: and there he stopped, near a Shepherd's Hut, who told him, that the Place he was in, was called *Tarentum*. As soon therefore as he landed, he lighted a Fire, warmed some Water, and gave it to his Children. As soon as they had drank it they fell asleep, and awaked in perfect Health. And they told their Father, that a Man of a majestick Stature, and an Air of something more than human, had appeared to them in their Sleep, and ordered them to offer up black Victims to *Pluto*, and *Proserpine*, and to spend three Days and Nights in Singing and Dancing, in Honour of these Divinities, in that Part of the *Campus Martius*, which was appointed for Horse-Racing. *Valerius* therefore immediately resolved to lay the Foundations of the Altar there. But he had not dug far into the Ground, before he found an Altar, with this Inscription,

To Pluto,
And to Proserpine.

This removed all *Valesius*'s Doubts, and he offered the black Victims on the Altar he had found under Ground, and stayed three Nights in the same Place, as he was directed. We have already mentioned this fabulous Story, *Vol.* I. *Page* 223. *Note* 85. as it is told by *Valerius Maximus*, who mentions several Circumstances, different from those of *Zozimus*. The latter adds, that the Altar *Valesius* dug up had been erected on a remarkable Occasion. When *Rome* was at War with the City of *Alba*, and the two Armies were ready to engage, there suddenly appeared a Man cloathed in black Skins, whose Aspect was terrible. He gave Orders, with a frightful Voice, as from *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, that Sacrifices should be offered under Ground. The *Romans*, surprized at the Apparition, immediately built a subterraneous Altar, 20 Foot deep; and after offering Sacrifices on it, covered it, that it might not be known where it lay. *Valesius*, who first dug up the Altar, was from that time called *Manius Valesius Tarentinus*; *Manius*, from the *Latin* Word *Manes*, which signifies the infernal Gods; and *Valesius* and *Tarentinus*, in Allusion to the Cure of his Children, and the Place of it. The first Year after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the *Consul Publius Valerius Poplicola*, had also Recourse to the same Divinities, at a Time when the Plague made great Ravages in *Rome*. He offered up a black Ox, and a black Cow, to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, upon which the Contagion ceased. And *Poplicola*, in Memory of this Blessing, ordered this Inscription to be engraven on the Altar.

Publius Valerius Poplicola consecrated the Fire of the Field of Mars, to Pluto and Proserpine, and instituted Games, in Honour to these Gods, and for the Deliverance of the Roman People.

Afterwards, when *Rome* was visited with several Calamities, the same Sacrifices were renewed, in the *Consulship* of *Marcus Potitus*, and in the Year of *Rome* 352. The Senate ordered the *Sybilline* Books to be consulted. Those who kept them answered, that in order to remove the Calamities of the Republick, it was necessary to offer Sacrifices to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*. The Place where the Altar dedicated to them lay, was sought for, the Altar was found, and consecrated anew. The usual Sacrifices on this Occasion were offered upon it; the Gods became propitious to the *Roman* People, and removed their Calamities. After this, the *Romans* neglected to renew these Sacrifices for a long Course of Years, and from thence, says the Pagan Historian, came the Misfortunes which befel *Rome*, in *Augustus*'s Reign. The Emperor therefore, in order to appease the angry Gods, ordered these *Games* to be renewed, in the *Consulship* of *Lucius Censorinus*, and *Caius Sabinus*. The *Sybilline* Books were consulted, and the *Quindecimviri* declared the Order and Time appointed for these Sacrifices by the *Sybil*. From this long Story of *Zozimus* we shall observe, *1st.* The blind Credulity of the Author, who vouches for a fabulous Story, which a ridiculous Superstition had authorized among the *Romans*. *2dly*. The Vanity of the Pagan Worship. And, *3dly*. The Incorrectness of *Zozimus*'s Relation, who puts *Consuls* in the Year of *Rome* 352, instead of *Military Tribunes*, who then governed the Republick. However, the Fact of the pretended miraculous Cure of *Valesius*'s Children, gained Credit among the People, and gave Birth to the *Secular Games*. It was necessary to enlarge on the Origin of these *Games*, in order to give the Reader a full Account of it. As to the Preparations for them, the Order, Pomp, and Rites, observed in this Solemnity, we shall give a true Account of them, when we come to the Ages, wherein they were celebrated with most Magnificence; and shall at present only observe two things. *1st.* That the *Romans* did not always wait a whole Age before they renewed the *Secular Games*, as will appear by the Sequel of this History. And, *2dly*. That that Part of the *Campus Martius*, which was called *Terentum*, or *Tarentum*, took its Name from the Verb *Tero*, because the *Tyber* beat against it, and insensibly *wore away* the Earth of it.

Year of *ROME* CCCCVIII.
M. Fabius Dorso, Serv. Sulpicius, Conſuls.
L. Furius, Dictator.

them. They therefore began firſt, and declared War with the *Romans*, by the Devaſtations they committed in their Lands. Two *Patricians*, *M. Fabius Dorſo*, and *Sulpicius Camerinus*, were then *Conſuls*: and the *Aurunci* ſtruck the Republick with more Fear than they expected, or than became the *Romans*, to an Enemy ſo little formidable. They fancied, they were going to engage with all the Cities of *Latium*, whom they imagined to be entred into ſecret Treaties with the *Aurunci*: and therefore the *Conſuls* were forced by the Senate to nominate a *Dictator*, as in Times of moſt imminent Danger. *L. Furius* was promoted to the *Dictatorſhip*, and *Cn. Manlius*, ſurnamed *Imperioſus*, to the Command of the Horſe. The Fright was ſo great in *Rome*, that all the Courts of Juſtice were ſhut up, and the Levies were raiſed, with the utmoſt Rigour, and no Excuſes admitted. The *Legions* were ordered to march againſt this new Enemy in all haſte, as ſoon as they were completed; and the *Romans* were not ſenſible of the Weakneſs of the *Aurunci*, till they came in ſight of them. They then appeared only like a Party of Robbers, who had raſhly ventured to make Incurſions upon their Neighbours. But nevertheleſs, the *Dictator* did not all at once lay aſide his Suſpicion, that this Handful of Men were aſſiſted with the Troops of a more conſiderable Nation; and when he ſaw theſe *Aurunci* themſelves offer him Battel, it confirmed him in it. The Battel was fought with Courage on both Sides: and as for the *Aurunci*, they muſt have performed Wonders in it, in point of Valour, whatever that Hiſtorian may ſay of them, who is the only one that mentions the Action. According to his own Account, the *Dictator* was forced to have recourſe to the Protection of his Gods, in the Heat of the Battel. He made a Vow to build a Temple to *Juno* 103 *Moneta*; which was the Name given to the Queen of the Gods, a little time before *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. It was pretended, that a Voice accompanied with an Earthquake, came from *Juno*'s Temple, which gave the *Romans* Warning, or *Advice*, to avert the Misfortune which threatned them, by offering a Sow big with young; and from the Verb *monere*, which ſignifies, to *forewarn*, or *admoniſh*, *Juno* was called *Moneta*. The *Dictator Furius* promiſed the Goddeſs, that he would build her a Temple, under the particular Title of *Moneta*. As for the *Aurunci*, they were too weak to reſiſt the Forces of the *Romans*; in ſpight of their Valour, they were vanquiſhed. *Furius* returned victorious to *Rome*: And tho' he did not receive the Honours of a Triumph, he at leaſt got leave to perform his

Liv. B. 7. c. 28.

103 *Cicero*, B. 1. *de Divin.* gives this Account of the Surname of *Moneta*, which was given to *Juno*, a little before *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. *Scriptum a multis, cum terræ motus factus eſt, vocem exſtitiſſe a Junonis Templo quod erat in arce, ut de ſua plena fieret procuratio. Quo circa Junonem illam appellatam* MONETAM. *Suidas* indeed gives us another Etymology of it. He pretends, that *Juno* was called MONETA, becauſe the *Romans* had been protected by this Goddeſs, in their War with *Pyrrhus*; at a time when they were in extreme Want of Money, and ſought her Protection. To which he adds, that in Memory of the Service ſhe had done them, they built her a Temple, with this Title, JUNONI MONETÆ, wherein the publick Money was afterwards kept. But the Teſtimonies of *Cicero*, *Livy*, and other Hiſtorians, ought to have more Weight than that of *Suidas*. *Ovid*'s *Faſti* agree with the Hiſtory.

Arce quoque ex ſumma Junoni templa Monetæ
Ex voto memorant facta Camille, tuo.
Ante domus fuerat Manli, qui Gallica quondam
A Capitolino reppulit arma Jove. B. 6.

Nevertheleſs, it is true that there was more than one Temple dedicated to *Juno* MONETA, in *Rome*. That mentioned by *Tully*, in the Place quoted above, was in the *Capitol*, built, as is ſuppoſed, upon the Foundations of *Titus Tatius*'s Houſe; and was in being, during the Wars of the *Gauls* with the *Romans*. The Temple therefore which was erected and dedicated to the ſame Goddeſs, with the Title of *Moneta*, in this 408th Year of *Rome*, muſt have been different from the former, and of later date. *Val. Max. B. 1. c. 8. §. 3.* mentions likewiſe another Temple, built in Honour to this Goddeſs, on the Hill *Aventinus*. But it appears not to have been built, till long after the two former. Immediately after the taking of *Veii* by *Camillus*, ſays this Hiſtorian, there was an Image of *Juno Moneta*, found in that City, for which the Inhabitants had a particular Veneration. As the Soldiers were preparing to remove this Statue out of the Nich, by their General's Order, with Deſign to carry it to *Rome*, one of them asked the Goddeſs whether ſhe was willing to take that Journey. Upon which ſhe immediately anſwered, that ſhe was willing to leave her firſt Habitation, and to be carried to another Place. Then the Jeſt was ſoon turned into Adoration, and the Soldiers, ſtruck with Reſpect and Aſtoniſhment, took particular Care of the ſame Depoſitum, thinking that *Juno* her ſelf was come down from Heaven. The Image was ſet up in that Part of the Hill *Aventinus*, where the Temple dedicated to that Goddeſs now ſtands. *Captis a Furio Camillo Veiis, milites juſſu imperatoris ſimulacrum Junonis Monetæ, quod ibi præcipua religione colebatur erat, in urbem tralaturi, ſede ſua movere conabantur. Quorum ab uno per jocum interrogata Dea, an Romam migrare vellet, velle ſe reſpondit. Hac voce auditâ, luſus in admirationem verſus eſt. Jamque non ſine lachrum, ſed ipſam cœlo Junonem petitam, ſe credentes, læti in ea parte montis Aventini, in nunc templum ejus cernimus, collocaverunt.* The *Veientes* therefore worſhiped a *Juno*, which was called *Moneta*, as well as the *Romans*: ſo that the Worſhip of this Goddeſs was not peculiar to the latter.

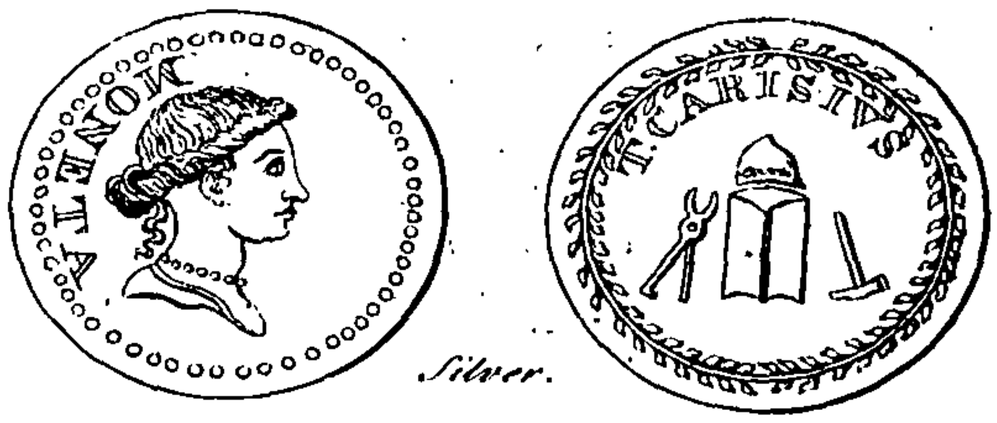
Vow, and then laid down his *Dictatorship*. The Senate ordered, that *Duumviri* should be chosen in the *Comitia by Tribes*, to inspect the Building of the Temple of *Juno Moneta*. They built this Temple on the *Capitol*, in the same Place where the House of the rebellious *Manlius* had stood: and in it were kept those 104 mysterious Books, written on Cloth, in which the Fate of *Rome* was pretended to be foretold. Afterwards, the Temple of *Juno Moneta* became 105 a publick Mint, where the *Romans* coined their Money; and from thence the Metals, which were stamped for current Coin in Trade, took the Name of *Moneta*, or *Money*. But when the *Dictator* laid down his Office, he still left room for the two *Consuls*, *Fabius* and *Sulpicius*, who returned to their Office, to gain themselves Glory. They made use of the Army he had commanded, led it against the *Volsci*, and after having attacked them at a time when they least expected it, took from them the City of 106 *Sora*. So that these Advantages, all gained immediately one upon another, did Honour to the *Consuls* of the Year, and to the *Dictator*, who had been substituted in their room.

Year of ROME CCCCVIII. M. Furius Dorso, Serv. Sulpicius, Consuls. *Aul. Gel. B. 5. c. 17.* and *Ovid Fast. 6.*

§. XXV. In the mean time, the Building of the Temple of *Juno Moneta*, advanced so fast, that it was finished in one Year; and the new *Consuls*, *C. Manius Rutilus*, and *T. Manlius Imperiosus*, dedicated it, on *The Calends of June*. This was the third *Consulship*, of the former; and the second, of the latter. But as for the Regards the *Romans* paid the new Goddess, they seem only to have filled them with more Superstition. Immediately after the Consecration of the Temple, they fancied, that *Juno*, agreeably to her Title of *Moneta*, had given the Republick such wholesome *Admonitions*, by Prodigies, as it was dangerous to neglect. In short, there then fell Hail of so large a Size, and so hard, that it was easy to take it for Stones. Besides, it was so very dark in *Rome*, that great Part of the Day seemed to be turned into Night. This was enough to strike Terror into a People, who made the observing fortuitous Events a Part of their Religion; and who even took pleasure in indulging their Fears of their false Gods: And in this general Uneasiness, the Republick had recourse to her usual Remedy, in Times of general Alarms. She nominated a *Dictator*; as if the Authority of a Sovereign had been as necessary to appease Heaven, as to fight the Enemies of the State. *P. Valerius Poplicola* was the *Dictator* the *Consuls* nominated; and he chose *Q. Fabius Ambustus* to be his General of Horse. The Design of this 107 uncommon *Dictatorship*, was, that this Six-Months-Monarch should order the *Feriæ Latinæ* to be so-

Year of ROME CCCCIX. C. Manius Rutilus, T. Manlius Imperiosus, Consuls. *Macrob. Sat. B. 1. c. 12. Liv. B. 7. c. 28. Orosius, B. 3. c. 7.*

Fast. Capit.



Silver.

101 These mysterious Books contained nothing the Annals of the Republick, from the Foundation of *Rome*, *i. e.* a continued Series of the fortunate and unfortunate Events which had befallen State; a List of the Magistrates of each Year; in a word, whatever related to Religion, Polity, the Progress, Alteration, Revolutions, Losses, Disgraces, new Settlements, Laws, and Treaties, of *Romans*; and all according to the Order of the Years. These were called the Books of the Destinies of *Rome*; or rather, faithful and chronological Memoirs of all Facts of Importance relating to it.

105 The Medal of the *Carisian* Family, which is represented above, has perpetuated the Memory of the Worship which was paid to *Juno*, under the Title of *Moneta*. On one Side of it, is the Head of this Goddess, the Guardian of the Money which used to be deposited in her Temple. On the Reverse are, an Hammer, Pinchers, Anvil, and Die, the necessary Instruments for Coining, of which Carisius probably had the Superintendence and Direction.

106 The City of *Sora*, in the Territory of the *Volsci*, stood on the right Bank of the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, on the Confines of the Country of the *Hernici*, and *Marsi*, above the Place where it joins the River formerly called *Fibrenus*, which is thought to be the present *Fiume della Posta*. *Sora* retains its first Name to this Day. In the Neighbourhood of this City, is the Hill of *Sora*, now called *Monte di Teschio Solido*. Under this Hill there is, according to *Kircher*, a subterraneous Cave, like a Vault, into which the Rain Water passes thro' the Earth, and freezes into Icicles, as it is dropping down; so that this Cave supplies the Neighbourhood with great Plenty of Ice, in the Midst of the hottest Summers.

107 This *Dictator* exercised an almost absolute Authority, as long as these Festivals lasted: But his *Dictatorship* expired with the Solemnity.

lemnized.

Year of *ROME* CCCCIX. C. Manius Rutilus, T. Manlius Imperiosus, Conſuls.

lemnized. By which we are, as I conceive, to underſtand, that the Intention of the Republick was to place a Man at the Head of it, who ſhould have Credit enough, to be able to inſtitute Feſtivals, not only in *Rome*, but in all *Latium*; in order to appeaſe the Wrath of the Gods, with which the People thought themſelves threatned. And the *Dictator* accordingly inſtituted *Feriæ*, or Feſtival-Days, and took care to ſee them duly obſerved. They were ſolemnized by *Supplications*; i. e. the Temples were opened, Victims ſlain there, the Senate marched to them in Proceſſion, and the People viſited them, at certain times, and ſtated Hours. Nay, the *Dictator*'s Orders extended yet farther. The Temples in *Rome* were not only frequented by the *Roman Tribes*, both of City and Country; but People were brought from the neighbouring Nations to offer up their Sacrifices and Prayers in them: And they alſo had their diſtinct *Feriæ*, and fixed Times of *Supplication*. In ſhort, all *Latium* ſeemed to join with the *Romans*, in their Acts of Piety, and to ſhare the publick Uneaſineſs. And it was perhaps with the ſame View of appeaſing the Wrath of the Gods, that the *Dictator* revenged the People of the Injuſtice of the Uſurers. They were cited to appear before the *Ædiles*, and ſevere Sentences were paſſed upon them. Thus the *Romans* ſpent near a Year, in taking Advantage of the pretended Admonitions of an imaginary Goddeſs; and preſerving themſelves from the fancied Threatnings of Heaven.



THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XVI.

Year of ROME CCCCX. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

§. I. HITHERTO the *Roman* Valour had ſcarce ſhewn it ſelf beyond *Old* and *New Latium*. *Old Latium* was bounded, to the North, by the River *Arno*; to the South, by the *Pomptin* Marſhes, and the City of *Circæum*; to the Eaſt, by Mount *Algidus*, near *Alba Longa*; and to the Weſt, by the *Tyber*, which divided it from *Hetruria*. The *Romans* had not yet extended their Frontiers any farther beyond this River, than the Conqueſts of the Great *Camillus*; that is, any farther into the Country of the *Hetrurians*, than *Veii* and *Cære*. Afterwards, the *Romans* gave the Name of *New Latium*, to the Countries they had conquered on the Eaſt Side of their Capital, *i. e.* to the United Territories of the *Æqui*, *Hernici*, *Volſci*, and *Aurunci*. As theſe People, who had been lately ſubdued, were admitted into the ſame Alliance the *Romans* had entered into with the old *Latins*, they therefore were alſo called *Latins*, and their Countries, *New Latium*. Within theſe narrow Limits did *Rome* exerciſe her Arms and her Virtue, for above 400 Years. Having been ſometimes engaged in ſubduing theſe brave Neighbours, ſometimes in keeping them in Subjection, ſometimes in puniſhing their Revolts, ſhe was always at War with the ſame Enemies, confined within a narrow Circle, and had not yet extended her Conqueſts beyond the two *Latiums*. Nay, the *Roman* Republick had ſcarce Knowledge of the Nations that bordered upon theſe Limits. The *Samnites* were the only People which had made a Sort of Treaty of Union with the *Romans*; but without any Dependence upon them, or becoming tributary to them: and they, all on a ſudden, and by mere Accident, became their Enemies. And as the *Samnites* were both Powerful and Brave, they held out a great while, againſt all the Efforts of *Rome*. Some pretend the *Romans* did not ſubdue them in leſs than fifty Years, others not in leſs than ſeventy; and it is at leaſt certain, that the *Roman* Republick found them an Enemy worthy of her. It was by them ſhe began the Conqueſt of the Eaſt Side of *Italy*, and thereby paved the Way for extending her Victories into *Africa*, and *Aſia*. Inſomuch that the War the *Romans* made with the *Samnites*, is often repreſented by the Hiſtorians, as the *Epocha* from which the Beginning of their Grandeur is to be dated. Theſe Brave Enemies may indeed be ſaid to have perfected the Valour and Military Skill of the *Romans*; to have brought them into great Dangers; and furniſhed their Generals with Matter for many Triumphs. Theſe Times which we are now entering on, will afford us a little more Light than the former; and in them we ſhall ſee the Republick make a ſwifter Progreſs.

THE *Dictator* for the preceding Year brought the Republick to an *Interregnum*. For which it is not eaſy to give a probable Account, unleſs it was in order to get two *Patricians* again choſen *Conſuls*, without the Scandal of having made an Attempt againſt the *Licinian* Law. The Preſidents of the *Interregnum*, were the Preſidents of the *Comitia by Centuries* for electing *Conſuls*; wherein *M. Valerius* [1] *Corvus* was raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*, a third time; and *Cornelius Coſſus*, ſurnamed *Arvina*, was made his Collegue. Providence ſeems to have taken Pleaſure in promoting *Valerius* to this Dignity, in order to furniſh *Rome* with an able General to

[1] This 410th Year of *Rome*, was the third *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Valerius Corvus*; and the firſt, of *Aulus Cornelius Coſſus Arvina*. The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, inſtead of *Corvus*, puts *Maximus*. The laſt Surname was indeed pretty common in the *Valerian* Family.

Year of ROME CCCCX. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls. *Auth. of the Lives of Illuſt. Men, c.* 26.

conduct the War, ſhe was going to engage in. He was of that Branch of the *Valerii*, who took the Surname of *Maximus*, and deſcended from the Great *Poplicola*. The Adventure of the Raven, which had perched upon his Head, and defended him againſt the proud *Gaul*, had gained him great Veneration among the *Legions*, who looked on him as a Commander immediately under the Protection of Heaven. And it muſt be owned, that the Reputation he had acquired by Accident, or Craft, he maintained by Valour, and Wiſdom. His Collegue was as much inferior to him in Merit, as in Reputation. Under theſe *Conſuls*, the Enmity between the *Romans* and *Samnites* broke out. But the Rupture did not proceed from any private Intereſt, in either of the two Nations, or from the mutual Jealouſies of both. A City, which was then almoſt unknown to the *Romans*, ſowed the Diſcord between them, and changed their Alliance into laſting Enmities and Hatred.

§. II. THE [2] *Sidicini*, that is, the People of *Auſonia*, who dwelt beyond the *Liris*, in the Neighbourhood of *New Latium*, and whoſe chief City was [3] *Teanum*, were at War with the *Samnites*. The latter were unjuſtly attempting the Conqueſt of a Country, which was inferior to them in Strength and Power. The Oppreſſed therefore had recourſe to their Neighbours; and the People of *Campania* took Arms in favour of the *Sidicini*. It was their Intereſt to ſtop the Progreſs of the *Samnites*. But it unfortunately happened, that the Allies the *Sidicini* made, had no Bravery. *Capua* [4] was the Capital of *Campania*, which is very well known to have been a City of Pleaſure. The very Air Men breathed in it, inclined them to Effeminacy; and the Fruitfulneſs of the Country, joined with the fine Temperature of the Climate, enervated the Courage of its Inhabitants. Theſe weak Allies of the *Sidicini* were eaſily defeated by the *Samnites*, whom a long Experience in War, had made very much ſuperior to them. The People of *Campania* therefore felt all the Weight of the War, which had not been begun with them: The *Samnites* came and fell upon them with all their Forces. They found it would be more for their Intereſt, to fight theſe new Enemies, among whom they would find a richer Country to plunder, and a larger Conqueſt to make: and therefore thought no more of the *Sidicini*, but fell upon *Campania*. The *Samnite* Army was already

Liv. B. 7. c. 29.

2 The Country of the *Sidicini*, beyond the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, and on this Side the *Vulturnus*. now *Voltorno*, was bounded to the Weſt, by the Territory of the *Volſci*; to the Eaſt, by that of the *Aurunci*; to the South, by *Campania*, and the *Tyrrhenian* Sea; to the North, by a Part of *Samnium*. This Country is at preſent one of the Weſtern Parts of *Terra di Lavoro*.

3 *Teanum* ſtood in *The Latin Way*, on the Confines of the Territory of *Calenum*. It is now called *Tiano*. We muſt take care not to confound this City with another *Teanum*, which lay in *Apulia*. In order to diſtinguiſh them, *that* here ſpoken of, was called *Teanum Sidicinum*. *Tully* obſerves this Diſtinction. *Ego Capuam veni, eo ipſo die, quo Tu Teano Sidicino profectus es .... B. 8. ad Attic. Ep.* 13. *Strabo*, *B.* 5. makes this one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in the South of *Italy*. All the other Cities, ſays he, are but Villages, in compariſon of *Capua*; except the City of *Teanum*, the Capital of the Territory of the *Sidicini*.

4 *Capua*, formerly the Capital of *Campania*, ſtood in that Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which now makes a Part of *Terra di Lavoro*; and of which *Pliny* ſays, *Summum ibi Liberi Patris cum Cerere certamen*. Some ancient Authors pretend, it took its Name from the Openneſs of the Country, *a Campeſtribus Locis*, as we learn from *Livy*, *B.* 4. *Peregrina nec ſed memoria digna traditur eo anno facta, Vulturnum Etruſcorum Urbem, quæ nunc Capua eſt, ab Samnitibus captam, Capuamque, ab Dutę eorum Capye, vel quod propius vero eſt*, a Campeſtri Loco, *appellatum*. So that, according to him, 1. *Capua* was a City built by the ancient *Hetrurians*: And 2. It was in the earlieſt Times call'd *Vulturnum*; (probably, becauſe in the Neighbourhood of the River *Vulturnus*;) till ſuch time as it was taken by the *Samnites*, under the Command of *Capys*, who changed its firſt Name of *Vulturnum*, into that of *Capua*. *Velleius*, upon the Credit of ſome ancient Authors, ſays, it was built by the *Tuſci*, or *Hetrurians*, above forty eight Years before *Rome*. At leaſt, there is reaſon to infer as much from his Calculation. The *Hetrurians*, ſays he, laid the Foundations of this City 830 Years ago. Now he wrote, and dedicated his Hiſtory to *Marcius Vinicius Quartinus*, when he, and *Caius Caſſius Longinus* were *Conſuls*; i. e. in the 780th Year of *Rome*, according to his way of reckoning. So that there is near fifty Years difference between the two Epocha's. *Marcius Cato*, as quoted by *Velleius*, thought *Capua* was about 260 Years older than *Rome*. According to *Virgil*, *Capys*, one of *Æneas*'s Companions, was the Founder of this City,

Et Capys, hinc nomen Campanæ ducitur Urbi.

And at this rate, it muſt have been ſeveral Ages older than the Hiſtorians make it. According to ſome Writers, it was firſt inhabited by the *Oſci*, who were driven away by the *Cumani*, and afterwards came and poſſeſſed themſelves of it a ſecond time. However, it is certain, *Capua* was one of the moſt famous Cities in *Italy*. It even rivalled *Rome* and *Carthage* for Grandeur. The Sweetneſs of its Air, and Fruitfulneſs of its Soil, gave it the Name of *The Delicious City*. It afterwards became ſo powerful, as even to give the *Romans* Jealouſy. *New Capua*, which ſubſiſts to this day, was placed on the left Side of the *Vulturnus*, about two Miles from the *Old*, where are yet to be ſeen ample Proofs of its ancient Magnificence, in the ſtately Ruins, of old Theatres, Portico's, Palaces, Aqueducts, Reſervoirs, and Vaults under Ground, &c.

in the Field, and posted itself on Mount [5] *Tifata*, from whence it threatned *Capua*, which that Mount overlooked. After this, the *Samnites* marched down in good Order, to that fine Plain, which lies between *Capua*, and that Mountain: and there a Battel was fought, in which the *Capuans* were routed, and overcome, and forced to fly within their Walls for Refuge. In this Extremity of Danger therefore, which threatned this fine City, which was as big as *Rome*, or *Carthage*, the Inhabitants of it sent a Deputation to the *Romans*, to implore their Assistance. And the Republick was in all probability delighted, to see a neighbouring Nation at her Feet, which had not experienced her Valour, and which she hoped to bring into Subjection to her. When the Deputies were admitted into the Senate, they made this Speech. *The Design of our Embassy*, Conscript Fathers, *is to implore your Assistance for the present, and to promise you a perpetual Friendship for the future. Had we offered you our Alliance in our Prosperity, it would neither have been so indissoluble in itself, nor so advantageous to you. We should then have treated with you as Equals, and our Engagements to you would not have laid us under any Obligation to retain a continual Remembrance of your Favours. But now, that we seek Assistance from you, in our Distress, the Relief your Compassion shall reach out to us, will put it out of our Power, ever to separate from you, without Ingratitude. The* Samnites *indeed have been courting you, and obtained your Good-Will before us; but ought your Engagements with them to exclude us from your Alliance? You have hitherto always thought the Advances Foreigners have made to you, a sufficient Reason for you to receive them into your Friendship. We may venture to say, the* Capuans *are not altogether unworthy of it. It's true, we have no great reason to boast of our Advantages, in the present Condition to which the War has reduced us; but nevertheless, it is as true, that next to* Rome, *scarce any City has a more fruitful Territory, or is more considerable, than* Capua. *Besides, we lay behind the* Æqui *and* Volsci, *your eternal Enemies; and in their future Enterprizes against you, they will have us at their Backs; and perhaps give us an Opportunity of returning you the Succour, as you shall have lent us. And when your Courage shall have subdued the Countries between us and you, which will, without doubt, soon happen, we shall then be both your Neighbours and Allies. How hard is our Fate! We are under an absolute Necessity, of either becoming subject to the* Romans, *as Friends; or the* Samnites, *as Enemies. Consider therefore, whether you had rather have* Campania *subject to the* Samnites, *or yourselves. You generally assist all the Cities who fly to you for Protection, with great Humanity; and none ever more justly deserved it, than* Capua. *She is oppressed for having relieved her Neighbours, and assisted them beyond her Strength. It was indeed very much our Interest to join with the* Sidicini. *The* Samnites *would infallibly have fallen upon us, after they had conquered* Teanum, *we being the chief Objects of their Ambition. This is now very evident from past Facts. As soon as they had a Pretence to attack us, they were not content with revenging themselves on us, near* Teanum; *but fought a second Battel with us, at the Gates of* Capua. *Our Lands are exposed to their Robberies; and our Farms are become a Prey to the Soldiers who plunder them, and the Flames which consume them. Only* Capua *remains yet untouched. But the* Samnites *are going to lay Siege to it; and either they will in their Rage destroy it, or out of Ambition keep it to themselves. Do you therefore,* Romans, *make this City yours. We chuse rather to see you Masters of it, in a friendly manner; than to see an Enemy reigning there, with the Sword, and with Violence. Will not the Conquest of* Capua *induce you to enter into a War? But why do I say, a War? The bare Report of your having promised to assist us, will change their Contempt of us into Terror; and the bare Shadow of your Protection throw them into a Consternation. And then, all our Lands will be yours. You will be Masters of our Country, and the Gates and Houses of the* Capuans *will always be open to receive you,*

Year of ROME CCCCX.
M. Valerius Corvus, Cornelius Cossus, Consuls.
Flor. B.1.c.16.

Liv. B.7.c.30.

[5] *Old Capua* was overlooked by Mount *Tifata*, which stood in the Neighbourhood of this City; and of that, which is now called *Caserta*. This Mount is now known by the Name of *Il Monte san Vicolo*. The Southern Part of Mount *Tifata*, which lay towards *Old Capua*, is called in the Language of the present Natives, *Montagnuela*. It was there, according to *Holstenius*, that *Hannibal* pitched his Camp. On the Eastern Summit of this Mountain, there was a Temple erected to *Jupiter*, and on the Western, one to *Diana*; as is conjectured from two Inscriptions which time has spared, and which run thus, Jovis Tifatinus.... Ad Dianam.

We

Year of ROME CCCCX. M VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

We ſhall look upon you as our Founders, our Defenders, nay, our tutelary Gods *None of your Colonies will be more firmly attached to you, than* Capua. *And in order to obtain all theſe Advantages, you need only give us ſome Sign, ſome ſlight Mark of your Protection. Give us but reaſon to hope, you will come and relieve* Capua, *and you will fill the Minds of all its Inhabitants with Gladneſs. With what Earneſtneſs did they attend us to the Gates of their City, when we begun our Journey hither! What Vows did they make to the Gods! What Floods of Tears did they ſhed at our Departure! And with what Impatience do they expect our Return! Your Anſwer to us, will either fill them with Joy, or Conſternation. A favourable Decree will make us your Friends and Allies for ever; a contrary one, will ruin, and utterly deſtroy us.*

THIS Speech ended, the Deputies were ordered to withdraw, that the Senators might deliberate on their Meſſage, and determine, with Freedom. They were indeed very ſenſible, what an Advantage it would be to the Republick, to ſecure to itſelf one of the largeſt, moſt populous, and richeſt, Cities in *Italy*; to become Miſtreſs of a fruitful Province, which would ſupply *Rome* with Plenty of all ſorts; and of a maritime Country, which abounded with good Ports, to enrich her by Commerce. But the Faith of ancient Treaties prevailed over all theſe Conſiderations of Intereſt. They remembred, that the *Samnites* were Friends to the *Romans*, before the *Campani* came to implore her Aſſiſtance. They feared the Gods, who are the Avengers of the Faith of Treaties, and had regard to that great Reputation which the *Romans* had hitherto maintained for Probity. Nevertheleſs, they reſolved not utterly to neglect the Intereſts of an unhappy People. The *Conſul Valerius* reported the Reſolutions of the Senate to the *Capuan* Ambaſſadors, in theſe Words. *The Senate of* Rome *think you worthy of their Protection. But nevertheleſs, we muſt have regard to our old Friendſhip with the* Samnites, *while we aſſiſt you. We therefore abſolutely refuſe to take Arms in your Favour: this would be offenſive to the Gods. But we will ſend, and intreat the* Samnites *our Friends, to put a ſtop to their Hoſtilities, and lay down their Arms.* Which, tho' a Decree, ſomewhat favourable to the *Capuans*, yet the Deputies could not think this enough to avert the Misfortunes with which their City was threatned. And therefore, having yet ſpoken only of an Alliance and Confederacy with the *Romans*, they now proceeded further. They, agreably to the Powers they had been inveſted with by the Senate of *Capua*, made this Declaration. *Since the* Romans *are ſcrupulous of openly attacking the* Samnites, *contrary to the Faith of their Treaties; let them at leaſt not be afraid to defend their own Property, againſt the Uſurpation of their Enemies.* Capua *and* Campania *are theirs.* Romans, *we this day ſubject them to your Juriſdiction. The* Capuans, *and* Campani, *their Cities, their Territories, their Lands, their Temples, and all that belongs to them, whether ſacred or prophane, is yours. We give ourſelves up to you, and ſurrender all we have into your Hands. From this time therefore, all our Loſſes will be yours.* And this Donation in due Form, by Ambaſſadors authorized to make it, was accompanied with a very moving Sight, which theſe diſtreſſed Suitors gave the *Roman* People. They fell proſtrate in the Porch of the Senate-Houſe, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, burſt out into a Flood of Tears. Their own Intereſt therefore, and their Compaſſion, made new Impreſſions on the Minds of the Senators. They were greatly affected to ſee a Nation, which had made itſelf miſerable, only by having aſſiſted their Neighbours, involved in a War unjuſtly brought upon them. They were grieved to ſee the Inconſtancy of *Fortune*, who was now exerciſing great Severity upon the moſt delightful Country in *Italy*. They then thought, that the Faith of their Treaties could not oblige them to betray a People, who had ſurrendred themſelves up into their Hands. They even hoped the *Samnites* themſelves would be ſo juſt, as to deſiſt from plundering a Province which was become *Roman*, and dependent on a Republick which was their Ally. And with theſe Diſpoſitions, the *Romans* ſent an Embaſſy to the *Samnites*. The Deputies were ordered to repreſent to them, the Affliction of the *Campani*; the Application they had made to *Rome*; the Refuſal the *Romans* had given them of taking Arms againſt the *Samnites*; the ſtrict regard the Senate had to their old Alliance; and laſtly, the Donation the *Capuans* had made of their whole State, to the Republick. They were alſo inſtructed to intreat the Enemies of the *Capuans* to ſpare a Province which was become

Year of ROME CCCCX. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

come *Roman*, on account of the Old Friendſhip, which united them with *Rome*. And laſtly, in caſe the *Samnites* were not to be prevailed on by theſe gentle Methods, but obſtinately perſiſted in plundering *Campania*; the Inſtructions of the Ambaſſadors then were, that they ſhould, in the Name of the People and Senate of *Rome*, give the *Samnites* notice to quit the Country they infeſted. With theſe Inſtructions the *Roman* Ambaſſadors ſet out for the Capital of *Samnium*. When they were introduced into the Senate of the *Samnites*, they firſt offered the Requeſts of the *Romans*, in favour of the *Campani*; and then demanded, the Deliverance of the Province, which had ſurrendred itſelf up to *Rome*. But the *Samnites* were a proud People. They were neither intimidated by the Majeſty of the *Roman* Name, nor ſoftned by the Remembrance of their Treaties with *Rome*. They not only declared, they would not deſiſt from the War with the *Capuani*; but likewiſe confirmed the Reſolution they had taken, by a ſort of Inſult, in the Preſence of the Ambaſſadors. As they were going out of the Senate, the *Samnite* Magiſtrates ſent for the Commanders of their Troops, and ordered them to go inſtantly, and ravage *Campania*. *Rome* was not yet grown powerful enough to give Law to all her Neighbours.

BUT the Return of the Ambaſſadors to *Rome* filled both Senate and People with indignation againſt the *Samnites*. All other Buſineſs was laid aſide, that the *Romans* might wholly apply themſelves to making Preparations for the War, they were going to proclaim. It was declared, with all the Ceremonies inſtituted by *Numa* on ſuch Occaſions, which were ever after his time practiſed by the *Romans*; at leaſt upon the firſt Rupture with a Nation, which had been in Friendſhip with them.

§. III. THE Senate ſent *Feciales* to the *Samnites*, to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done the Republick in *Campania*. Upon their giving an unſatisfactory Anſwer, a Dart was thrown into their Country, to ſhew it was the Country of an Enemy to *Rome*. Thus far the Senate proceeded by their own Authority. It now remained, that the People ſhould be brought to conſent to the War proclaimed; for it was their Part to approve, or rather confirm it, by their Suffrages. After they had given their Conſent to it, the two *Conſuls* took the Field, each at the Head of an Army. It fell to *Valerius*'s Lot, to command in *Campania*; and to *Cornelius*'s, to enter the Country of the *Samnites*. The former poſted himſelf on Mount [6] *Gaurus*, in *Campania*: the latter near [7] *Saticula*, in *Samnium*. The Streſs of the War lay at firſt on the Brave *Valerius Corvus*. The *Samnites* were greatly enraged at the *Campani*, and were reſolved to vent their Rage againſt them in their own Country. This indeed was no more than *Valerius* expected, and therefore he pitched his Camp in an advantageous Place. There were three Hills in *Campania*, which were each called *Gaurus*; and it is probable, *Valerius* poſted himſelf at the Foot of that Mount *Gaurus*, which lay between [8] *Puteoli*, and *Baiæ*.

Mount *Gaurus*, now *Il Monte Barbaro*, was formerly famous for the Goodneſs of its Wines, as Pliny aſſures us, *B.* 14. and *Statius*, *B.* 3. *Ver.* 1. *Falerni vineta madentia Gauri.* This Mountain is not far from *Puteoli*, *Baiæ*, and the Lake *Lucrinus*. It reaches to the Lake *Avernus*, and the Territory of *Cumæ*. Some Geographers ſay there were three Mountains in *Campania*, which all bore the Name of *Gaurus*; one near *Minturnæ*, and Mount *Maſſicus*; the ſecond, near *Nuceria*, and *Surrentum*; the third, on the Borders of the Lakes *Avernus* and *Lucrinus*. Oppoſite to this, there is another Mountain, which the Natives call *The New Mount*, and which was all raiſed in one Night, in *September*, 1538. The Earth, after terrible Concuſſions, then vomited great Quantities of Stones, and Sand, mixed with Bitumen and Sulphur; inſomuch, that the neighbouring Buildings were buried under this horrible Heap of Earth and Rocks, which were thrown upon one another, in the Shape of a Mountain. *Holſtenius* juſtly blames *Servius* and *Cluver*, for diſplacing *Saticula*, formerly a City of *Samnium*, and putting it in *Campania*, contrary to *Livy*, and ſeveral Paſſages of *Feſtus*, and *Virgil*. The latter ſays of the Inhabitants of *Saticula*, *Æneid*, *B.* 7. that they led a laborious Life; *Pariterque Saticulus aſper*: Which agrees much better with the People of *Samnium*, than thoſe of *Campania*, whoſe Effeminacy was ſuitable to the Softneſs of their Climate, and of the Air they breathed. *Cluver* is therefore miſtaken, when he ſays this City ſtood at the Foot of Mount *Tifata*, in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*.

8 *Puteoli* was formerly one of the moſt famous Cities in *Italy*. The Equity of its Laws and Government, gave it the Name of *Dicæarchia*. So *Strabo*, and ſeveral *Greek* Authors, call it. This Name, ſay the ancient Geographers, it retained, till it was changed into that of *Puteoli*, (from *Puteus*, which ſignifies *a Well*) on the Account of *Quintus Fabius*'s ſinking a great many Wells there, for the Convenience of the Inhabitants, who wanted freſh Water. But ſome think it was called *Puteoli*, from the *Stink* (in *Latin* called *Putor*) of its hot Waters, and Soil, which continually emitted ſulphureous Vapours and Exhalations. *Puteolos dictos putant ab aquæ calidæ putore, quidam a multitudine Puteorum*, *Feſtus*. And *Varro*, *B.* 4. *de Ling. Lat.* is of the ſame Opinion. *A puteis oppidum Puteoli . . . . . Niſi a putore potius, quod putidus ſit, odoribus ex ſulphure & alumine.* Inſomuch, that the Ancients

Year of ROME CCCCX. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

9 *Baiæ.* As ſoon as the *Samnites* ſaw the *Romans* encamped, they no longer r ſtrained their ardent Deſires of engaging the *Legions*, but earneſtly preſſed the Generals to give them the Signal for a Battel. *The Aſſiſtance*, ſaid they amon themſelves, *which the* Romans *have brought the* Campani, *will do them no mor Service, than the Succours of the* Campani *did the* Sidicini. But the *Conſul* know ing himſelf to be advantageouſly poſted, was not in Haſte to give Battel, notwith ſtanding the Inſults of the Enemy. He long deferred coming to an Action, an only tried the *Samnites* in little Skirmiſhes, in order to make himſelf Maſter o their Way of fighting. But at length, when the Day of Battel was come, he aſ ſembled his Soldiers, and addreſſed himſelf to them, in this manner. *New Enemies, and a new Way of fighting, are not ſuch terrible Objects as to frighten the* Ro mans. *The more Eaſt any Nations lie of us, the leſs brave they are. Don't judge of the* Samnites, *by the Victories they have gained over the* Sidicini, *and* Campani. *Had theſe Nations been never ſo equal in Point of Valour, the Fortune of Wa muſt have made a Difference, as to the Succeſs. But the Truth is, the* Campani *were firſt enervated by the Softneſs of the Climate they dwell in, before they were overcome by their Enemies. Compare the only two Advantages the* Samnites *have gained over theſe cowardly Nations, with that Series of numberleſs Victories, whereby* Rome *has raiſed her Glory, ſince her firſt Foundation. We reckon almoſt as many Triumphs as Years. The* Sabines, *the* Hetrurians, *the* Latins, *the* Hernici, *the* Æqui, *the* Volſci, *and the* Aurunci, *have all bowed under the* Roman *Yoke. The* Gauls *have ſunk under the Weight of our Arms more than once; and the* Greeks, *who were ſhamefully driven from our Ports, retired to carry on their Depredations in other Places. And after you have thus done Juſtice to your own Valour, caſt your Eyes on the General who commands you. Under whoſe Conduct are you going to engage? Is* Valerius *only fit to encourage you with his Harangues? Is he brave only in Words? Does not he know how to face Danger, throw a Javelin, or engage an Enemy?* Romans, *don't only regard what I ſay, but follow my Example. It is not by caballing and Faction, that I have thrice obtained the* Conſulſhip; *but to this Arm, I am indebted for it. It might formerly have been made a Plea to raiſe me to this Honour, that* Valerius *was a* Patrician, *deſcended from one of the Deliverers of his Country, and of a Family, which has always had a ſhare in the Government of the Republick, from its very Birth. But now* Rome *has no regard to*

gave the neighbouring Territory the Name of *Campi Phlegræi*, or, *The burning Fields*. Several are of Opinion, that this City was founded by the *Cumani*; but *The Abridger of Stephens* thinks it was built by a Colony of the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Samos*. And this is *St. Jerom*'s Opinion, in the Tranſlation of the *Chronicon of Euſebius*, *B.* 2. *Puteoli Samiorum opus, quæ & Dicæarchia dicitur.* This Father places the founding of this City in the 64th *Olympiad*, and the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. *Puteoli* ſtood on the Sea-ſhore, eight Miles from *Naples*, near the Lake *Avernus*, and ſerved for a Port to the City of *Cumæ*. The Multitudes of rich Wrecks, and the Abundance of valuable Things which the Sea throws up, all along this Shore, ſhew the great Trade and Wealth of this ancient City. The Great Men of *Rome* had their Country-Houſes there, and among the reſt *Cicero*, who built a long Gallery in his, after the Plan of the Academy at *Athens*. This was the Retreat of a few learned Men, with whom *Cicero* held Conferences, on the Subjects of Eloquence and Philoſophy. In the midſt of the City, was a ſumptuous Temple, all of Marble, and ſupported by ſtately Columns. It is now the Cathedral Church. There are yet there ſome magnificent Remains of a Temple of *Neptune*, and another of *Diana*, of a vaſt Amphitheatre, Sepulchres, cinerary Urns, Statues, Baſſo Relievo's of exquiſite Workmanſhip, and in a word, of Antiques of all Sorts. At the fartheſt Part of *Puteoli*, on the Sea-ſhore, are the Ruins of an old Mole; and the little the Fury of the Waves, and of Time, has ſpared, ſhew the Largeneſs and fine Architecture of this Building. *Cicero*'s Baths, and ſeveral Springs of mineral Waters, which are in the Neighbourhood of *Puteoli*, are worthy the Obſervation of Travellers.

9 *Bayus*, one of *Ulyſſes*'s Companions, gave his own Name to the ancient City of *Baiæ*, becauſe, as is ſaid, he was buried there. This City was deemed one of the fineſt, and moſt delightful, of any in *Campania*, as well for its advantageous Situation, as the Beauty of its Fields and Gardens. Its Hills were full of Villa's which belonged to the greateſt Men in *Rome*. Every thing contributed to make this Diſtrict the Seat of Senſuality and Delight. Which made *Seneca* ſay, the Pleaſures of *Baiæ* were the fatal Rock, on which the *Roman* Virtue ſplit. We ſhall often have Occaſion to ſpeak of the magnificent and coſtly Buildings the *Romans* erected here; ſome valuable Remains of which are yet daily diſcovered. The Temples of *Diana* and *Venus* do yet retain the Traces of their ancient Magnificence, amidſt their Ruins. The *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, have been very long, in deſcribing the wonderful Properties of the hot and mineral Waters, which are found in this Country. *Baiæ* was, above all other things, famous for the Conveniency of its Port. But nothing but Galleys can now ride in it, ſince the Sea has ſwallowed up ſome of the ancient Buildings and Walls, the Remains of which are yet to be ſeen, four Foot under Water: So that large Ships, which draw much Water, cannot enter, without running the Hazard of ſplitting againſt the Rocks. This Port was made in the Form of a Creſcent, in a Bay which was three Miles over from the *Promontory of Miſenum*, to the Lake *Avernus*; from whence it extended it ſelf four Miles farther, to *Puteoli*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCX.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

any thing but Merit. She ſeeks for Conſuls *among the* Plebeians. *The* Romans *have almoſt forgot my Surname of* Poplicola, *and remember only that of* Corvus. *A Title acquired by Valour, and the Protection of the Gods, is more deeply imprinted on their Minds, than an Appellation tranſmitted down to me with my Blood. But nevertheleſs, I have ever been a* Poplicola, *in the true Senſe of the Word. Whether in great or little Employments, whether* Conſul, *or* Legionary Tribune, *I have always made it my Buſineſs to honour, encourage, and protect, the People. In return therefore to my Affection for you, go,* Romans, *and fall upon the Enemy; run, and gain me the Honours of a Triumph.*

THIS Picture which the brave *Valerius* drew of himſelf, was not a flattering one. Never was a *Conſul* more popular; never was General more tenderly beloved by his Soldiers. He took a pleaſure in mixing with them, and ſharing the Labours of the meaneſt Soldiers in the *Legions*. *Valerius* always made one at the Soldiers Diverſions, whether Wreſtling or Running, and did not diſdain to enter the Liſts with a common Soldier. He always kept his Temper, and whether victorious or vanquiſhed, in theſe Exerciſes, his Countenance never changed. He was always beſtowing Favours, and that with a juſt Regard to Times and Perſons. He was always eaſy in his private Converſation, and gave every Man full Liberty to expreſs his Sentiments in his own manner; but as for himſelf, he always maintained a certain Dignity in his Diſcourſes. And laſtly, which was yet more, he ſhewed the ſame Affection to the People, and continued as popular, after he was raiſed to the higheſt Poſts, as he had been before. It was therefore natural for Troops to adore ſo gracious, and ſo brave a General. They marched out of their Camp, with a wonderful Ardor for Victory, which was increaſed by the Harangue they had juſt heard. And when the Armies were drawn up againſt one another, it then appeared how equal they were in Strength. Their Numbers were much the ſame; and each had the ſame Hopes of Victory, and the ſame Fears of being overcome. The Courage of the *Romans* was ſupported by the Confidence, which naturally flowed from a continual Proſperity for four hundred Years together; and the *Samnites* were encouraged by the two Advantages they had lately gained immediately after one another, over the *Campani*, and *Sidicini*. The *Roman* Army had more Experience in War; but the *Samnites*, who were uſed to conquer in a mountainous Country, were more inured to Fatigue. Each Army ſtood in awe of the Forces and Courage of an Enemy they had never yet engaged with; and the Proceſs of the Battel ſhewed how little reaſon either had to depend on the Victory. It was long diſputed, without any Advantage on either Side. The *Roman Legions*, which faced the *Cohorts* of the *Samnites*, made them ſenſible of their Skill; and the *Samnites* made the *Romans* feel the Strength of their Arms. The *Conſul* therefore, impatient of the Victory, thought it neceſſary to intimidate an Enemy which he could not overcome by Force: and ordered his Cavalry to fall upon the *Samnite* Battalions, and break them. But this Project did not ſucceed. The Cavalry had not room enough to wheel in; ſo that their Horſes only hindred one another, and could not advance. Upon which, the *Roman* General was forced to have recourſe to his Infantry. He diſmounted, and cried out to the Officers of the firſt Line of the *Legions*; *I find it is the Foot muſt do the Buſineſs. Courage, Fellow-Soldiers, follow me! Tread in my Steps; ſtrike, and ſtab, all that oppoſe you. You will ſoon ſee all thoſe glittering Javelins vaniſh, and the Ground cover'd with dead Bodies.* *Liv. B. 7. c. 33.* *Livy, ibid.*

At theſe words, he threw himſelf into the midſt of the Enemy. The *Legions* followed him, and cut their way with their Swords; whilſt the Horſe took the Enemy in Flank, whom they could not attack in Front. But tho' the *Samnites* received more Blows than they gave, they ſtill kept their Ground, and were not broken. The Battel was obſtinately fought on both Sides, and neither Party knew what it was to fly. The Dead lay in Heaps round the *Samnite* Standards; yet were not their *Cohorts* ſhaken. They had reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt. At length, the *Romans* fell on their Enemies with freſh Fury; and the *Samnites* began to give way, but without Diſorder; and loſt Ground, without breaking their Ranks. But this Motion loſt them a great number of Men; the Ground was covered with them: and in ſhort, there would have been but few of them left alive, if the Night had not obliged the *Romans* to put an end to their Victory. After the Battel was over, the *Romans* confeſſed, they never had engaged a more fierce, or more

Year of *ROME* CCCCX. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

more intrepid Enemies: And they would not eaſily have been able to have perſuaded themſelves their Victory was complete, had not the *Samnites*, who retired to their Camp, deſerted it in great Confuſion in the Night, and abandoned it to the Conqueror. The Fugitives declared, nothing had intimidated them more, than the Looks of the *Romans* during the Battel. Their ſparkling Eyes, their furious Looks, and enflamed Countenances, ſtruck ſuch Terror into the *Samnites*, as they were not able to ſupport. As for the *Conſul*, as ſoon as he became Maſter of the Enemy's Camp, he was ſenſible of the Advantages he had gained in the Battel. He there received the Congratulations of the *Campani*, who came in Crowds to pay their Compliments to their Deliverer.

§. IV. WHILST the brave *Valerius* was ſignalizing his Valour in *Campania*, his Collegue *Cornelius Coſſus* had another Army of *Samnites* to engage with, in *Samnium*; and was obliged to fight it, in a Country full of unpaſſable Rocks. He was advantageouſly poſted near *Saticula*, on the Confines of *Samnium*, and *Campania*; but, with what View I know not, thought fit to leave his Camp. He firſt marched his Troops thro' a mountainous Country, and then led them into a Foreſt, all the Roads in which were narrow, and out of which there was but one Paſſage, which was through a deep Valley. But *Cornelius* knew not, that both the Wood and Valley were lined on all ſides with *Samnites*; and it was out of his Power to alter his March, when he diſcovered that the Enemy ſurrounded him. The *Samnites* were not in haſte to attack him, as long as he continued upon the Hill. They waited for his Army's deſcending into the Valley, that they might there fall upon it on all Sides. This therefore threw the *Conſul* into the utmoſt Conſternation; but, it fortunately happened, that he had a brave Officer among his Troops, who drew him out of the Danger. This was the famous *P. Decius Mus*, who was yet only a *Legionary Tribune*; and who afterwards ſignalized his Love for his Country, by generouſly devoting himſelf to Death, to ſave it. The prudent *Tribune* obſerved an Eminence at a diſtance, which commanded the Camp of the *Samnites*, which was pitched near that Place. It was indeed difficult for a whole Army, attended with their Baggage to go and take Poſſeſſion of that Poſt: and therefore *Decius* reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of it, with a Detachment. But firſt, he addreſſed himſelf to the General in this manner. *Do you ſee*, Conſul, *yonder Eminence, which overlooks the Enemy's Camp? That is the only Reſource the* Roman *Army has left, in this imminent Danger. The* Samnites *have imprudently abandoned it; it is therefore our Buſineſs to take Poſſeſſion of it. In order to which, I ask no more than the two firſt Lines of one* Legion. *And when you ſee me poſted there, be no longer under any Apprehenſions of the Enemy, but continue your March. The* Samnites *will not dare to fall upon you, and diſpute your Paſſage, when expoſed to our Darts. And as for us, we will, by the Aſſiſtance of* Roman *Valour, and the Gods our Protectors, find means to diſengage ourſelves from the Enemy, and rejoin you.* The General approved of the Deſign, and detached a ſmall Body of Troops under *Decius*'s Command. He took his Way through the Wood, and concealed his March ſo well, that the Enemy did not perceive him, till he was near the Poſt he was going to ſeize. And then the Sight of the *Romans* climbing up the Rock, in order to poſt themſelves upon it, was ſuch a Surprize to the *Samnites*, that they were long conſidering what to do, but were not able to prevent their Deſign. In the mean time, the *Roman* General took advantage of this Interval, marched out of the Valley, and gained the Hills. Upon which, the Enemy found it abſolutely impoſſible for them, either to come at the *Conſul*, and attack him, which was not to be done, without paſſing through the ſame Valley, out of which he had eſcaped; or to come to a Battel with *Decius*, and force him down from the Eminence, on which he was now poſted. Nevertheleſs, the Fury of the Enemy ſeemed moſt likely to fall on the latter, whoſe wholeſome Advice had ſaved the *Roman* Army. But the *Samnites* were one while for ſurrounding him on all Sides, to prevent his Eſcape, and deſtroying him and his Men, in their Poſt, without ſuffering him to rejoin the *Roman* Army; and then they were inclined to attack the *Conſul*, who was weakned by the Diviſion of his Army: ſo that their Irreſolution continued till Night overtook them, before they came to a Determination. *Decius* indeed expected to ſee the Enemy inſult him, on his Rock, or at leaſt ſhut all the Avenues to it. But when he perceived, that no Troops ſurrounded him,

Year of *ROME* CCCCX.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

him, in order to ſtop up all the Paſſages back again, he aſſembled his Soldiers, and ſpoke to them in this manner. *What ſort of Enemies*, ſays he, *are theſe we have to deal with? Are theſe the formidable* Samnites, *who have made themſelves famous for a double Victory over the* Sidicini, *and* Campani? *What Judgment can we form of their Army! We ſee them ſometimes march to the Right, and ſometimes to the Left, without coming to any fixed Reſolution. They ſhould have ſurrounded us by this time; and yet not one of their Commanders thinks of inveſting us.* Romans, *let us not follow their Example. Let us form our Deſigns with Expedition, and execute them with Courage. But before we do any thing, let us take a View of all the Places, where the Enemy may lay in Ambuſh for us; and of all the Avenues through which they may come upon us, and ſurprize us; or we may eſcape, if they neglect it. This ought to be the Buſineſs of the little Day-light we have left.*

THIS ſaid, *Decius* immediately changed Clothes with a Foot-Soldier, and commanded his *Centurions* to dreſs themſelves like private Men, and follow him. This he did to prevent the Enemy's perceiving, that the Officers of the Detachment went themſelves to make this Diſcovery: And *Decius* himſelf marched quite round, and placed Centinels at all the Avenues, with Orders to return ſilently to the main Body, as ſoon as the Trumpet had ſounded the [10] ſecond Watch of the Night. Accordingly, his Orders were punctually obeyed; and when all his People were got together, he addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *Our preſent Deliberations, Faithful Companions in a dangerous Expedition, muſt be without Noiſe. Let every one give his Vote, not by tumultuous Acclamations, but barely by changing Place, without ſpeaking. Let thoſe who are for the Affirmative, move to my Right Hand; and thoſe who are for the Negative, to my Left. By this means, the Affair may be determined by a Plurality of Votes, and yet without Noiſe. You know very well, dear Fellow-Soldiers, that it is not by our Flight, or by being forſaken by the reſt of the Army, that we continue here. Our Valour brought us to this Poſt; and 'tis that alone which muſt force our Way back. You have already ſaved the reſt of the Army; now ſave yourſelves. What ſort of an Enemy is this we have before us? They knew not how to take Advantage of the Opportunity they had of overcoming us; they have ſuffered us to ſeize an advantageous Poſt, which they neglected; and have not had the Courage to drive us from it, with all the Forces of a numerous Army. We have deceived them when they were awake; and it will ſurely be much eaſier to ſurprize them, when they are aſleep. This is the only Means we have left to preſerve ourſelves, either from the Swords of the* Samnites, *or from the Danger and Thirſt which threaten us. Let us not therefore deliberate whether we ſhall march away from this Place; it is matter of abſolute Neceſſity. But do you determine by Vote, whether we ſhall wait till the Return of the Day, before we make our Eſcape; or take the Opportunity of this dark Night. If we tarry till Morning, the Enemy will ſurround us with a Ditch; as they have already done with their Troops, which they have poſted in Plottoons, all round the Hill. Alas! what time can be ſo proper for the Execution of ſo brave a Deſign, as the preſent Moment? At this inſtant, Sleep cloſes all the Eyes of the Enemy, and makes them unfit for Action. Let us then make our Way ſilently, through the ſleeping Battalions, this Moment; or if it be neceſſary to diſcover ourſelves, let us frighten them with our Shouts. This is my Opinion: and let all thoſe who approve of it, file off to my Right Hand, and thoſe who are for tarrying till Day-light, to my Left.*

EVERY Man, without Exception, declared himſelf of *Decius*'s Opinion: and he therefore immediately put himſelf at the Head of his Troop. He marched on in

Liv. B. 7. c. 35.

Ibid.

[10] The *Romans* divided the Night into four equal Parts. At each of theſe the Soldiers mounted Guard in their Turns. At every Station, four Centinels were placed, who were relieved by four others, after the firſt Watch, and ſo on, ſucceſſively. In order to prevent any Surprize, the General gave the *Legionary Tribunes* the Watch-word, a little before the Sun was down, written on Tables of Wood. Theſe *Tribunes* communicated theſe Tables to a choſen Number of Soldiers, called for that Reaſon *Teſſerarii*. They were choſen out of any Part of the Army, whether Horſe, or Foot, or Auxiliaries. Theſe Men, whoſe Buſineſs it was to do it, went among the *Legions*, and diſtributed theſe Tables among the *Centurions*, who communicated them to the *Centuries*: ſo that one of theſe little Tables, called *Teſſeræ*, was conveyed from Hand to Hand, firſt to the loweſt *Centurion*, by him to the *Centurion* above him, and ſo on, to the firſt *Centurion*, who returned it to the *Tribune*. This was the Method of giving the Soldiers the Watch-word.

Year of ROME CCCCX. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

profound Silence, and came down from the Rock, with his brave Companions. They took their way through thoſe Places, where they thought there were feweſt of the *Samnite* Troops, and had already paſſed half that ſort of Camp, which the Enemy had formed round the Rock, when a *Roman* Soldier ſtruck his Foot againſt the Buckler of a *Samnite*, and made a noiſe. This was near a Body of Guards, and the Centinel waking upon it, gave the Alarm in that Quarter. The *Samnites* therefore ran to Arms, without knowing what was the matter. They knew not whether it was *Decius*, and his Troops, the *Conſul* and his Army, or ſome *Samnite* of the Camp, that had diſturbed their Reſt. And in the midſt of this univerſal Commotion, *Decius* ordered his Men to give a great Shout. They did ſo, and doubled the Conſternation of the *Samnites*, who were frozen with Fear; whilſt the *Romans* killed their Camp-Guard, gain'd the Plain, and made their Eſcape, without the Enemy's daring to follow, or attack them. Then *Decius*'s firſt Concern, was, to inform the General, that he and his Men were ſafe. They were indeed near enough to the *Roman* Camp, and far enough from the Enemy's, to be able to take a little reſt, in Safety. It was not yet Day; and therefore *Decius* commanded an halt, and ſaid, *All Poſterity will celebrate the glorious Action we have juſt now executed; but let us tarry, till the Sun is up, before we preſent ourſelves to the* Conſul, *and join his Army. You have deſerved to enter the Camp, in a more glorious manner, than in Silence and Darkneſs; reſt yourſelves therefore in this Place, till the Light returns.* In the mean time, *Decius*'s Courier informed the *Conſul* of the Deliverance of the Detachment for which he was in pain; and when it was known, that it was ready to enter the Camp, the Joy was univerſal. The News was ſpread by writing it on one of thoſe Tablets, which the *Romans* called *Teſſeræ*. This the *Conſul* ſent to the General Officers; they, to the *Centurions*; and the *Centurions*, to the private Men. This was the way of conveying the General's Orders to the Soldiers, in the *Roman* Armies. The whole Army marched out to meet the Troops, which had ſaved their Lives, at the Peril of their own. They made great Shouts for Joy; all theſe brave Men were congratulated, and called Preſervers of the Army; Thanks were given to the Gods for their happy Return; and the Head and Author of this generous Enterprize was very highly extolled. His Entry into the Camp, was a ſort of Triumph to him. He marched into it, ſurrounded with his glorious Troops. All Eyes were fixed upon him; and he was raiſed above the *Conſul*, in the Eſteem of the Soldiery. As ſoon as he was arrived at the General's Quarters, as it were [11] in Triumph; the General ordered a Trumpet to give the Army notice, to come [12] and hear his Harangue. And the *Conſul* was already enlarging on *Decius*'s Praiſes, with Effuſion of Heart, when the modeſt *Tribune* interrupted him. He liked better to give his General wholeſome Advice, than to hear his own Panegyrick. *The Enemy*, ſays he to *Cornelius*, *are in ſuch a Conſternation with the laſt Night's Fright, that I cannot but think it proper to attack them upon the ſpot, without loſing time in Harangues. Their Troops are diſperſed here and there in Plottoons, all over the Country. Nay, I am of opinion, that they have ſent out Detachments after me, who are in vain ſeeking for me in the Wood. Let us therefore run, and inveſt their Camp, while their Army continues ſurprized, and is thus weakned.* Accordingly, *Decius*'s Project was approved; and the *Conſul* ordered the *Romans* to Arms, and to march againſt the Enemy, without delay. They truſted to good Guides, who led them croſs the Foreſts to the *Samnite* Camp, through wider, and leſs dangerous Ways, than they had

11 *Livy* calls the General's Quarters *Prætorium*, from the Name of *Prætor*, which was given to all Perſons in general, who were inveſted with a ſupreme Authority. So that the *Romans* meant by it him who commanded their Armies in Chief. *Aconius* is of this Opinion. *Veteres omnem magiſtratum cui pareret exercitus, Prætorem appellarunt; unde & Prætorium, tabernaculum ejus dicitur. Quintus Curtius, Juſtin*, and *Cornelius Nepos*, often uſe the Word *Prætorium*, to ſignify the Quarters of the Kings, and foreign Officers, who were at the Head of the Troops. We ſhall ſpeak of the uſual Situation and Extent of the *Prætorium* hereafter, when we come to treat of the Form and Diſpoſition of the *Roman* Camps.

12 The *Roman* Generals, in all Ages, uſed to harangue their Troops, either before any important Expedition, to encourage them to fight; or after the Action, to give thoſe their due Commendations, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Valour. And that was the Time the General uſed to diſtribute the Military Rewards among the Brave. He was uſually raiſed upon a Tribunal of Earth, or Stone; but ſometimes harangued on Horſeback. We find the Traces of this Cuſtom in *Trajan's* Pillar, and ſeveral Imperial Medals, which we have diſperſed in this Hiſtory, in their proper Places.



A. *A Roman Soldier in the* Sagum.
B. *A Roman General in his* Paludamentum.

before paſſed. The Moment the *Romans* appeared there, they ſaw their Enemies in Diſorder, almoſt all gone out of their Entrenchments without their Arms, and rambling about the Fields. Several of them had not time to rally, and return to the Camp, but the greateſt Numbers of them fled thither for Refuge. The Conqueſt of it was neither long, nor difficult. They who guarded the Avenues to it were ſoon put out of a Condition of fighting; and in ſhort, the *Roman* General entered the Entrenchments of the *Samnites*, and made himſelf Maſter of them. The Cries and Shouts of both the Victors and Vanquiſhed, affrighted thoſe *Samnite* Soldiers who had been poſted round the Hill in the Wood, by their Generals; they ran, in great Terror, to their Camp, and put themſelves in the Power of their Enemies, of their own Accord. Then the Slaughter was indeed terrible. Thirty thouſand *Samnites* were put to the Sword, and their Camp plundered. The Succeſs of the Day far exceeded even *Decius*'s Expectation; and all agreed, that the *Romans* were indebted to him alone for this glorious Victory.

Year of ROME CCCCX. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

As ſoon as *Decius* returned to the Camp, the *Conſul* reſumed his Panegyrick, which he had only interrupted, in order to go and Conquer. And now, the new Glory *Decius* had acquired, furniſhed the Orator with juſt Matter for new Commendations. But Words were not of themſelves a ſufficient Acknowledgment of his Merit. He was honoured with all the Military Rewards that were ever given to any Subaltern, for gallant Actions. Beſides a Crown of Gold, which he received from the General, he had likewiſe a Preſent of 100 Oxen, and a white Bull with gilded Horns. As for the Soldiers of his Detachment, they alſo were not without their Reward. The *Conſul* aſſigned them a double Quantity of Corn, not only for the preſent, but as long as they ſhould live; and he gave every Man in his Troop two [13] *Saga*. And then the *Legions* likewiſe ſignalized their Gratitude to their Deliverer. The Preſent they made *Decius* was not rich, but honourable. It was cuſtomary in the *Roman* Armies, for the Garriſon of a beſieged Place to crown the General, who came to its Relief, and raiſed the Siege, with [14] *Gramen*; that is, with the Herb we call *Dogs-tooth*, which is generally to be found on the Walls of Cities. And this Honour *Cornelius*'s Army paid *Decius*, who had delivered them out of greater Dangers, than thoſe of a Siege. They unanimouſly made a Crown of *Gramen* for him, and put it on his Head, amidſt the Acclamations of all the Soldiers. And now, the Detachment it ſelf, which he had been brought ſafe out of the dangerous Poſt in which the *Samnites* had inveſted them, thought themſelves likewiſe particularly obliged in Gratitude to beſtow ſome Mark of Diſtinction on their Leader. They therefore crowned *Decius* with a Crown of Oak, which was called *Civic*, and was thought the moſt honourable of all the Military Rewards. Thus, loaded with three Crowns at once, he offered up the white Bull he had received from the *Conſul*, in Sacrifice to *Mars*, by way of Thankſgiving: And he diſtributed the hundred Oxen which had been given him, among thoſe who had been his Companions in Danger, and the Sharers of his Glory. The reſt of the *Legions* likewiſe made a Preſent to the Company which had followed *Decius*, conſiſting of ſome Pounds of Meal, and [15] Meaſures of Wine. All theſe Honours, when paid, were attended with general Shouts, to ſhew that the whole Army were unanimous in paying them. Indeed, even the *Roman* Armies were a ſort of Republicks. Every private Soldier had his Vote, in all Deliberations: They ſhewed their Approbation of what the General propoſed, by their Shouts; and their Diſlike, by their

Aul. Gel. B. 5. c. 6.

Auth. of the Lives of Illuſt. Men, in P. Dec.

13 The *Sagum* of the *Romans* was a military Habit, open from Top to Bottom, and uſually faſtened on the right Shoulder with a Buckle, or Claſp. It was not different in Shape from the *Chlamys* of the *Greeks*, and the *Paludamentum* of the Generals. The only Difference between them was, that the *Paludamentum* was made of a richer Stuff, was generally of a purple Colour, and both longer and fuller than the *Sagum*. The adjoining Plate will ſhew the Form of this Garment, which the *Latin* Authors call *Sagum*, and *Chlamys*, and *Paludamentum*.

14 *Pliny*, *B.* 6. *c.* 4. ſays nothing of the Crown of *Gramen*, which was given to *Decius*, and mentions only a *Civic* Crown, made of Oak Leaves, which he ſays the Army honoured this *Tribunary Legion* with, as the Reward of his Valour.

15 *Livy*'s Words are, *vini Sextarios*. Now the *Sextarius* of the *Romans*, was a liquid Meaſure containing in Weight 20 Ounces; that is, it was the 6th Part of the *Congius*, and the 48th Part of the *Amphora* of the Ancients. So that the *Roman Sextarius*, was equal in Content to two *Heminæ*, or 12 *Cyathi*, which were a Sort of Cups, or Bowls, which held about an Ounce and half of Liquor, more or leſs, according to the Weight of the Liquid. [The *Sextarius* contained, according to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, one Pint, *Engliſh* Wine Meaſure, and ſomewhat more than $\frac{1}{6}$ of a Pint.]

Silence.

Year of ROME CCCCX.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Conſuls.

Silence. And from hence came their Ardour and Zeal in all military Expedition which every private Soldier conſidered as undertaken by his own Choice.

§. V. HOWEVER, the Campaign did not end with the *Conſul Cornelius*'s Victor It was now ſome Months ſince *Valerius Corvus* had given the *Samnites* the fi Overthrow in *Campania*; and he perceived, that the Enemy there had recover their Courage, and got new Forces. Tho' their Army had been routed, they ra lied, and ſent for Reinforcements. All the Youth in *Samnium* ran to the Cam in *Campania*, to try the Fortune of War, a ſecond time. The *Samnite* Army ap peared before [16] *Sueſſula*, a City ſituated between *Nola*, and *Capua*, and at an equ diſtance from both. The Fright their Arrival occaſioned there, ſoon reached th *Roman* Camp. Couriers were continually running from *Sueſſula* to *Capua*, to th *Conſul Valerius*, who loſt no time in marching to the Relief of the *Sueſſulani*. H ſet out for *Sueſſula* with his Troops, leaving the uſeleſs Multitudes of Servants Beaſts of Burden, and Sutlers, which belonged to the Army, in his old Camp with ſufficient Forces to defend it. When he came and poſted himſelf within reach of the Enemy, he choſe out as narrow a ſpot of Ground to encamp upon, as he could well crowd his Cavalry and Infantry into. This the expert *Valerius* art fully did, to deceive the Enemy; and it ſucceeded. The *Samnites*, full of Confi dence in their Numbers, came and offered the *Romans* Battel. But the *Conſul* feigned Fear, and kept cloſe within his Entrenchments. Upon the Approach of the Enemy, they ſaw the *Romans* wholly taken up in defending their Ramparts; and ſome *Samnites*, who marched quite round them, found their Camp ſo little, that they from thence inferred, their Enemies could be but weak. This therefore they thought a proper time to revenge their firſt Defeat, and ſaid one to another, *Let us go, and fill up the Ditches of the* Roman *Camp, and make a Breach in their Lines, and force them.* Which they had certainly attempted, if the Officers had not reſtrained the Raſhneſs and Impetuoſity of the Soldiers. But they choſe to act a Part, which was almoſt as diſadvantageous to them, as this would have been. They reſolved to continue in their own Camp, which was in ſight of that of the *Romans*, in hopes that the latter would ſoon want Proviſions; ſince they could have no more there, than what every Soldier had brought with him. They did not conſider, that the *Romans* were making War in a Friend's Country, which was both fruitful in itſelf, and where it was the Intereſt of the Natives to ſupport them. So that the *Samnites* themſelves firſt wanted Neceſſaries. They were forced to ſend out large Detachments to get Proviſions, and convoy them to their Camp. Inſomuch, that almoſt all their Troops were diſperſed about in the Country, and but a ſmall Guard left to defend their Entrenchments. Upon which, *Valerius* thought this a proper time to attack them; and therefore, after a ſhort Exhortation, marched his *Romans* directly to the Enemy's Camp. When he came to it, he found it ſo ill guarded, that upon the firſt Onſet of the *Romans*, all Oppoſition gave way, and it was taken. More *Samnites* were killed in their Tents, than on the Ramparts, and in Defence of their Poſts. But the *Conſul* did not ſtop here. Being now Maſter of the Camp, he left two *Legions* to guard it, and marched with the reſt of his Army, to give chaſe to the Enemies, who were rambling about the Country. Accordingly, the *Roman* Cavalry preſſed hard upon them, made a great Slaughter of them, and drove the reſt from different Places into a Ring which the *Romans* ſurrounded, and in which they caught the ſtruggling *Samnites*, as in a Net. It is affirmed, that the *Roman* Soldiers brought their General above 40000 of the Enemy's Bucklers. Not that ſo great a Number of *Samnites* had been ſlain in the Battel; many of them had thrown away their Arms, that they might not incumber them in their Flight. Two hundred and twenty Standards were alſo taken from the *Samnites*; and then the Enemy's Camp was given up to be plundered by the *Roman* Soldiers, whom the General had forbad pillaging it, till his Return. Thus *Valerius* returned to *Rome*, with great Glory, after two complete Victories; and the Succeſſes of ſo noble a Campaign, gave a new Luſtre to the Glory of the *Roman* State, both among the neighbouring Nations, and beyond the Seas. The *Faliſci*, Inhabitants of *Hetruria*, had already made a Truce with the *Romans*, which they now turned into a Treaty of Al-

Liv. B. 7. c. 37.

16 Near the River of *Clanis*, now the *Clanio*, in *Campania*, ſtood the ancient City of *Sueſſula*. There are only ſome Ruins of it remaining, in the Place, where *Caſtello di Seſſola* now ſtands.

Year of *ROME* CCCCX.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS, CORNELIUS COSSUS, Consuls.

liance; and their whole *Lucumony* became *Roman*. The *Latins*, who had taken up Arms, with design to employ them against the Republick, and shake off her Yoke, if she had been worsted in this War with the *Samnites*, no sooner received the News of the Victories of *Cornelius* and *Valerius*, but they turned their Hostilities against the [17] *Peligni*, a *Samnite* Nation; as it were, to assist the *Romans*, whom they had really intended to betray. And lastly the *Carthaginians*, to shew their Affection for the *Romans*, with whom they were then in Amity, sent to compliment them on their Success, and made a Present of a Crown of Gold, of 20 Pounds Weight, to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, by way of Thanksgiving for their Victories.

THUS was *Campania* left in Peace, and an Entrance opened into *Samnium*. The two *Consuls* had gloriously executed the two Expeditions the Republick had sent them upon; only with this difference, that *Valerius* had no Partner in the Glory of his two Victories; whereas *Cornelius* was indebted to the Counsels and Bravery of *Decius*, for his. But notwithstanding this, the Honours of a Triumph were decreed both *Consuls*. *Decius* was not permitted to enjoy these Honours, though it was he, properly speaking, who had conquered the *Samnites* in the narrow Passes of Mount *Gaurus*; because, this Glory was granted only to Generals, and he was no more than a *Legionary Tribune*. But it may nevertheless be observed, that tho' he did not ride in a triumphal Chariot, all the Acclamations of the People ran in his favour. The Jests, the Soldiers were permitted to make in the time of a Triumph, even upon the triumphant Victors themselves, all tended to magnify *Decius*, at *Cornelius*'s Cost. *Decius* himself walked in Procession, with his three Crowns on his Head, and attracted the Eyes, and gained the Applauses of all the Spectators. *Cornelius*'s Triumph was on *The Ninth of the Calends of October*. His Collegue *Valerius*, whose Glory was now entire, had triumphed the day before. *Fast. Capit.*

THE rest of this glorious Year, was spent in receiving the Congratulations of the neighbouring Nations, and the Thanks of the *Campani*. The *Capuani*, among others, desired the *Consuls* to send some *Roman* Troops, into Winter-Quarters among them, to defend them from the Incursions and Pillages of their Enemies. The austere Republick did not yet know how contagious the Air of *Capua* was, and how apt to corrupt the Virtue of the bravest *Romans*. The *Censors* for the time being, ordered [18] a *Census* to be taken of the *Roman* People: But what the Names of those Magistrates were, neither the Historians, nor the *Capitoline Marbles*, inform us. Time has worn them out of the latter; tho' if we may be permitted to guess, we should suppose them to have been [19] *M. Fabius Ambustus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas*. But however that be, it is certain the Number of the *Romans*, who were able to bear Arms, amounted to 160000. The Ceremony closed

17 The Name of the *Peligni* is often disfigured in the *Greek* Authors. These are the People *Diodorus Siculus* calls sometimes Παλινίους, and sometimes Παλλίους; and *Appian* calls them *Maglini*, Μαγλίνους. *Festus* is of Opinion, that this Nation came originally from *Illyricum*, and passed from thence into *Italy*, under the Command of *Volsinius Lucullus*, their Head. And this Man, adds he, had two grandsons, *Pacinus*, and *Pelicius*, who gave their names, one to the *Pacinates*, and the other to the *Peligni*. *Peligni ex Illyrico orti. Inde enim profecti, ductu Volsini regis, cui cognomen fuit Lucullo, partem Italiæ occuparunt. Hujus fuerunt Nepotes duo, Pacinus, a quo Pacinates; & Pelicius, a quo Peligni.* It is no easy Matter to guess who these *Pacinates* were. *Ovid. Fast. B.* 3. thinks the *Peligni* were originally *Sabines*; *& tibi cum Proavis miles Peligne Sabinis convenit*. This People inhabited a Part of the *Hither Abruzzo*, between the Rivers of *Pescara* and *Sangro*. So that their Territory was bounded, to the North, by the Country of the *Vestini*; to the East, by those of the *Marrucini*, and *Frentani*; to the South, by that of the *Samnites*; and to the West, by that of the *Marsi*.

18 *Livy*, according to his usual Inaccuracy in his Account of the *Census's*, omits that which was made in the Year 410. But it is nevertheless certain, from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that between this time and the Year 435, there was more than one *Census* and *Lustrum*. These *Consular Annals* mention a 25th *Lustrum*, in the Year 435. *Eusebius* speaks of the *Lustrum* and *Census* here mentioned in the Text. He says, in his *Chronicon*, that in the first Year of the 110th *Olympiad*, there was a new *Census* taken at *Rome*, in which were reckoned up 160000 Citizens old enough to bear Arms. Now this first Year of the 110th *Olympiad* coincides, according to *Diodorus the Sicilian*, with the *Consulship* of *Marcus Valerius*, and *Aulus Cornelius*. This *Census* was the 22d from their original Institution by King *Servius Tullius*.

19 The *Censorship* was generally granted only to such Persons as were considerable for their former Employments, and their Virtue. Among the chief of these, were *Marcus Fabius Ambustus*, and *Marcus Popilius Lænas*, at this time. What favours our Conjecture, with respect to *Marcus Fabius*, is *Pliny*'s saying, *B.* 7. *c.* 11. that he was *Prince of the Senate*. For it was very uncommon, according to *Livy*, to fill this Post with any but such as had already been *Censors*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXI.

C. Marcius Rutilus, Q. Servilius Ahala, Conſuls.

with a *Luſtrum*, which was the twenty ſecond ſince their firſt Inſtitution by King *Servius*.

§. VI. When *Rome* had ſent ſome Troops into Winter-Quarters in *Campania*, two new *Conſuls* entered upon their Office. The one was a *Plebeian*, named 20 *C. Marcius Rutilus*, who was now raiſed to this Dignity, the fourth time; the other, *Q. Servilius Ahala*, a *Patrician*, and probably the Son of the famous *Dictator Servilius Ahala*; and he was now created *Conſul*, the firſt time. The new Generals put themſelves at the Head of two ſeparate Armies, and choſe their different Provinces by Lot. It was *Marcius*'s Fate to march into *Campania*, to carry on the War, which *Valerius* had happily begun againſt the *Samnites*; whilſt *Servilius* continued encamped near *Rome*, to be in a readineſs to march wherever there ſhould be Occaſion. When *Marcius* arrived at *Capua*, he found a great Alteration in the *Romans* who had ſpent the Winter there. Diſcipline was neglected, their Auſterity of Manners was changed into Effeminacy, and their Sobriety into Intemperance. The Charms of the Climate, and the Air which they breathed in Idleneſs, had ſo far bewitched them, that they did not care ſo much as to hear their own Country mentioned. They had entered into a Plot among one another, to drive the *Campani* out of their native Country, ſeize it for themſelves, and ſettle there. *Capua* eſpecially, ſeemed a moſt enchanting Place to them, and when they were in their Winter-Quarters, they often diſcourſed in this manner. *The* Samnites *formerly deſtroyed the* Hetrurians, *who were the firſt Founders of* Capua, *ſettled here, and became a diſtinct Nation, under the Name of* Campani. *Why then ſhould we be afraid to treat them, as their Forefathers treated the* Hetrurians? *What! ſhall a debauched People, who are not able to defend themſelves, enjoy the fineſt Country in the World; whilſt their Deliverers are labouring to cultivate an ungrateful Soil round* Rome, *which will not furniſh them with Neceſſaries? Shall Cowards inhabit a delightful City, in an Air which is always pure; whilſt brave Men are forced to breath an unwholeſome Air in* Rome, *which is often infected with the Plague, and other Diſtempers? Don't the Conquerors, who have driven the* Samnites *out of theſe Places, with great Labour, and at the Expence of their Blood, better deſerve to dwell here, than a Parcel of idle Fellows, who were forced to ſurrender themſelves up into our Hands, in order to maintain themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of their Delights? Shall we, who are fatigued with ſo many Wars, leave a wealthy Country, to return to an ungrateful City, where we are worn out with military Services, and ruined by Uſuries?* The Conſpiracy of the Troops, who were diſſatisfied with their Creditors, and charmed with the Plenty they found in *Capua*, was already formed, when the *Conſul* arrived. It had not indeed broken out; but the *Legionary Tribunes* informed the General of it. *Marcius* was a wiſe Commander; and as he had often been at the Head of an Army, the Troops had a Veneration for him; and Experience had taught him the moſt proper means to work upon their Minds. He made uſe of the gentleſt Methods poſſible, to prevail on the Conſpirators to drop their Deſign. Inſtead of oppoſing their Deſires with Heat, he indulged them in the Hopes of putting their Scheme in execution, ſome time, or other; and allowed them to think, they might ſeize *Campania* the next Year, and return thither again, into Winter-Quarters. This Report, and theſe Hopes, were ſpread from *Capua*, to all the other Places in *Campania*, where the *Romans* were quartered: And thus the ſedulous *Marcius* put a ſtop to the Sedition, by vain Hopes; and as ſoon as he had taken the Field, he took other Meaſures to put an end to it. He immediately determined to ſend the moſt factious of his Soldiers, out of *Campania*, under ſeveral Pretences; and the Inaction of the *Samnites* facilitated his Deſign. He firſt ſent away ſome, becauſe they had ſerved as long as the Laws required; and others he diſmiſſed, on account of their Diſtempers, and Infirmities. Some he ordered home, under Pretence that their Preſence was neceſſary in their Families, after they had been ſo long in Winter-Quarters, in a foreign Country. Others he ſent upon Buſineſs to *Rome*, where the *Prætor* detained them; or to his Collegue's Army, where *Servilius* amuſed them, and

Liv. B. 7. c. 38.

20 *Diodorus of Sicily* has altered both the *Prænomen* and Name of *Marcius Rutilus*, whom he calls *Marcus Rutilius*. Thoſe who think this 411th Year of *Rome* to have been the third *Conſulſhip* of *Quintus Servilius*, are miſtaken. They confound him with his Father *Servilius Ahala*; who had been twice *Conſul*, and *Dictator*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXI.

C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, Q. SERVILIUS AHALA, Conſuls.

continually ſtarted freſh Obſtacles, to prevent their Return. *Marcius* began with ſending them away one by one; but afterwards, he diſbanded whole *Cohorts* together: however, no one Soldier was dimiſſed with Diſgrace. Thus *Marcius* continued to practiſe theſe innocent Artifices for ſome time, without Diſcovery. Several of the factious Soldiers returned home of their own accords, and none complained of their Diſmiſſion. But at laſt, the Troops made ſome Obſervations, which diſcovered to them the *Conſul's* Intentions. They took notice, That he ſent no Soldiers from his Camp, but ſuch as had wintered in *Campania*; That none of thoſe, who had been ſent to *Rome*, returned; and That none but the moſt ſeditious had been ſent away. This filled the Criminals, who yet remained in the Army, with Aſtoniſhment and Dread. They fancied that their Companions had been tried and condemned at *Rome*; and their Fears made them take it for granted, that they had nothing to expect, but the utmoſt Rigour of the Laws, and the moſt cruel Puniſhments. Upon which, they *diſcovered their Suſpicions* to one another, and complained among themſelves, that they were deprived of their Leaders, and the Main-ſprings of their Enterprize were broken: and then the next thing that occurred to them, was Deſertion. One *Cohort* eſpecially, was ſo bent upon it, that they marched away from *Marcius's* Camp, and poſted themſelves near [21] *Anxur*, in [22] *Lautulæ*, which was the Name the *Romans* gave a narrow Paſſage, which lay between the Sea, on one ſide, and high Mountains on the other. To



Silver.



Silver.

21 This was the Name the ancient *Volſci* gave the City of *Terracina*, which ſtood on the Borders of the *Pomptin* Marſhes. *Terracina Oppidum, lingua Volſcorum Anxur dictum*, *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *Horace* tells us, *B.* 1. *Sat.* 5. That it was ſituated on a Rock.

——————————*Sabinus*
Impoſitum Saxis, late candentibus Anxur.

The King of the Gods had a Temple there; to which the neighbouring People came, and there paid him a particular Kind of Worſhip. In it there was a Statue erected to this God, under the Name of JUPITER ANXUR, or JOVIS ANXUR; as we find it on a Medal of the *Vibian* Family, on which this God is repreſented under the Figure of a beardleſs young Man, with a radiated Crown upon his Head. This was the Repreſentation the Pagans gave of him. Hence came the Epithet of ANXUR, according to the Grammarians, who love to give us their Conjectures, about the Etymologies of Words, whether they be good, or bad. They fancy, as *Servius* in particular does, that the Word ANXUR is derived from the two *Greek* Words ἄνευ ξυροῦ, or ἄξυρος, *ſine novacula*, i. e. *without a Razor*, becauſe the Statue of JUPITER ANXUR, is that of a very young Man. But we need not have Recourſe to forced Derivations; this Epithet of *Jupiter*, was certainly taken from the Place where he was worſhiped. His Temple there, ſay ſome ancient Authors, was built by a Colony of *Spartans*, who came out of *Greece* into Italy, to ſettle there. The City was built, according to *Solinus*, on the Sea-Shore: And *Livy*, *B.* 27. *Tacitus*, *Hiſt. B.* 3. tells us *Anxur*, or *Terracina*, was a Port. Its Situation gave it the Name *Trachina*, according to *Strabo*, from the *Greek* Word Τραχὺν, becauſe the Rock which defended it on all Sides made it difficult of Acceſs. *Martial* tells us, that in this Neighbourhood there formerly were ſome hot mineral Waters, which he compares with thoſe of *Baiæ*, *B.* 6. *Ep.* 2. To which *Vitruvius* adds, *B.* 8. that there was a Fountain near this Place, called *Fons Neptunius*; the Waters of which were mortal, and had all the Malignity of the moſt ſubtle Poiſon. This probably was the ſame that Father *Kircher* calls *Fons Charonius*, which had ſuch a Quality. At a little Diſtance from *Anxur* there was, according to *Virgil*, *Æneid* 7. a Wood conſecrated to *Juno Feronia*.

——————*Queis Jupiter Anxurus arvis*
Præſidet, & viridi gaudens Feronia luco.

This Wood was watered by a Spring, which *Horace* mentions in this Line.

Ora manuſque tua lavimus Feronia lympha.

The Temple of this Goddeſs, which is ſaid to have been built and conſecrated by the *Greeks*, was a common Place of Worſhip, both for the *Sabines* and the *Latins*. *Livy* boaſts much of the Riches of this Temple, *B.* 13. An old Inſcription, taken from an ancient Monument by *Gruter*, tells us, that this Goddeſs had her peculiar *Flamineſſes*, or Prieſteſſes. The Inſcription is this.

CAMURENÆ
C. F.
CELERINÆ
FLAM. FERON.

The *Petronian* Family furniſhes us with a Medal, on which is repreſented the Head of the Goddeſs *Feronia*, with this Inſcription, TURPILLIANUS III. VIR FERON. *Turpillianus* was the Surname of one *Petronius*, who ſtruck this Medal, and who was adopted into the *Petronian* Family, from the *Turpilian*.

22 A little above *Terracina*, near the River *Uſens*, now the *Anſento*, there was a Neck of Land, or narrow

Year of *ROME* CCCCXI. C. Marcius Rutilus, Q. Servilius Ahala, Conſuls.

this Place, all thoſe the *Conſul* diſmiſſed, under various Pretences, reſorted; and their Number gradually increaſed, (doubtleſs by Deſertions) till at laſt the Malecontents were numerous enough to make a moderate Army. But ſtill they wanted a Leader to conduct them, and regulate their Motions. The ſeparated Soldiers therefore aſſembled, and deliberated about the Choice of a General, and could not rely enough on any Officer among them, to chuſe him. On the other hand, it was not ſafe to fetch a Leader from *Rome*, to command them. No *Patrician* would put himſelf at the Head of a *Plebeian* Faction, whoſe chief Matter of Diſcontent was the Oppreſſion of the Rich. And it would be difficult to prevail on any *Plebeian* of Diſtinction, to run the Hazards of an Attempt, which Anger only had given Birth to. Their Uncertainty therefore laſted two Days, and was not removed till the Parties returned, which they had ſent into the Country, in queſt of Proviſions. Then a Soldier, who had been in one of theſe Parties, removed their Difficulties, and put an end to their Irreſolution. *I have been informed, in my Incurſions*, ſays he, *that one* T. Quinctius, *a great Soldier, has left the* Roman *Armies, and retired to his Eſtate in the Territory of* Tuſculum, *where he is now cultivating his Lands, far from the Noiſe and Hurry of publick Affairs. A Wound he formerly received in the Foot, made him lame, and forced him to lay aſide the Profeſſion of a Soldier. This is exactly ſuch a General as we want.* The bare Name of *Quinctius* was enough to recal the Remembrance of his Valour; and they all pitched upon him, reſolving to put him at their Head. They much doubted, whether the virtuous *Patrician* would not refuſe to take upon him the Command of a Company of Rebels; but they reſolved to compel him, and make uſe of Force, and Threats, to get him from his Solitude. Some ancient Annals indeed ſay, this General was not one *Quinctius*, but one *Manlius*. And perhaps the Story of the famous *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, who was alſo taken from the Plough, to go and conquer the *Volſci*, and the *Sabines*, made the Name of *Quinctius* to be here preferred to that of *Manlius*. But however that be, a Detachment of the Revolters ſet out for *Tuſculum:* and when they came to the Farm *Quinctius* was improving, the Night was far advanced. They entered the rural Habitation of the illuſtrious *Roman*, without difficulty, and found him faſt aſleep. The Noiſe waked him, and he heard the armed Men, who ſurrounded him, ſay theſe Words. *There is no Medium*, Quinctius, *you muſt either go with us, and command us, or fall by our Hands. Take your Choice, either to die, or to be a General.* At which words, they immediately carried him off, and brought him to their Camp. When he arrived there, he was proclaimed Commander in-chief, ſaluted as ſuch, and honoured with all the Enſigns of that Office. *Quinctius* himſelf, who yet doubted whether all this was real, or a Dream, ſubmitted to the Violence he could not reſiſt: but this great Man ſtill retained a faithful Affection to his Republick, under the Appearances of a Rebel. He was rather commanded by the Mutineers, than they by him; and was ordered by them, to lead them to *Rome*.

Liv. B.7. c.42.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXI. M. Valerius Corvus, Dictator. *Faſt. Capit. Liv. B.7. c.39. Auth. of the Lives of Illuſt. Men, c.26.*

§. VII. Their Approach to the City, ſo terrified it, that, according to the moſt univerſal Tradition, the Republick had recourſe to the uſual Remedy, in great Emergencies. The *Conſuls* nominated the famous *Valerius Corvus*, *Dictator*; and *L. Æmilius Mamercinus* was his General of Horſe. Whether the *Dictator* raiſed a new Army, or took upon himſelf the Command of that, which the *Conſul Servilius* kept encamped near *Rome*, is uncertain. But the Rebels marched out of their Defiles, and were already advanced within eight Miles of *Rome*, in the Road, ſince called *The Appian Way*, when the *Dictator Valerius* met them. Upon his Approach, the bare Sight of a *Roman* Army, and of *Legions* of their own Countrymen, carrying the ſame Standards, and the ſame Arms as themſelves, a little abated the Rage of

narrow Paſſage between the Sea, on one hand, and Mountains on the other; and this is what was called *Lautulæ*. It was in the Road to *Fundi*. *Varro*, *B.4. de Ling. Lat.* derives this *Latin* Word *Lautulæ*, from the Verb *lavare*. This Name was alſo given to that Part of the City of *Rome*, which led to the Temple of *Janus*, becauſe there was a Spring of hot Waters there, in which the *Romans* might bathe or *waſh* themſelves. *Lautulæ a lavando, quod ibi ad Janum Geminum aquæ calidæ fuerunt. Feſtus* ſpeaks likewiſe of a Place out of *Rome*, which bore the ſame Name. *Lautulæ, locus extra urbem, quo loco quia aqua fluebat, lavandi uſum exercebant.* The *Lautulæ*, near *Terracina*, was probably ſo called, either becauſe it was waſhed with Rivulets, which ran from the neighbouring Springs, or was overflowed with the Torrents which fell down from the neighbouring Mountains; or laſtly, becauſe it lay bordering upon the Sea, and the *Pomptin* Marſhes.

these

Year of *ROME* CCCCXI.

M. VALERIUS CORVUS, Dictator.

theſe furious Men was ſomewhat abated. The Love of their Country, made ſome Impreſſions on the Minds of Men, who were not yet accuſtomed to ſpill the Blood of their Relations, in Civil Wars. The *Roman* Valour had hitherto been only employed againſt Strangers. The greateſt length the *Romans* had yet run, in their Revolts againſt their Country, was to march out of the City, without attacking it, or offering any Violence to it: And the Rebel Army, and the *Dictator's*, were at preſent ſo far from coming to Blows immediately, that they both ſhewed an Inclination to a Treaty. Both the Leaders and Soldiers ſeemed diſpoſed to put an end to their Diſſentions, by a Conference. *Quinctius* was acting in an hoſtile manner, againſt his Will; and after he had left off to bear Arms, in Defence of the Republick, had ſubmitted to the Fury of the Mutineers with Regret. *Valerius Corvus*, the *Dictator*, was fierce in Battel, but mild and popular in the Government of an Army. He had always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a tender Love for his Soldiers. Beſides, theſe Deſerters, who were now joined together in a Body, had fought under him the Year before, and he was partly indebted to them for his Victories: he therefore endeavoured to bring them back to their Duty, by gentle Methods. He advanced into the middle Space between the two Armies, and harangued them in the following manner. Both Armies were equally attentive to him, and the Revolters, as well as the faithful Soldiers, ſeemed to have an equal Reſpect for his Perſon.

THE *Prayer I made to the Gods, our common Guardians and Protectors, when I left* Rome, *was not*, ſays he, *that I might conquer you by Force of Arms, but reconcile you to your Country. I did not ask for Victory, but the Honour of bringing you back to your Duty. Foreigners will give me Opportunities enough to ſignalize myſelf in War. The Glory I would this Day gain, is that of procuring your Peace. This I have asked of the Gods, and this you have it in your Power to grant me. Caſt your Eyes round about you, on the Country you come to lay deſolate, and the Enemy you are to fight with. Are we* Volſci, *or* Samnites? *Are not the* Legions *who appear againſt you, your own Fellow-Citizens? Has not the General who oppoſes your Attempts, formerly led you on to Victory? Are not the Plains and Hills you are going to ſtain with Blood, a Part of the* Roman *Territory? Yes; I am that* Valerius Corvus, *who never took advantage of the Nobleneſs of his Extraction to oppreſs you; but have made uſe of it, to procure you numberleſs Favours. Can you reproach me with having ever made too ſevere Laws againſt you? or done any thing in the Senate, in prejudice to your Intereſts? Did I not undertake the moſt toilſome Offices, when at the Head of the Troops? Or did I then ever ſhun Danger in Battel? Yet my Birth, and my Employment, might perhaps have given me Opportunity to have ſwayed in the Senate, and to have made myſelf formidable to the People. Tho' a* Conſul *at three and twenty, did I aſſume ſo much upon the diſtinguiſhing Honours which were ſhewn me, as to affront any with injurious Speeches, or by an haughty and imperious Carriage? Such then, as my Behaviour was, when* Legionary Tribune, *and* Conſul; *ſuch would I willingly have it to be, in my* Dictatorſhip. *This Sovereign Authority has not puffed me up with Pride. The Army I command ſhall meet with the ſame tender Regards from me; and it ſhall be your own Faults, if you yourſelves, I ſay even you, who (muſt I ſay it?) are here my declared Enemies, don't experience them. I will not draw a Sword againſt you, till you have firſt drawn yours. Will you then dare to be the Aggreſſors? If you are reſolved to give Battel, you ſhall be the firſt to give the Signal for it. And if you do that, you will do more than your Forefathers did, either when they ſeparated from the reſt of* Rome, *and poſted themſelves on the* Mons Sacer; *or when they retired to the Hill* Aventinus. *Will you wait, as* Coriolanus *did, till your Mothers and Wives come and throw themſelves in Tears at your Feet? This Sight was affecting enough to ſtop the Fury of the* Volſci; *and will you, who are* Romans, *begin an impious War? As for* Quinctius, *whether he has willingly taken upon him an unlawful Command, or it was by Violence forced upon him; let him at leaſt diſappear, and not ſhew himſelf in the firſt Ranks. It would be more for his Honour to fly, than hazard an unlawful Battel. But if he be ſincerely inclined to Peace; if he has nothing more in view, than obtaining an Accommodation, let him appear at the Head of his Troops, and be their Interpreter! Make your Demands,* Quinctius; *ask any Conditions which are reaſonable, and they ſhall be granted you.* Liv. B. 7. c. 40.

Year of ROME CCCCXI.

M Valerius Corvus, Dictator.

you. But what ſay-I? Would it not be better, even to grant you unreaſonable ones, than to ſhed your Blood?

At theſe words, *Quinctius* began, and turning about to the Rebels, ſpoke thus. Romans, *if you expect that I ſhould be of any Service to you, you muſt give me leave to tell you, that it muſt be in gaining you an advantageous Peace, rather than in conducting a Battel, which I deteſt. The* Dictator, *who addreſſes himſelf to you, is neither a* Volſcian, *nor a* Samnite. *He is a* Roman, *whoſe Affection and Integrity you cannot ſuſpect. You have fought under him; and ought to know his good Diſpoſitions towards you. You have already conquered under his Command; don't then run the hazard of being conquered by him. The Republick might have ſent other Generals againſt you; and in this, you ought to admire her Condeſcenſion.* Valerius *is the Man pitched upon; I ſay* Valerius, *who has told you, you are his Children; and that he has the Affection of a Father for you. The* Dictatorſhip, *in other hands, might have proved fatal to you. This the Republick well knew, and choſe rather to offer you Peace, than ſubdue you by a cruel Victory. What then remains for you to do! Believe me, Anger and Revenge are evil Counſellors. Let us wholly throw ourſelves into the Hands of an illuſtrious* Roman, *whoſe Probity we are all acquainted with; and leave it to him, to manage our Cauſe, and ſupport our Pretenſions for us!* Which Words were followed by a ſhout of Approbation from the whole rebellious Army: And upon this unanimous Conſent, *Quinctius* approached the *Dictator*, and deſired him to take under his Protection theſe unhappy Citizens, whom Diſcontent and Vexation had drawn together. *Do for them*, ſays he to him, *what a continual Affection for the People has always led you to do, in favour of the* Plebeians. *I abſolutely reſign the Intereſts of my Army into your Hands. As for my own, I want no Aſſiſtance to be able to give ſufficient Proofs of my Innocence. My Buſineſs is therefore, to provide for the Safety of theſe Soldiers. Let not the Senate* [23] *condemn them, ſince the People of* Rome *were formerly forgiven, after two Separations.* This Diſcourſe of *Quinctius* was equally applauded by both Armies. The *Dictator* gave the whole Body of the Rebels room to hope for every thing they could think reaſonable, upon their Return to their Duty; and then, immediately mounted his Horſe, and returned to *Rome*, with all ſpeed. After the Senate had heard him, they paſſed a Decree, which was ſent to the People, for their Confirmation. The *Comitia* were therefore aſſembled in an unuſual Place, called the *Peletin* Wood, where the ſeditious *Manlius* had formerly been condemned. And there, the Decree of the Senate was changed into a legal Act of Grace. Nor was this all; the *Dictator* deſired the People aſſembled, that they never would reproach their newly reconciled Countrymen with their Revolt, either ſeriouſly, or in raillery. And then, ſome other military Laws were made, at the requeſt of the mutinous Soldiers. The firſt was, *That for the future, no Man's Name ſhould ever be blotted out of the military Roll, or any Soldier diſmiſſed; but by his own Conſent, and at his own Requeſt.* This was directly levelled at the *Conſul Marcius*, who had indeed ſent away too many Soldiers from his Army; but with very good Intentions. The ſecond Law enacted, *That no Man who was a* Legionary Tribune *one Year, ſhould be a* Centurion *the next.* The Revolters inſiſted on the paſſing of this Law, purely to revenge themſelves on one *P. Salonius*, a ſevere Officer, and a ſtrict Obſerver of Diſcipline. He had been a *Legionary Tribune*, and a *Centurion*, alternately, for ſeveral Years together; had always oppoſed the ſeditious Councils of the Revolters; and had left *Lautulæ*, to avoid joining in the Conſpiracy. The Senate therefore, refuſed at firſt to conſent to a Law, which was wholly dictated by the Revenge of the Rebels, againſt an Officer, who ſtrictly adhered to his Duty; but at *Salonius's*

Zonaras, B. 7. c. 25.
Liv. B. 7. c. 41.

[23] We don't well know, what Sort of Puniſhments theſe *Roman* Magiſtrates uſed to inflict on Deſerters, at this time. It is probable, they were generally condemned to die, as they afterwards were. This Hiſtory will furniſh us with frequent Inſtances of the Severity of the Generals, not only againſt Deſerters, but againſt thoſe who in any manner tranſgreſſed the military Laws. This Exactneſs in puniſhing the leaſt Faults in the Soldiers, reſtrained their Licentiouſneſs, maintained Diſcipline in the *Legions*, and kept them to their Duty. The ſeveral Puniſhments inflicted on the cowardly, forced the moſt fearful to keep their Ranks, and behave themſelves with Courage in Battel. Thus they, who were not animated with the Love of Glory, and the Rewards beſtowed on the Brave, were kept to their Duty by the Fear of Puniſhment. This Rigour, in the Obſervance of Order and Diſcipline, in the *Roman* Armies, did not a little contribute towards the making them invincible.

ow

own Requeſt, the Bill paſſed. This generous *Roman* deſired the *Conſcript Fathers* to have more regard to the Welfare of the Publick, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of Concord among the Citizens, than to his Honour. And the Deſerters made another Demand, as extravagant as this. Not one Horſeman in the *Roman* Army had joined the Revolters; and they therefore inſiſted, that the Pay of the Cavalry ſhould be reduced. It was then three times as much as the Foot received. And laſtly, it is probable, that the Law the People ſo much deſired, and which was the Soldiers Pretence for their Revolt, was then paſſed, at their Requeſt. All Uſury was aboliſhed in *Rome, and every* Roman *forbidden to lend Money upon Intereſt.* Some Hiſtorians likewiſe add, That two other Laws were then paſſed, in favour of the People, whoſe Intereſts were eſpouſed by the Revolters; and That they were paſſed, at the Requeſt of *Genucius* the *Tribune of the People.* The firſt was, *That no one ſhould have any Office a ſecond time, which he had enjoyed within ten Years before; or poſſeſs two different Offices in the ſame Year.* The ſecond was, *That the two* Conſuls *might both be choſen out of the* Plebeians. And if the *Plebeian* Faction did then gain theſe two Articles, which ſeem not indeed to have paſſed into Laws, till afterward; it is very evident, that the Rebel-Army muſt have been exceeding formidable.

Year of ROME CCCCXI. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, Dictator.

Zonaras, B. 7. c. 25.

THUS the Indulgence of the *Fathers*, and of the *Comitia*, re-eſtabliſhed Tranquillity, in *Rome*; but the Credit of the *Romans* was a little leſſened among the neighbouring Nations. They began to be leſs afraid of a Republick, which could no otherwiſe reduce her own Troops to Order, and appeaſe them, than by giving them Impunity; and which, had likewiſe made the formidable Nation of the *Samnites*, its Enemy. The *Latins* had for ſome time ſhewn leſs Affection for the *Romans*, than formerly; and were wavering in their Alliance. And ſoon after, they openly declared againſt *Rome*; but not till the *Privernates*, a *Volſcian* Nation, had committed the firſt Hoſtilities. The latter entered with an Army into the Territory of *Norba*, and *Setia*, two Cities bordering upon their Frontiers, in which the Republick had planted *Colonies*.

Liv. B. 7. c. 42.

§. VIII. THIS was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when *C. Plautius Hypſæus*, and [24] *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, were choſen *Conſuls*; the former, the ſecond; the latter, the firſt time. They were entered upon their Office, when the *Setini* and *Norbani* ſent Deputies to *Rome*, to inform the Senate of the Revolt of the *Privernates*, and the Devaſtations theſe Allies committed, in their Lands. At the ſame time, a Report was ſpread, that the *Volſci*, excited and conducted by the *Antiates*, had aſſembled their Troops, in order to make war upon the *Romans*; and had poſted themſelves in the Neighbourhood of *Satricum*. But nevertheleſs, the *Romans* reſolved to carry on the Reduction of the *Samnites*; and therefore found it neceſſary to raiſe two Armies. The *Conſuls* choſe their Provinces by Lot; and *Plautius* had the Command of the *Legions*, which were to act againſt the *Volſci*; whilſt *Æmilius* went to ſubdue the *Samnites*. *Plautius* took the Field firſt, and began with attacking the *Privernates*. It was no difficult matter to overcome them; one Battel was ſufficient to rout ſo weak an Enemy. The City of *Privernum* was taken by the victorious [25] General, who reſtored it to the Inhabitants, after

Year of ROME CCCCXII. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, Conſuls.

[24] The *Conſular Faſti* give *Lucius Æmilius* not only the Surname of *Mamercinus*, but alſo that of *Privernas*: perhaps, becauſe his Family came originally from this City; or becauſe, he triumphed over the *Privernates*, in his ſecond *Conſulſhip*, in the Year 424. The *Greek Tables* give the *Conſuls* for this Year, no other Surnames, but thoſe of *Venox*, and *Mamercinus*. But it is nevertheleſs certain, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, that *Plautius* had not the Surname of *Venox* given him, till ſeveral Years after this. We muſt not confound *Caius Plautius*, who was *Conſul* in this Year 412, with another *Plautius Proculus*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 395, and triumphed over the *Hernici*. The *Plautius* here ſpoken of, was ſurnamed *Hypſæus*. Indeed *Livy*, and other Authors, don't give him this Surname. But ſince both Hiſtory and Medals agree in it, this is a manifeſt Proof, that the *Conſul* for this Year 412, was the ſame *Caius Plautius Hypſæus*, who had been already advanced to this high Station, in the Year 406. We need no other Proof of it than this. *Livy* tells us, *B.* 7. that *Privernum* was taken by *Caius Plautius*. Now the Perſon here ſpoken of, was called only *Hypſæus*, by his Poſterity, in the Medals they ſtruck to perpetuate the Memory of this Conqueſt. *Fulvius Urſinus* indeed, and *Monſieur Patin* after him, think we are to interpret theſe Medals of one *Plautius*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 436, and who ſignalized his *Conſulſhip*, by the taking of this ſame City, which had then ſhaken off the *Roman* Yoke. But the *Faſti Capitolini* give the latter no other Surname, but that of *Decianus*. Whereas, in the Inſcriptions on the Medals we ſpeak of, the Conqueror is called HYPSÆUS, and not *Decianus*. And it is therefore more natural to ſay, that the Coiner deſigned to ſignify the Conqueſt of *Privernum*, by *Caius Plautius*, in the Beginning of this Year 412.

[25] The Medal above, without doubt repreſents

Year of ROME CCCCXII. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, Conſuls.

after he had placed a ſtrong *Roman* Garriſon in it. But for the Subſiſtence of this Garriſon, the *Conſul* took away two thirds of the Eſtates of the Inhabitants, and gave them to the *Romans*. This done, *Plautius* immediately marched to puniſh the Inſolence of the *Antiates*; and no ſooner was in ſight of them, but he gave them Battel. It was very bloody on both Sides, and would have been more ſo, if a ſudden Storm had not parted the two Armies, before either of them gave way.

HOWEVER, this Action, in which neither Side could boaſt of any Advantage, only enraged the *Romans*. Their Love of Victory had made them forget the Fatigues of the Day before; and they got ready, to renew the Fight, early the next Morning. But the *Volſci* did not think themſelves in a Condition to hazard a ſecond Battel. They reckoned up the Number of the Men they had loſt in the firſt, and found it ſo great, that it abated their Courage. They decamped in the Night following the firſt Action, with as much Precipitation as if they had been defeated; and fled to their own City of *Antium* for Refuge. Their Retreat had all the Appearance of a precipitate Flight. The *Volſci* left all their Wounded to the Mercy of the *Romans*; and the Conqueror found a vaſt Number of Arms and Bucklers in the deſerted Camp, and on the Field of Battel; tho' he received no Advantage by it. The pious *Conſul* dedicated all this Spoil to the Goddeſs [26] *Lua*; that is, as I ſuppoſe, to *Cybele* the Wife of *Saturn*. She was called *Lua*, becauſe as Goddeſs of the Earth, *Expiations* were due to her, on account of the Blood which had ſtained it. After therefore *Plautius* had burned what theſe Fugitives had left, in Honour to the Goddeſs, he penetrated into the Country of the *Antiates*; plundered it; and laid it waſte, quite to the Sea-ſhore.

Aul. Gel. B. 13. c. 21.

§. IX. ON the other hand, *Æmilius* had, in the mean time, ſpread Terror in the Provinces of the *Samnites*. Their Territory was called [27] *Ager Sabellus*, becauſe they were originally *Sabines*: and theſe People, who were ſo fierce formerly, were now ſo terrified, that they appeared no more in the Field. They were ſo weakned with the Overthrows *Valerius* and *Cornelius* had given them, that they ſuffer



the Triumph, the Honour of which *Caius Plautius Hypſæus* deſerved, by the Reduction of *Privernum*. *Livy*, and the *Faſti Capitolini* indeed, ſay nothing of it. But their Silence is no deciſive Proof. It is well known, that the *Latin* Hiſtorian is not very exact in mentioning all Events, and the Circumſtances that attended them. And no Body is ignorant, that the *Capitoline Marbles* have ſuffered by Time. We find no Mention made in them of ſeveral Facts, which we are therefore forced to ſearch for elſewhere. But what Time has ſpared in them, makes us regret what is wanting. The Inſcription of the Medal is this. CYPSÆUS CONSUL PRIVERNUM CEPIT. *i. e. The Conſul Cypſæus took Privernum.*

26 Thus the *Romans* put the Stamp of Superſtition on all their Actions. Hence the infinite Number of Divinities which they made at Pleaſure, upon every Occaſion. It was then cuſtomary for the Pagans to purify themſelves, after a Battel, from the Pollutions they thought they had contracted, by ſhedding human Blood. When *Æneas* returned from a Battel with the *Greeks*, he durſt not touch or take up his *Penates*, or Houſhold-Gods, till he had waſhed himſelf in running Water. Till he had done this, he left the Care of them to his Father *Anchiſes*.

Tu, Genitor, cape ſacra manu, Patrioſque Penates.
Me bello a tanto digreſſum, & cæde recenti
Attrectare nefas, donec me flumine vivo.
Ablueram

Without this, it was not lawful for them to return to their common Buſineſs. And this Opinion made them imagine there was a Goddeſs called *Lua*, who preſided over theſe Expiations and Purifications, and whoſe Name was taken from the Ceremony; *luendo*, i. e. *from purifying*. The Soldiers offered an expiatory Sacrifice to her, by burning the Arms and Spoils taken from the Enemy. This Homage was paid to her, as well as to the Military Divinities, *Mars*, *Vulcan*, and *Pallas*. Some give the Goddeſs *Lua*, the Name of *Laca*, and *Lacia*: either becauſe, ſhe had a particular kind of Worſhip paid her in *Latium*; or becauſe, ſhe paſſed for the Wife of *Saturn*, who fled into that Country. She was worſhiped at *Rome*, under the Title of *Lua Mater*. Which has made the Mythologiſts think her the ſame with *Rhea*, *Ops*, *Cybele*, or *Terra*, who was called *Magna Mater*. According to *Aul. Gellius*, B. 13. c. 21. The Worſhip of *Lua Mater*, was performed with particular Rites, mentioned in the *Pontifical* Books.

27 The Name of *Sabines*, was common to the People of *Sabinia*, and the *Samnites*, who had ſeparated themſelves from them, and afterwards made a diſtinct People. For this Reaſon, the Country of the latter is often called *Ager Sabellus*.

Year of ROME CCCCXII. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, Conſuls.

ſuffered the *Roman* Army to deſtroy and plunder wherever they came, and to burn what they could not carry away, without any Oppoſition. Nay, the Deſolation *Æmilius* ſpread among them, brought them to Reaſon, at leaſt for a time. They ſent an Embaſſy to the *Conſul*, deſiring a Peace; and he referring them to the Senate, when the Ambaſſadors had obtained an Audience of the *Conſcript Fathers*, they deſired two things: Firſt, That they might be received into Favour, by the Republick; and Secondly, That they might have leave to make War with the *Sidicini*.

Liv. B.8. c.1.

WE *became your Allies and Friends*, ſaid the Ambaſſadors to the Senate, *not like the* Campani, *in a time of great Adverſity; but when Proſperity and Diſtance might have kept us independent of you. We were allied to you, before we declared War with the* Sidicini, *our old Enemies, who never entered into any Alliance with you. There never was any manner of Tie between them and the* Romans, *either in time of Peace, or War; in which they differ both from us, who had recourſe to you before we feared you; and from the* Capuani, *who ſought your Friendſhip, when they wanted your Protection. Abandon to us therefore*, Conſcript Fathers, *a Nation, which is no way dependent upon you, and which you have no reaſon to protect. Titus Æmilius*, the *Prætor*, and a Relation of the *Conſul*, who had been ravaging the Territory of the *Samnites*, preſented the Ambaſſadors of *Samnium* to the Senate, in the Abſence of the two *Conſuls*; and he ſeems to have prevailed on the *Fathers*, to grant their Requeſt. At leaſt, the Decree the Senate made, was agreeable to their Deſires. *Samnites*, ſaid the *Fathers* to them; *it was not the Fault of the* Romans, *that your Treaties were not inviolably obſerved. You broke through them yourſelves. And as you now ſeek to renew them, let it be done; we have no Objections to make to it. Your Repentance renders you worthy of our Friendſhip. As for the* Sidicini, *we don't oppoſe your treating them as Enemies. Rome has no Right to command you to make War, and Peace, as ſhe pleaſes.*

THIS was great Moderation in the Republick; nevertheleſs, ſhe rejoiced to ſee her Neighbours ſo reduced, as not to dare to undertake any Enterprizes, without her Conſent. The *Romans* were ſenſible of the Superiority, their firſt Succeſſes gave them over the *Samnites*. And as ſoon as the Ambaſſadors of *Samnium* were returned, the *Conſul* had thoughts of withdrawing his Army from thence. It had been ſtipulated, that the *Samnites* ſhould give the *Roman* Troops a Year's Pay, and furniſh them with Proviſions during the three Months Truce, which had been granted them, to carry on their Negotiations at *Rome*. All which was payed, and a Peace ſettled.

THEN the *Samnites* turned thoſe Arms againſt the *Sidicini*, which they might have made uſe of againſt the *Romans*. They knew the Weakneſs of their new Enemies, and promiſed themſelves a complete Victory over them. And accordingly, they reduced the *Sidicini* to great Extremities; but then, they likewiſe had recourſe to *Rome*, in their Diſtreſs. They ſurrendered themſelves up to the *Romans*, and deſired them to accept the Preſent they made them, of their Lands and Liberty. They, no doubt, took it for granted, that by imitating the Example of the *Campani*, they ſhould, like them, gain the Protection of *Rome*, and deliver themſelves from their Oppreſſors. The Republick would have gained a double Advantage by accepting their Offers. It would have acquired a new Province, and ſecured the Fidelity of the *Campani*, who were the Allies of the *Sidicini*, and had been their firſt Protectors. But the Senate had given their word to the *Samnites*, perhaps a little too raſhly; and therefore refuſed the Donation of the *Sidicini*, as coming too late, and left them to the Fury of their Enemies. Perhaps indeed, the Republick might not think herſelf in a Condition to maintain a cruel War with the *Samnites*, and reduce the *Latins* to their Duty, at the ſame time. Theſe reſtleſs Allies had taken up Arms again, and had entered into an Aſſociation with ſome Clans in their Neighbourhood. The *Campani* themſelves likewiſe, were ſo deſirous of revenging the Indignities done the *Sidicini* by the Senate, that they forgot both the Services the Republick had done them, and their own Engagements with her; and ſiding with the *Latins*, they followed their Example, even in Rebellion.

THE *Latins* formed a great Army out of the united *Campani*, *Aurunci*, and *Sidicini*; and placed one of their own Countrymen, at the Head of it. But they

Year of ROME CCCCXII.

C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, Conſuls.

did not firſt enter the *Roman* Territory; they began with committing Hoſtilities in the Country of the *Samnites*. They did not indeed make any great Progreſs there. The *Samnites* would not hazard a general Battel. So that all the Advantages the *Latins* and their Confederates reaped from the Campaign, were only thoſe, of having the better in ſome little Skirmiſhes, and of ravaging the Lands of their Enemies. And at laſt, this great Body of Troops were tired out with lingring, without effecting any thing conſiderable, and retired from *Samnium*.

IN this ſhort Interval of Peace therefore, the *Samnites* ſent a Deputation to *Rome*, to learn the real Diſpoſitions of the Senate towards them. They had reaſon to ſuſpect them. The *Romans* had not indeed openly declared againſt them; but the *Latins*, who were the Allies, and the *Campani*, who were become the new Subjects of *Rome*, had laid their Country waſte. And in order therefore to clear up ſuch well-grounded Doubts, the *Samnite* Ambaſſadors, when admitted into the Senate, ſpoke thus. *Is it not enough for you*, Romans, *to have put a ſtop to our Victories over the* Sidicini *and* Campani, *unleſs you likewiſe ſuffer us to be oppreſſed by theſe cowardly Nations? If the* Latins *and* Campani *are ſubject to your Dominion, why don't you forbid them moleſting us in an hoſtile manner? If they are Rebels, and make war upon us, contrary to your Orders, why don't you puniſh them for their Inſolence?* And theſe Interrogations of the Ambaſſadors embarraſſed the Senate. Not that they approved of the Hoſtilities of the *Latins*, againſt the *Samnites*: but they were afraid to own, that *Rome* was no longer Miſtreſs of the *Latins*, and that they had ſhaken off the Yoke of the Republick. And therefore they returned an ambiguous Anſwer. It is probable, that the *Conſul Plautius*, who was then returned to *Rome*, addreſſed himſelf to the Ambaſſadors, in the Name of the Senate: and his Reply was this. *Two Nations have made war upon you, the* Campani, *and the* Latins. *The former ſurrendered themſelves up implicitly into our Hands, and are our Subjects. So that, whether they will or no, we will force them not to moleſt you. But as for the* Latins, *our Treaty of Alliance with them, does not oblige them to enter into no War without our Conſent; and therefore we can promiſe nothing in relation to them.*

THIS Anſwer therefore left the *Samnites* in a melancholy Uncertainty. They did not know what to think of the Proceedings of the Republick. Could *Rome* have any other View in not making War with them herſelf, than only to amuſe them; ſince ſhe ſtirred up her Allies againſt them? They therefore delayed forming any ſettled Judgment about it, till *Rome* ſhould diſcover her Intentions by her Actions. On the other hand, the *Conſul*'s Anſwer ſeemed too imperious to the *Campani*; and did not ſatisfy the *Latins*, who were ſtrongly inclined to revolt. So that the only Effects the Eaſineſs of the *Romans* produced, were to heighten the Animoſities of the one, and increaſe the Pride of the other; they now reſolved, not to make War any longer on the *Samnites*, but on the *Romans* themſelves. Nevertheleſs, that the Republick might not ſuſpect their Deſign, they in appearance made Preparations only againſt the *Samnites*. The Diets of their Cantons were frequently aſſembled, and nothing ſpoken in publick, but of raiſing Levies againſt the *Samnites*; tho' their Chiefs were privately conſpiring againſt *Rome*. The *Campani* themſelves entered into theſe Plots againſt their Deliverers. Nevertheleſs, ſeveral of the moſt ſenſible of them were of opinion, That they ought to begin with exterminating the *Samnites*, and eaſing themſelves of this Burden, before they attacked the *Romans*; and That after this, they would find it more eaſy to fall upon *Rome*, and ſurprize her.

HOWEVER, theſe Councils could not be kept ſo private, but that ſome ſecret Friends to the Republick informed her of the Plot which was forming againſt her: And therefore the Senate thought it proper to prevent the Enemy, and to bring on the Election of *Conſuls* for the enſuing Year, before the uſual time; becauſe, in all probability, this War would be a long one. This was a wiſe Deſign; but the Superſtition of the *Romans* ſuſpended the Execution of it. The Senate, and People, or rather the *Pontifices* and *Augurs*, declared, That this would prove a fatal Step to the Republick; and That the *Conſuls* who were depoſed before their time, could not lawfully preſide in the *Comitia*, for a new Election. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* removed this religious Scruple, as well as they could. The Republick was reduced to an *Interregnum*, and two Preſidents were named, to govern

it ſucceſſively; each taking his turn to rule five Days at a time. *Valerius Corvus* was one, and *M. Fabius* the other. When the latter was in Office, the People were aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*; and it being of importance to chuſe two great Men, to ſit at the Helm, in ſo tempeſtuous a Seaſon, the *Centuries* pitched upon the famous *Manlius Torquatus*, and the illuſtrious *Decius Mus*, who had ſaved a *Roman* Army three Years before, in the narrow Paſſes of Mount *Gaurus*. The former was a *Patrician*, the latter only a *Plebeian* by Deſcent; and the Republick hoped for all poſſible Succeſs, and promiſed herſelf nothing but a continued Series of Proſperity, in their Adminiſtration.

Year of ROME CCCCXII. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, Conſuls.

§. X. THIS was the third time [28] *Torquatus* had obtained the *Conſulſhip*; ſo that Experience in Government had perfected his natural Diſpoſitions for Heroiſm. Nothing was laid to his Charge, but an Exceſs of Severity to his Troops, and an inflexible Rigour in requiring Service. But *Decius Mus* had more Humanity; and both Collegues were equally famous for great Piety towards the Gods, and a tender Love for their Country. The former ſeemed better qualified to conduct a great Army; the latter more proper to command a flying Camp. In ſhort, the one was a great General, the other a brave Officer. And no *Conſulſhip* for a great while had been more fruitful in great Events, than this. [29] *Alexander* King of the *Epirots*, and Brother to *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander the Great*, came into *Italy*, at this time. The [30] *Tarentini* had invited him hither, to aſſiſt them againſt the [31] *Brutii*: and the King of *Epirus* cloſed with this Propoſal, with as much readineſs,

Year of ROME CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

Juſtin. B. 12. c. 2. Liv. B. 8. c. 3.

28 This was the third *Conſulſhip* of *Titus Manlius*, ſurnamed *Imperioſus*, and *Torquatus*; tho' ſeveral Annaliſts have neglected to tell us ſo. In ſeveral Editions of *Florus* and *Oroſius*, *Decius*'s Surname is not *Mus*, but *Muræna*; which is probably the Miſtake of the Copyiſts.

29 *Alexander* was the eighteenth King of *Epirus*, from *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*. His Father was *Neoptolemus*, who had been forced to divide the Kingdom with his Brother *Arybbas*. *Olympias*, his eldeſt Siſter, was the Wife of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*. *Cleopatra*, who was born of that Marriage, married the King of *Epirus* his Uncle. The latter, with the Aſſiſtance of his Brother-in-law, had deprived *Arybbas* of that Part of the Kingdom which he poſſeſſed by Force. *Archedymas*, King of *Lacedæmon*, having been killed as he was fighting for the *Tarentini*, againſt the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, the former called *Alexander* to their Aſſiſtance. He therefore went into *Italy*, a Year or two, after *Alexander the Great* began his Reign in *Macedon*. This Expedition was at firſt very ſucceſsful. The People of *Italia* accepted the Peace which was offered them. After this, he ſubdued the Cities of *Lucania*, and of the *Brutii*. He made an Alliance with the *Metapontini*, and *Romans*, but was at laſt killed near the River *Acheron*; agreably to the Prediction of an Oracle of *Delphos*, about the 7th Year of the Reign of his Nephew *Alexander the Great*. He thought to have evaded the Completion of the Oracle, by leaving *Epirus*, where there was a River of the ſame Name. For this Reaſon, he engaged in a foreign War, without conſidering, that he was, at the ſame time, endeavouring to fulfil the Prediction of the God. In ſhort, he in fact met with his Fate on the Banks of this formidable River, which he deſigned to avoid. *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, and *Strabo*, all ſpeak of this King of *Epirus*.

30 *Tarentum*, called by the *Greeks* Τάρας, was formerly the Capital of the ancient *Meſſapia*, which is now a Part of the Province of *Otranto*, South of the *Apennines*. If we may believe *Servius*, *Taras* the Son of *Neptune*, was the firſt Founder of it. Then the *Partheniates*, originally of *Lacedæmon*, formed a Colony, which paſſed the Sea, and landed on the Southern Coaſts of *Italy*, under the Conduct of *Phalanthus*. He enlarged *Tarentum*, but continued to it its old Name, which ſome ſay it had from *Taras*, the Son of *Hercules*, its Founder. *Virgil* alludes to this Tradition, in this Line, *Æneid* 3.

Hinc ſinus Herculei ſi vera eſt fama Tarenti.

And *Horace*, *B.* 2. *Ode* 6.

——*Et regnata petam Laconi rura Phalanto:*

Solinus agrees with this, when he aſcribes the founding of *Tarentum* to the *Heraclidæ*. Others derive the Name of this City, from the Word *Tare*, which *Philanthus* found inſcribed on an ancient Sepulchre in this Neighbourhood. *Strabo* tells us, that before *Phalanthus* arrived, this City was inhabited by *Cretans*. But however that be, (for we don't pretend to vouch for the fabulous Stories of ancient Authors, about *Tarentum*,) it is certain, it was a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*. For this Reaſon, *Ovid* and *Horace* call it *Lacedæmonium Tarentum*. *Virgil* calls its Territory *Oebalia*, which was alſo the Name of the Territory of *Lacedæmon*. But I omit ſaying any thing of the Name of *Satyrion*, or *Saturium*, which ſome Authors give it, either on account of the Fruitfulneſs of its Fields, or becauſe *Tarentus*, the Grandſon of *Minos* King of *Crete*, by his Mother *Saturia*, was ſaved from Shipwreck, and carried by Dolphins to the Shore of the Gulph of *Tarentum*. They who love to amuſe themſelves with theſe trifling Tales, may have Recourſe to *Acron*'s Commentary on theſe Lines of *Horace*, *B.* 1. *Sat.* 6.

Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
Me Satureiano vectari rura Caballo,
Sed quod eram, narro.

Tarentum was formerly famous for its Riches, and its advantagious Situation, which facilitated its Commerce with *Iſtria*, *Illyricum*, *Epirus*, *Achaia*, *Africa*, and *Sicily*. *Strabo*, *B.* 6. boaſts of the Largeneſs and Convenience of its Port. And this old Geographer ſpeaks, in the ſame Place, of ſeveral fine Monuments which adorned this City, and among the reſt, of a famous *Coloſſus* of *Jupiter*, as big as that at *Rhodes*. *Tarentum* grew ſo powerful as to become formidable to its Neighbours; but we ſhall hereafter ſee its Inhabitants enervated with Effeminacy, and all Sorts of Debaucheries, and ſink under the *Roman* Arms.

31 The Term *Brutii*, ſignified, in the Language of the *Samnites*, according to *Strabo*, *B.* 7. a Gang of Rebels and Deſetters. Such, ſays he, were the People we are here ſpeaking of, who ſhook off the Yoke of the *Lucani*, whoſe Herds they kept. With

Year of ROME CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

readineſs, as if he had agreed with his Nephew *Alexander of Macedon*, to go and conquer the Weſt, whilſt the latter was undertaking the Conqueſt of the Eaſt. The King of *Epirus* hoped to have [32] found as great an Harveſt of *Glory*, in *Sicily*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, as his Nephew would reap in *Perſia*, and the reſt of *Aſia*. But this Monarch was not ſo ſucceſsful in his Schemes, as the King of *Macedon*. He indeed made ſome Conqueſts over the [33] *Lucani*, and *Brutii*, when he firſt came into *Italy*; but he found it neceſſary to gain the Friendſhip of the moſt formidable Nations in *Italy*. The *Romans*, among others, entered into an Alliance with him. It was not their Intereſt to declare for the *Brutii*, and oppoſe the King of *Epirus*. Beſides, it was of infinitely more importance to them, to ſuppreſs the Revolt of the *Latins*, than to drive the *Greeks* back from *Italy*.

THE two *Conſuls* therefore made it their whole Buſineſs, either to prevent the Revolt of the Allies, or to puniſh it, if they could not prevent it. The firſt Step they took, was, to cite ten of the chief Leaders of the *Latins*, to *Rome*, to give an account of the Preparations they were making, for the War with the *Samnites*. *Rome* pretended not to know, that the main Deſign of the Confederates was to take Arms againſt her. The *Latins* had then choſen themſelves two *Prætors*, i. e. two Preſidents in their Diets, who were likewiſe to be the Managers of the War, they were going to undertake, Their Names were *L. Annius*, and *L. Numicius*; and it is probable, they were both originally *Latins*, tho' Natives of two *Roman Colonies*. The one was an Inhabitant of *Setia*, the other of *Circæum*. The former ſeems to have been more proper for the Cabinet, the latter, for the Field. Theſe two Rebels had already ſtirred up the Cities of *Segnia* and *Velitræ*, againſt the Republick, and many other *Roman Colonies*. They likewiſe endeavoured to prevail on the *Volſci* to take up Arms; but don't ſeem to have ſucceeded in that Attempt. The two *Latin Prætors* therefore were both cited by Name, to appear before the Senate of *Rome*. The Confederates were not ignorant, what Interrogatories would be put to the *Latin* Envoys: and for that reaſon, their *Prætors* aſſembled a general Diet, to which Deputies were ſent from all the Nations in Confederacy with them. And the *Prætors* declared to the Diet, that they had been ſummoned to appear at *Rome*; pointed out the Heads upon which they preſumed their Examination would turn; and asked what Anſwer they ſhould make to the Senate. The Members of the Diet were divided in their Opinions; and after *Annius* had declared his, he reſumed the Diſcourſe. and ſpoke thus.

Liv. B. 8. c. 4. FOR *my part, I think we ought to come to ſome Determination, to act either for, or againſt, the* Romans; *rather than to deliberate about the Anſwer we are to make them. We ſhall eaſily find Words to expreſs our Meaning, when we have once reſolved either to bear the Yoke, or ſhake it off. If we pay a regard to their Friendſhip, and betray the* Sidicini, *we muſt not only receive Law from the* Romans, *but from the* Samnites *too. We muſt then anſwer the* Romans, *that they ſhall be obeyed, as ſoon as they ſignify their Pleaſure to us; and that we will take up, or lay down our Arms, as they think proper. If, on the contrary, the Love of Liberty gains the Aſcendant in our Breaſts, we muſt reaſon thus. The Alliance we entered into with the* Romans, *is truly ſocial; and all Society implies an Equality of Privileges in the Perſons who compoſe it. We are indeed become the Kinſmen*

the Aſſiſtance of *Dion*, who was at War with *Dionyſius the Tyrant*, they made themſelves Maſters of this little Province in *Italy*; which is bounded, to the North, by the Rivers *Laus*, and *Sybaris*, now called by the Natives, the *Laino*, and the *Cochile*; to the Eaſt and South, by the *Sicilian* Sea; and to the Weſt, by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. That is, the *Brutii* inhabited all *The Lower Calabria*, and a ſmall Part of *The Upper*. *Ennius*, as quoted by *Feſtus*, calls theſe People *Bilingues*, becauſe they ſpoke *both the Languages* of the *Oſci*, and *Greeks*.

32 Experience ſoon undeceived *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and all his Hopes vaniſhed, as ſoon as he came to try his Strength with the Southern Nations of *Italy*. And therefore he uſed to ſay, according to *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 17. *c.* 21. that the Country he propoſed to conquer was ἀνθρωπόγυων; i. e. *Inhabited by Men*, whereas the Provinces his Nephew *Alexander the Great* went to ſubdue, were γυναικωνύγυες, i. e. *inhabited by Women only*. It was thus he ſtiled the *Aſiatick* Nations, which the *Macedonians* had ſubdued.

33 The *Lucani* were, according to *Strabo*, *B.* originally *Samnites*, who were themſelves a Brand of the *Sabines*. They ſeparated from their Countrymen, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 3. under the Command of one *Lucius*, their Leader, and moved Southward. They invaded the Country which is bounded by the River *Silarus*, or the *Silaro*, towards the North by the *Vaſento*, formerly *Caſuentum*, towards the *Piſcentini*; by the *Bradano*, towards *Apulia*; by the Rivers *Laino* and *Cochile*, to the South; by the Gulph of *Tarentum*, to the Eaſt; and by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, to the Weſt. The *Lucani* firſt drove the *Oenotrii* out of this Country, and then made themſelves Maſters of it. It is at preſent a Part of *The Hither Principality*, and *Upper Calabria*.

Year of ROME CCCCXIII.

MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Consuls.

and Relations of the Romans. *We formerly did them the Honour to intermarry with them; and it is confessed, we now glory in their granting us the same Alliances. But then, if the Troops we furnish their Armies with, are as* 34 *numerous as their* Legions; *if their* Consuls *cannot carry on their Wars without our Soldiers, why are not we upon an equal Foot with them, in all other things? Why don't we chuse one of the* Consuls *to command their Armies? Since half their Troops come from us, why don't we share the Command of those Troops with them? And tho' we should acknowledge* Rome *to be the Head of* Latium, *yet this Claim ought not to seem exorbitant; because, it was by our Sufferance, that she gained the Ascendant over us. If ever we had a favourable Opportunity of demanding an equal Share of Power with her, and recovering our Liberty, this is the time; when both our own Valour, and the Protection of the Gods, prompt us to it. We have already tried the Patience of the* Romans, *by refusing to assist them with our Troops, as usual. Who knows how much they are provoked, at being deprived of a Possession they have enjoyed* 35 *above two hundred Years? And yet they have been forced to dissemble their Resentments at this Refusal. That imperious* Rome, *which formerly would not suffer us to defend our own Frontiers, has borne our making War with the* Peligni, *in our own Names, with Patience. She has seen us join with the* Vidicini, *take the* Campani *under our Protection, and declare War with the* Samnites *her Allies, without stirring? Whence proceeds all this Moderation? It is plain the proud Republick is afraid of us. She fears our Forces, and distrusts her own. I am very credibly informed, she has declared to the* Samnites, *that the* Latins *were no longer her Subjects. She seems therefore to have given up the Dominion she had usurped over* Latium. *Reassume then,* Latins, *reassume the Liberty she tacitly grants you. This is the Answer you ought to give the* Romans. *And if no one else among you, has Courage enough to carry them this Message, I will charge myself with it. I promise you, that when I come to* Rome, *I will not only declare to the Republick, in the Presence of the Senate and People of* Rome, *but even in the Sight of* Jupiter Capitolinus *himself; That if she will have us to continue her Allies, she must consent to have one of her* Consuls *chosen from among us, and to fill her Senate with half* Latins, *and half* Romans.

ANNIUS's Authority and Promises made an Impression on the Assembly: and they gave a shout by way of Applause, which passed for an unanimous Consent. He was commissioned to speak, and act, as he thought proper, for the Glory and Interests of the *Latin* Nation. And accordingly, he took a Journey to *Rome*, attended with nine other Deputies, of whom he was the chief. The *Roman* Senate had then no fixed Place of Assembly. They sometimes sat in one [36] Temple, sometimes in another, as Occurrences, and the Nature of Affairs, required. They gave Audience to the Deputies from *Latium*, in the *Capitol*, i. e. the most august place in *Rome*. *T. Manlius* spoke first, as *Consul*; and it is probable, there was more Dignity than Eloquence in his Discourse. It may be remembered, that he was born with an Impediment in his Speech, which was the reason his Father confined him to the Country, in his Youth. He forbad the *Latins* making War with the *Samnites*, in the Name of all the *Conscript Fathers*. Then *Annius* assumed the Discourse, and replied, not with the Confidence of an Ambassador, whom the Laws of Nations protect from Insults, but with all the Pride of a Conqueror, who had just made himself Master of the *Capitol*.

MANLIUS, says he, *and you*, Roman *Senators, should have chosen another one, to give us Orders in this absolute manner. The* Latins *are now at the highest*

4 The Cities in Alliance with the *Romans* seem to have been obliged, at this time, to furnish the Republick with as many Foot-Soldiers as there were in the *Legions*. As for the Horse, we have already observed, that they were obliged to furnish twice as many as the *Romans* had in their Armies.

5 It is impossible to make out this 200 Years, which *Livy* here reckons between this time, and the Confederacy between the *Romans* and *Latins*, in the 30 Years of the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. This Prince ascended the Throne about the Year 219. so that from that time to this, was about 194 Years. There is therefore a Mistake in the Historian's Calculation: but it will not be thought a great one, if we consider it as coming from *Annius*, whom *Livy* makes speak more like an Orator, than a Chronologist.

36 All the Places where the Senators assembled, must necessarily have been consecrated by the *Augurs*; otherwise, their Decrees would not have had the Force of Laws. For this Reason, *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Milo*, calls the Place appointed for the assembling of the *Conscript Fathers*, *Templum Sanctitatis, amplitudinis, Mentis, Consilii Publici*; that is, *The Temple of Holiness, Majesty and Counsel*.

Year of ROME CCCCXIII.
MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Consuls.
Liv. B.8. c.5.

Pitch of their Glory. Thanks to the Gods, our Arms are successful, our Troops numerous, and our Allies formidable. The Sidicini, *the* Campani, *and many of your* Colonies, *have declared for us. Your Government is become burdensome to them. Do we then expect to make you absolutely renounce the Power, which you have usurped over us? No; we will allow something to your Pretensions, on account of our Relation to you, and the many Alliances we have made with* Rome. *And we will still observe the ancient Treaties, provided you will establish them upon equal Terms; as the Gods have made our Strength equal to yours. Consent, That one of your* Consuls *shall be chosen out of the* Romans, *and the other, out of the* Latins. *Order your Senate-House to be filled with half* Romans, *and half* Latins; *and then we shall make but one People, and one Republick.* Rome *shall still continue to be the Seat of this formidable Empire; and since it is necessary that one of the two Parties should give name to these united Nations, we will all call ourselves* Romans.

MANLIUS thought the Insolence of *Annius* intolerable: and the *Roman* had as much Spirit and Fire as the *Latin.* He was heard to say, *That if the Senators were mad enough to receive Law from a Citizen of* Setia, *he would arm himself; return to the Senate Sword in Hand; and kill every* Latin, *he found in it.* And then turning to the Statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus, O thou King of the Gods,* said he, *and you Divinities, who are the Guardians of Justice and Equity, can you hear* Annius's *Words, without Indignation! Shall the tutelary God of* Rome *be so far brought into Captivity to another Nation, as to suffer a* Latin Consul, *and* Latin *Senators, to sit in his Temple? Is this the Effect of the Treaties, which King* Tullus *formerly made with the* Albans, *and which* Tarquin *afterwards renewed with your Ancestors? Have you,* Latins, *really forgot your Defeat near the Lake* Regillus, *and the Alliance we then forced you to accept of, with* Rome? *You are equally proud, and ungrateful; you neither remember your own Misfortunes, nor our Favours.*

To these Reproaches, and the Invocation of the Gods, whom *Manlius* often called upon, to bear witness to the Unfaithfulness of the *Latins,* it is said that *Annius* made no Reply, but with Tears of Rage, both against the *Romans,* and their Gods. As he was transported with great Wrath, and affrighted at the Menaces of the *Consul,* he withdrew out of the Temple of *Jupiter,* with Precipitation. He went out of the Porch with the Air of one raving, and in his Hurry and Confusion, fell from the top of the Steps of the Temple, and struck his Head with great Force against the lowest Step. Some Historians say, he lay senseless; and others go so far as to say that he died of his Fall, and that his Death was followed by a great Clap of Thunder, and a violent Storm. But the most superstitious of the *Roman* Writers, do themselves look on this last Circumstance to be fabulous. *Liv. B.8. c.6.* In all probability, it was invented on purpose, to give Men the greater Horror of the Violation of Promises confirmed by Oaths and Sacrifices.

WHILST *Annius* was lying upon the Ground, the *Consul Manlius* went out of the Temple, to dismiss the *Latin* Ambassadors: and at this Sight, he burst out loudly into the following Exclamation, that he was heard both by the Senate and People. *Happy Omen for the War we are going to begin! Can we any longer doubt, whether there be a God that governs the World, or whether we have had reason to dedicate this Temple to* Jupiter? *Why do we delay taking up Arms this Moment, after so happy an Augury, so plain a Declaration of the Will of the Gods? I will lay the* Latin *Troops as low, as you here see one of their Commanders, even under my Feet.* Which Words inspired all who heard him, with great Ardor for fighting. The People were so enraged against the *Latins,* that all the Power of the Magistrates was little enough, to prevent their offering Violence to the Ambassadors. But at length they were conducted safe out of the City, and the Laws of Nations religiously observed. After this, the Senate instantly decreed a War with the *Latins*; and the [37] People in *Comitia* ratified and confirmed it, by their Suffrages. Then the *Consuls* ordered Levies to be made, and formed two Armies

37 The important Affairs of the Republick were at this time first brought before the Senate, and then before the Tribunal of the People, who determined them without Appeal.

consisting

consisting entirely of *Romans*; because, they were now going to engage with their own Allies, and their usual Companions in Victory.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Consuls.

§. XI. The *Consuls* marched through the Territories of the [38] *Marsi*, entered the Country of the *Peligni* that Way, and came and encamped in *Campania*, at the Foot of Mount [39] *Vesuvius*. They joined their Armies, and encamped together in the same Place. The Confederate Troops were already encamped, near the *Romans*; and both Parties had thoughts of coming to a Battel: and all are said to have been at rest, and the two *Consuls*, *Decius* and *Manlius*, both sleeping in their own Tents, the Night before the Engagement, when they both dreamt the same Dream. There appeared to them a Man of a gigantick Stature, and majestick Look, and spoke these Words to each of them. *It is decreed, that the General of one Army, and the other Army itself* [40], *shall be devoted to the* Dii Manes. *That Army therefore, whose General* [41] *shall sacrifice himself to the Gods of Hell, and the Goddess* Terra, *shall have a certain Victory.* Liv. B. 8. c. 6.

WHEN it was Day, the two *Consuls* communicated their Dreams to each other, and the Conformity between them, convinced them, that it was not a nocturnal Illusion. Or perhaps, *Manlius* and *Decius* may have had Courage enough to feign an Apparition, which must cost one or t'other of them his Life, purely to animate the Courage of their Soldiers. The Magnanimity of the *Romans* was doubtless great enough, to enter into such a Scheme. But be it as it will, the *Consuls* ordered expiatory Sacrifices, to avert the Anger of the Gods; and it is pretended, That the *Aruspices* made such Discoveries, in the Entrails of the Victims, as confirmed the General's Dreams; and That the *Consuls* disclosed their Dreams to no body, till after the Diviners had, in effect, said the same thing, as the Apparition. But immediately after the Ceremony, the *Consuls* called a Council of War, and divulged their Dream, with the Answer of the *Aruspices*. They likewise declared, That *Manlius* would command the Right Wing, and *Decius* the Left, in the ensuing Battel; and agreed, That He, whose Troops first gave way, should devote himself, to save his Country, and rush into the midst of his Enemies, in expectation of certain Death. This was a necessary Precaution; it was very proper to forewarn the Army of the designed Death of one of the Generals, lest it should have discouraged them in the Heat of the Battel.

IN the same Council of War, consisting of the *Consuls*, Lieutenant Generals, and *Legionary Tribunes*, it was likewise determined, that it was absolutely necessary, That the old Discipline should be strictly observed in the present War; and every Officer and Soldier be forbidden to fight the Enemy, without express Orders, or out of his Rank, upon pain of Death. This was done, because the Enemy, they were now to engage with, spoke the same Language as the *Romans*; had always been mixed with them in former Wars; observed the same Way of fighting;

38 According to *Gellianus*, an old Author, whom *Pliny the Naturalist* quotes, *B.* 3. *c.* 12. the *Marsi* came originally from *Lydia*. A Company of *Lydians*, says he, came into this Country, under the Command of *Marsyas* their Leader. They built, in this Province, the City of *Archippe*, which was swallowed up by the Lake *Fucinus*, made all on a sudden, in the same Place where the City stood. *Gellianus Auctor est Lacu Fucino haustum Marsorum oppidum Archippen, conditum a Marsya duce Lydorum.* And *Solinus*, the Abridger of *Pliny*, says the same thing, *c.* 8. *Quis ignorat conditam Archippen a Marsya rege Lydorum, quod oppidum hiatu terræ haustum dissolutum est in Lacum Fucinum. Virgil, Æneid, B.* 7. speaks of one *Archippus*, who governed the Nation of the *Marsi*. But *Silius* pretends they were originally *Phrygians*. And we think the Fables some old Writers have told about these People, whom they derive from a Son of *Circe*, unworthy of a Place in this History. We rather incline to believe, with some others, that the *Marsi* were formerly a Part of the *Sabines*. *Festus* is of this Opinion, when he gives us to understand that they spoke the same Language. At least, he says, the Name of the *Hernici* was borrowed from the Rocks they inhabited: and *Servius* and *Festus* agree, that *Herna* signified the same thing in the Language of the *Marsi* and *Sabines*, as *Saxa* does in *Latin*. Their first Leader is said to have been one *Marrus*, who founded *Marrubium*, their Capital. Their Country is at present a Part of *The Further Abruzzo*, near the Lake *Celano*, formerly called the Lake *Fucinus*.

39 It is needless to say any thing here of Mount *Vesuvio*, in *Campania*, at a little Distance from *Naples*. This Mountain is universally known; both ancient and modern Authors have in all Ages given Accounts of the Torrents of Fire it has vomited out, and the Desolation it has produced, in all the Country round about it.

40 By the *Dii Manes*, the Ancients meant the Gods of Hell. They were thought the Authors of all the Calamities which sometimes laid the Republick desolate. And therefore nothing was wanting to appease these mischievous Divinities. But they likewise comprehended the Souls of the deceased, under the general Name of the Gods *Manes*. The usual Inscription upon Tombs was this. DII MANIBUS ..... DIIS INFERIS MANIBUS.

41 The chief Motive to this Consecration, or devoting themselves to Death, was, the appeasing the Wrath of the Gods, especially the infernal Powers, who were thought such revengeful Deities, as could not be appeased by [human] Sacrifices.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

and poſted their Officers, and drew up their Army, in the ſame manner. It was therefore of great Conſequence, to obſerve a ſtrict Diſcipline; to avoid Frauds and Tricks; and to preſerve the *Romans*, from falling into the Snares, the *Latins* might lay for them; and being ſurprized by them. But the unfortunate *Manlius* did not then foreſee, that the Orders they were going to make, would prove fatal to his Family, and cauſe the Death of his Son.

Zonaras, B. 7. c. 26.

YOUNG *Manlius* marched out of the *Roman* Camp, at the Head of a Detachment of Horſe, to obſerve the Camp and Countenance of the Enemy. He had no Intention to fight, and inſolently break through the General's Orders. It was merely a Point of Honour that made him diſobey them; and his Crime did not ſo much proceed from a Spirit of Diſobedience, as from Valour, and a ſort of Conſtraint. His Squadron advanced ſo near the *Latins*, as to be within reach of their Darts: and the Advanced-Guard of the Enemy, which wholly conſiſted of *Tuſculan* Horſe, happened unfortunately to be within reach of the *Roman* Detachment. It was commanded by one *Geminius Metius*. He was a Man of a great Family, and known Valour, among the *Latins*: And as all the Men of Figure on both Sides, were known to each other, by having long fought together, and lived in the ſame Army; *Metius* ſoon knew the *Conſul*'s Son. Then the two Commanders of the two Squadrons drew near one another; and *Metius*, who was the Aggreſſor, accoſted young *Manlius* thus. *Are not you the* Conſul's *Son? Is not your Name alſo* Torquatus? *Did not your Father gain this Title in a Duel with a* Gaul? *And dares not the Son enter the Liſts with a* Latin, *as the Father did with a Barbarian? If,* Romans, *you are afraid of us, why do you aſſume an Aſcendant over us? Why would you domineer over us? Are theſe all the Forces you intend to ſend againſt us? Do you pretend to ſubdue us with one Squadron of Horſe? Why don't your* Conſuls *come and appear in the Plain? They will appear there in due time,* replied *Manlius, and* Jupiter, *and all the Gods who revenge the Breach of Treaties, with them. You have already experienced the Force of our Arms, near the Lake* Regillus; *and will perhaps again repent of contending with your Conquerors.* At which Words, the fierce *Metius* ſpur'd his Horſe, reſted his Lance, and ſaid, *Let us then, before the general Action, try whether the* Latin *or* Roman *Horſe ſhall be victorious, by a ſingle Combat:* And this provoked the young *Roman*.

HIS Rage, or the Shame of refuſing ſo inſolent a Challenge, made him forget the General's Orders. Beſides, he thought Death inevitable, whether he fought, or not; and therefore the Love of Glory prevailed. When the two Combatants were ready to engage, thoſe about them drew back on either ſide, and left the Field open for the two Champions. They rode full ſpeed at one another; and *Manlius*'s Lance only glanced upon his Adverſary's Helmet, above his Horſe's Head, which skreen'd his Rider. Then the two Combatants wheeled about, to return to the Charge; and upon the ſecond Onſet, *Manlius* ſtruck *Metius*'s Horſe directly between the Ears with his Lance. The Violence of the Blow made the Horſe riſe; and the Suddenneſs of the Shock threw *Metius* to the Ground. He endeavoured to raiſe himſelf with his Buckler and Lance; but *Manlius* gave him ſo violent a Thruſt in the Throat with his Lance, that he drove the Point of it out at his Side, and left him dead upon the Place. The Rules in ſingle Combats, which were ſcarce ever after obſerved, were then in uſe; and the Conqueror was permitted to carry off the Spoils of his conquered Enemy, without Oppoſition. Young *Manlius* loaded himſelf with them, and returned to the Army, full of Glory for his Victory, but uncertain of the Succeſs he ſhould have, with the *Conſuls*. He paſſed triumphantly through the midſt of the Camp, and coming directly to his Father's Tent, accoſted him thus. *I have, Sir, followed your Example. I was challenged, like you, by a proud Enemy; and here I lay his Spoils at your Feet.* But the Father, at theſe Words, turned his Back upon his Son, ordered the Troops to be immediately aſſembled, and in their Preſence, made him this Reply. *As you are both victorious and diſobedient, you both deſerve to be rewarded, and to die. And I am determined you ſhall not fail of either. You ſhall be crown'd as a Conqueror, and puniſhed as a Rebel. What! Son, could you deſpiſe both the Authority of a Father, and of a* Conſul? *Could you break through that Diſcipline, to the ſtrict Obſervance of which,* Rome *has hitherto all along owed her Preſervation? Hard is the*

Liv. B. 8. c. 7.

Year of ROME CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

the Neceſſity you reduce me to, when you force me either to forget that I am a Father, or that I am a Judge. But neither your Grief, nor my own, ſhall prevail over the Fidelity I owe my Country. We ſhall be a melancholy Example to Poſterity; but a wholeſome Precedent for the Roman *Youth! In you, I loſe a Son, endeared to me by the tender Affection of a Father, and that Endearment heightned by your late Glory. What Tortures then muſt rend my Heart! But alas! ſince I muſt either preſerve the Authority of the Government, by a rigorous Act of Juſtice, or weaken it by your Impunity; die as bravely as you have conquered. If you have one Drop of your Father's Blood in your Veins, you will not refuſe to die. It is your great Felicity, to be able to repair that Diſcipline with the Loſs of your Life, which you weakned through an Exceſs of Valour.*

AFTER the *Conſul* had ſaid this, he firſt crowned his Son as a Victor, and then ordered the *Lictors* to tie him to a Stake. This the whole Army thought a barbarous Order. When the Executioner lifted up his Ax, to ſtrike off the young Conqueror's Head, every Man's Blood chilled in his Veins; and if the Army did not immediately revolt upon it, it was not ſo much owing to their Reſpect for their Generals, as their Surprize. Every Man felt the Stroke, as if it had fallen upon his own Head; and when, after this cruel Execution, they recovered themſelves from their Aſtoniſhment, the Silence of the Troops turned into Invectives, and Imprecations. However, the Soldiers comforted themſelves as well as they could, by paying all poſſible regard to young *Manlius*, at his Funeral. They covered him with the Spoils he had taken from his Enemy, and burnt them with him on a Funeral-pile, they raiſed without the Camp. Never was Officer more magnificently interred in an Army; never was Soldier more ſincerely lamented. The Father was the only Man, who ſeemed unmoved at the Loſs of his Son. Whether through Magnanimity, or Pride, or the Love of his Country; he ſhewed the *Romans*, by a very moving Inſtance, That, in Armies, Obedience is better than Victory.

Zonaras, B. 7. ch. 26.

Livy, ibid.

§. XII. IT is ſcarce to be imagined, how tractable *Manlius*'s Severity made his Army, and how much their Docility contributed to the Victory he gained a few Days after. It had never been more neceſſary, to keep the *Romans* within the ſtricteſt Bounds of Duty, than at this time. The War they were making with the *Latins*, was in a manner a Civil War. There were the ſame Arms, on both Sides; the ſame Diſpoſitions of Infantry and Cavalry; the ſame Order of Battel in fighting; the ſame Diſcipline obſerved in Encampments; and in ſhort, there was a perfect Equality between them and their Enemies, in every thing, but the Courage of the Soldiers, and the Experience of the Generals. And therefore, in order to view the Diſcipline and Management of the *Latin* Soldiery, it is ſufficient to explain the Diſpoſitions of the *Romans*; ſuch as it was, at this time. For it had already undergone ſeveral Alterations, and underwent more afterwards.

Flor. B. 1. c. 14.

THE Order of Battel, in which the *Roman* Army was drawn up before an Engagement, in *Manlius*'s time, was as follows. But we ſhall here ſay nothing of the Diſpoſition of the Allies, becauſe the preſent War was with Allies. The Army commanded by *Manlius* and *Decius*, conſiſted only of *Legionaries*; that is, of Troops raiſed in the City, and the *Country-Tribes*, which ſtrictly ſpeaking, conſtituted the Diſtrict of *Rome*. The *Romans* were drawn up in Battalia, in three Lines, as early as in King *Servius Tullius*'s time. Theſe three Lines conſiſted of three Sorts of Soldiers, who differed in Age, Circumſtances, and Birth. In ancient times, the firſt Line conſiſted of thoſe who were called [42] *Principes*, becauſe they fought at the Head of the *Legions*, and began Attacks. They were generally the richeſt of the *Roman* Youth. But this Order was now changed; the *Principes* were put in the ſecond Line; and thoſe placed in their room, who were called [43] *Haſtati*, from a Dart, called *Haſta*, which they carried in their Hands, and with which they could

Liv. B. 8. c. 8.

42 *Varro, B. 4. de Ling. Lat.* ſays this was formerly the Diſpoſition of the *Roman* Armies. *The Principes*, ſays he, were originally placed in the firſt Rank, and fought at the Head of the Army. PRINCIPES *a principio, gladiis pugnabant, & poſt, commutata re militari, minus illuſtres ſumuntur.* This Order was often changed. The ſame Author adds, that the *Romans* afterwards gave the Name and Poſt of the *Principes*, to Soldiers of an inferior Rank.

43 In *Polybius*'s time, the *Haſtati* fought with Swords. But they were likewiſe armed with the Javelins called *Pila*, which we have already deſcribed, *Vol.* I. *p.* 232. *Note* 2. The *Haſtati* were choſen out of the youngeſt Men in the Army. There were 1200 of theſe in a *Legion* of 4000 Men. As the *Legions* were made larger, the Number of the *Haſtati* was increaſed in Proportion.

Year of ROME CCCCXIII.
MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.
Polybius, Vegetius, &c.

reach the Enemy, at a diſtance. Theſe had place, at firſt, in the ſecond Line. In the third, were the 44 *Triarii*, (*quaſi, Tertiarii*, i.e. *The thirds*) becauſe they were in the *third* Line, in time of Battel. Yet this Order was ſometimes changed afterwards; and the *Principes* placed again in the firſt Line. Theſe Lines in the *Roman* Armies, were anciently all entire, and not broken by any open Spaces. The firſt Line, for inſtance, was carried on, without any Breaks, to diſtinguiſh the Cohorts, or *Ordines*, and the *Centuries*, and *Manipuli*, from one another; nor was there any void Space left between the firſt, ſecond, and third Lines; the three all following cloſe after one another. And in ſhort, the whole *Roman* Army was ſo well cloſed, and united together, that it looked like *a* 45 *Macedonian Phalanx*. But at the time of this War with the *Latins*, it was not ſo. The *Romans* had already invented another Diſpoſition. They divided the firſt Line from the ſecond, and the ſecond from the third, by two *Streets*, if we may call them by that Name. That which divided the *Haſtati* from the *Principes*, was fifty Foot wide; that which ſeparated the *Principes* from the *Triarii*, an hundred. And as Spaces were left between the Lines, ſo likewiſe between the different Corps, of which each Line conſiſted. Theſe Corps, called *Manipuli*, which reſembled our Regiments, were divided from one another, by Spaces of thirty Foot wide each; ſo that, in a Line of ten *Manipuli*, there were nine of theſe Spaces. But theſe Openings between the *Manipuli* were not ſo diſpoſed, as that the Enemy could paſs from the Front of the Army to the Rear, through them. The *Manipuli* of the three Lines were ſo placed, that thoſe of the ſecond Line ſtopped up the Ways, from the firſt to the third. The Uſe of theſe Spaces, was to facilitate the Retreat of the firſt or ſecond Lines, when they were preſſed hard upon by the Enemy. They retired through theſe Paſſages, which were left open for that Purpoſe, ſtill facing the Enemy; and then the Line behind it, took the Place of that which had retired. And laſtly, when the two firſt Lines had both been obliged to retreat, the *Triarii*, who then became the firſt Line, cloſed all their Ranks, and left none of theſe Spaces for their *Manipuli* to retire through. Theſe were forced to reſolve, to die or conquer, without any hopes of a Retreat. So that the great Dependence of the *Romans* in Battel, was on theſe *Triarii*. They were the moſt conſiderable Corps in the *Roman* Armies, and conſiſted of the oldeſt Soldiers, and the chief Nobility in *Rome*. And it may be juſtly ſaid, That the whole Secret of the *Roman* Art of War, lay in the diſpoſing of their Armies in this manner, and leaving theſe Spaces open in the firſt, and ſecond Lines; and That, by this Device alone, *Rome* made herſelf Miſtreſs of the whole World.

Juſt. Lipſ. de Mil. Rom. B. 4. ch. 1.

IN *Manlius*'s time, each Line of the Army conſiſted of fifteen *Manipuli*; and in each *Manipulus*, of the firſt Line, were twenty Men 46, light armed, *i.e.* in my opinion, who wore only little round Bucklers, whilſt the reſt of the *Manipulus* wore oblong ſquare ones, which were bent inward, like half Cylinders. In the Space 47 between the *Principes* and *Triarii*, the *Conſuls* and Lieutenant Generals took their Poſts, each in the Wing he commanded. Near them, were the *Roman*

44 We ſhall hereafter ſee the *Triarii* armed with the *Pilum*; whence they were ſometimes called *Pilani Milites*.

45 The *Macedonian Phalanx*, was of the Shape of a great ſquare Battalion. Its Ranks were ſo cloſe, that they ſeemed to move like one ſingle Body. This is the Idea, *Quintus Curtius* gives us of it, B. 3. *Phalangem vocant peditum ſtabile agmen. Vir viro arma armis conſerta ſunt.* *Appian*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, aſcribe the Invention of it to *Philip of Macedon*. The *Phalanx* generally conſiſted of 8000 Foot. They were very formidable, when drawn up in this Form. It was difficult to cut thro' or break them, as long as the Soldiers continued cloſe and united to one another, without leaving the leaſt Space between the Files and Ranks. Nevertheleſs, this Way of fighting was ſubject to ſeveral Inconveniencies, eſpecially if the Ground was uneven, or covered with Hedges, Trenches, and Ditches. The *Phalanx* could not, in that caſe, long preſerve that Union or Conſiſtence, in which its whole Strength conſiſted.

46 *Livy* arms them with a Pike, and very light Javelins, ſuch as the *Gauls* uſed, and which the Ancients call *Gæſa*. *Leves autem, qui haſtam tantum Gæſaque gererent.* *Livy*, B. 8.

47 The *Principes* made the ſecond Line, according to *Livy*, and conſiſted of fifteen *Manipuli*, as well as the firſt. But nevertheleſs, if what both ancient and modern Authors tell us, be true, *viz.* that there were but ten *Manipuli*, in each Corps of *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, we muſt correct *Livy*'s Text, who ſays there were fifteen in each. *Primæ acies Haſtati erant, Manipuli quindecim.* *Juſtus Lipſius*, and *Gronovius*, read *decem* inſtead of *Quindecim*, agreably to theſe Lines of *Ovid*,

——Haſtatos inſtituitque decem
Et totidem Princeps, totidem Pilanus habebat
Corpora.

The Soldiers in the two firſt Lines were called *Anti-Pilani*, according to *Livy*, B. 8. *Hoc triginta Manipulorum agmen Ante-pilanos vocabant*; becauſe they were before the *Triarii*, who were in the third Line, and wore the *Pilum*. This was a Sort of Half-Pike, not unlike that uſed by our Officers.

Eagles

Year of ROME CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

Eagles; but the reſt of the Enſigns were placed in the Centre of each *Manipulus*. Behind the Generals were the *Triarii*; who, whilſt the firſt two Lines were fighting, kept their Poſts, with their right Knees on the Ground, their great ſquare Bucklers on their Shoulders, and reſting themſelves on their long Halberts, the Heads of which were upwards, and made a ſort of Palliſade before them. It was then cuſtomary in *Rome*, to raiſe only four *Legions*; and tho' each of theſe generally conſiſted only of 4200 Foot, and 300 Horſe; yet it appears, that in this War, [48] every *Legion* conſiſted of 5000 Foot. As for the Horſe, they were always placed in the Wings of the Army, and were not numerous among the *Romans*, at this time. There were but 1200 Horſe in an Army of 20000 Men.

49 SUCH was the Diſpoſition of the Army, the two *Conſuls*, *Manlius* and *Decius*, led againſt the *Latins*; and the Order of the Enemy's Army was exactly the ſame as that of the *Conſuls*. The *Latin* Standards anſwered to thoſe of the *Romans*. The *Latins* were drawn up in three Lines; the firſt of which conſiſted of their *Haſtati*, the ſecond of their *Principes*, the third of their *Triarii*. And laſtly, their *Centurions* were placed over-againſt the *Roman Centurions*; ſo that if they fought in that Order, the ſeveral Officers of each Army would have engaged with one another. In ſhort, the Order was ſo exactly alike on both Sides, that as the *Roman Triarii* had a Body of choſen Men at the Head of them, the Commander of whom was called *Primo-pilus*; ſo the *Latin Triarii*, had their choſen Body, and their *Primo-pilus*. *Liv. B.8. c.8.* The *Roman* was neither ſo tall, nor looked ſo ſtrong as the *Latin*; but to make amends, had both more Skill and more Courage. However, not thinking himſelf *Liv. B.8. c.8.* able to cope with his Adverſary, he, as the *Conſuls* had given Permiſſion, choſe himſelf a *Sub-Centurion*, to aſſiſt him: And it happened, in the Diſpute, that this young Officer engaged the *Latin Centurion*, and overcame him.

THESE two great Bodies of *Romans* and *Latins*, which were ſo equal, and ſo uniform in their way of fighting, were drawn up in the Plains, at the Foot of Mount *Veſuvius*, in the Road to [50] the Town of *Veſeris*. But before the *Conſuls* marched out of their Camp, they took care to offer Sacrifices, and conſult the Entrails of the Victims. It is well known, that [51] the *Haruſpices* were of opinion, that the ſureſt Preſages of what would happen, were to be taken from the Livers of the ſacrificed

48 *Livy* ſays that there were not leſs than 5000 Men in a *Legion*. *Scribebantur autem quatuor fere Legiones, quinis millibus peditum, equitibus in ſingulas legiones trecenis. B.* 8.

49 The Nature of the Facts we muſt treat of hereafter will oblige us to give the Reader a very particular and complete Account of the *Roman* Art of War; the different Orders, in which their Men were drawn up in Battalia; their Camps; *&c.* and therefore, to avoid Repetitions, we refer the Reader to our Obſervations on this Subject, in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

50 The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men* takes the Town of *Veſeris*, for a River. *Latinos apud Veſerim fluvium Decii Collegæ devotione ſuperavit.* And *Livy*, *B.* 10. *Cicero*, *De Offic. l.* 3. and *Val. Max. B.* 6. ſpeak ſo ambiguouſly of it, that it is not eaſy to ſay, whether it was a City, Town, or River. *Cluver* thinks *Livy* means by it a City. His Reaſon for it, is this, That in the Diſtrict, where this Battle was fought between the *Romans* and *Latins*, there are not known to be any other Rivers, but the *Fornello*, or the *Fiume della Maddalena*, and the *Sarno*. Theſe are the modern Names of the Rivers the Ancients call *Sebethus*, and *Sarnus*. We ſhall therefore, till ſuch time as we can get better Information about it, take *Veſeris* for a City, or Town.

51 This is the Name the *Romans* gave a Sort of Diviners, who were ſome of the moſt conſiderable at *Rome*, next to the *Augurs*. Their Buſineſs was to foretel what would happen, by inſpecting the Entrails of Animals. *Romulus* eſtabliſhed three; that is, one for each of the three *Tribes*, into which he divided his new Colony. Afterwards, the Senate ordered, by a Decree made on purpoſe, that twelve *Patrician* Children ſhould be brought up in the twelve *Lucumonies* in *Hetruria*, at the publick Expence; in order to their being inſtructed in this Sort of Divination, which was brought from thence to *Rome*. In After-times, the Number of the *Haruſpices* increaſed, in Proportion as that of the Pagan Divinities did; and they were formed into a College, whoſe Decrees were long had in Eſteem. *Cicero* deſcribes their Office, *B.* 2. *de Legib.* thus. PRODIGIA, PORTENTA, AD HETRUSCOS ET HARUSPICES, SI SENATUS JUSSERIT, DEFERUNTO. HETRURIÆQUE PRINCIPES DISCIPLINAM DOCENTO. QUIBUS DIVIS CREVERINT PROCURANTO. IDEMQUE FULGURA ATQUE OBSTITA PIANTO. Their chief Buſineſs was to aſſiſt at the Sacrifices, to obſerve the Cries and Motions of the Victim, before, at, and after, the time its Throat was cut. Hence the *Latins* called them *Extiſpices*, and the *Greeks* θύτας ἱροσκόπους καὶ ἡπατοσκόπους, becauſe the Liver was the chief Thing they conſidered. They likewiſe examined in what manner the Fire burned, and conſumed the Victim; and obſerved the Smell, and the Smoke, of the Incenſe. In ſhort, all the Circumſtances that preceded, attended, or followed the Sacrifice, were ſo many lucky, or unlucky Signs, upon which they made the Succeſs of the moſt important Enterprizes to depend. It alſo belonged to the *Haruſpices*, as well as the *Augurs*, to obſerve Lightning, and to purify the Places and Perſons which had been ſtruck with it. For this Reaſon *Cato*, and *Nonnius Marcellus*, give them the Name of *Fulguratores*. *Virgil* aſcribes theſe Offices to them, in the Perſon of *Aſylas*, *Æneid* 10.

Tertius ille hominum divumque interpres, Aſylas;
Cui pecudum fibræ, cœli cui ſidera parent,
Et linguæ volucrum, & præſagi ſulminis ignes.

They were conſulted, about the Nature of Prodigies,

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIII.

MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

crificed Beaſts. Theſe Livers they uſually divided into two Parts: one of which, they ſaid, foretold what would happen to the Enemy; the other, what would befal the *Romans*. And it is not only ſaid, that by that Side of the Liver, which was now to ſhew what would be the Fate of the *Latins*, it appeared that they were threatned with ſome great Misfortune, whilſt the Side of the *Romans* promiſed them a favourable Event: but likewiſe, that the Entrails, which were conſulted in relation to the Generals, ſeemed to preſage nothing but what was fortunate to *Manlius*. And this filled his Collegue with Joy. He from thence inferred, that if either of them was to devote himſelf to Death in the Battel, he ſhould be the Man. Whilſt on the other hand, *Manlius* could not help envying *Decius* the Happineſs he would probably have, of falling a Victim to the publick Good. So great an Emulation was there, at that time, among the *Romans*, who ſhould do his Country the moſt important Services, tho' at the Expence of his Life!

§. XIII. ALL things being thus prepared, the Signal was given. *Manlius* commanded in the Right Wing; *Decius*, in the Left. At firſt the Ardour of both Armies was equal, and the Onſet furious on both Sides. Their Way of fighting was the ſame, and their Strength much alike. Nevertheleſs, the Wing *Decius* commanded, being vigorouſly preſſed by the *Latins*, loſt Ground. The firſt Line was forced to give way, and retired, without turning their Backs upon the Enemy, into the Spaces in the ſecond Line. This Diſadvantage therefore, which was only in the Left Wing, put *Decius* in mind of his Agreement with his Collegue, that the *Conſul* whoſe Wing ſhould firſt be broken, ſhould devote 52 himſelf, and all the Enemy's

gies, the Senſe of Oracles, and whatever related to the Worſhip of the Gods, or the Ceremonies of Religion. Sometimes they were called into the Senate, to give their Opinions; and the *Fathers* regulated their Decrees, according to their Anſwers. That great Regard was ſhewn to their Deciſions, is evident from the following ancient Inſcription.

DEO FULGURATORI
ARAM
ET LOCUM HUNC
RELIG.
EX HARUSPICUM SENT.
Q. PUBLICIUS FRONT.
POS. ET
D. D.

But there was another Sort of *Haruſpices*, who made it their Buſineſs to foretell future things, and calculate Nativities, for Money; by Chiromancy, Lots, and Aſtrology. *Ennius*, whom *Tully* quotes in his Book *De Divin.* declaims warmly againſt theſe Cheats, who impoſed upon the Credulity of the Simple. His Words are theſe. *Non habeo denique nauci Marſum Augurum, non vicanos Haruſpices, non de circo Aſtrologos, non iliacos conjectores, non interpretes ſomniorum; non enim ſunt ii, aut Scientia aut arte divini, ſed ſuperſtitioſi vates, impudenteſque Harioli, aut inertes, aut inſani, aut quibus egeſtas imperat: qui ſibi ſemitam non ſapiunt, alteri monſtrant viam; quibus divitias pollicentur, ab iis drachmam ipſi petunt. De his divitiis ſibi deducunt drachmam, reddunt cætera.* *Ennius* calls theſe profeſſed Impoſtors *Vicanos Haruſpices*, becauſe they ran about the Villages, where they found their Impoſtures turn to more Account. As much reſpected as the *Haruſpices* were in *Rome*, Perſons of the beſt Senſe openly derided an Art, which was made venerable only by popular Errors and Superſtition. *Cicero* ſays, *De Divin.* that *Hannibal* reproached King *Pruſias*, with having more Dependence upon the Entrails of a Calf, than upon the Experience and Valour of his Officers. Nevertheleſs, this chimerical Art had its Rites, Ceremonies, and Myſteries; which were contained in certain Rituals which *Cicero* mentions. *Antiſtius Labeo* compiled them together, digeſted them into fifteen Books, and added a Commentary to them.

52 Their Love for their Country, which was the Characteriſtick of the ancient *Romans*, never more eminently appeared, than when they voluntarily devoted themſelves to certain Death, for her ſake. Whether they borrowed the Ceremonies and Cuſtom of theſe *Devotements*, from the *Greeks*, or it was the Effect of the Citizens own Superſtition, or extravagant Zeal for the Intereſt of their Republick; the *Roman* Hiſtory affords us many Inſtances of this generous Contempt of Life. We have already obſerved, that the moſt conſiderable of the Senators ſignalized themſelves, by thus devoting themſelves to Death, after the unfortunate Battel of the *Allia*, and the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. The ſame Motive likewiſe prevailed on young *Curtius*, to ride headlong into the Gulph, upon the Anſwer of the *Haruſpices*, (according to *Varro*, B. 4. *de Ling. Lat.*) that the Sovereign of the *Dii Manes* required, that the moſt valiant Man among the *Romans* ſhould be ſacrificed to him. *Eſſe reſponſum, Deum Manium Poſtulionem poſtulare, hoc eſt, civem fortiſſimum poſtulare.* The Name of *Poſtulio* was given to the Victim appointed to be ſacrificed to the infernal Gods. Theſe *Devotements*, which were thought the higheſt Acts of Heroiſm, were made from time to time; even after the Love of Glory and their Country ceaſed to be the predominant Paſſion of the *Romans*. In the Hiſtory of the Empire, which will follow that of the Republick, we ſhall find Courtiers devoting themſelves to die, by ſolemn Vows; out of a firm Perſuaſion, that they ſhall, at the Expence of their Lives, purchaſe of the Gods either a long Chain of Proſperity, or a Recovery from a Fit of Sickneſs, for their Maſters. The only End propoſed in theſe *Devotements*, was to appeaſe the Wrath of the infernal Gods. It was a received Tradition among the Pagans, That theſe relentleſs Gods were not to be moved by the Vows or Prayers of the Living.

Neſciaque humanis precibus manſueſcere corda.
Georg. 4.

They were little affected with the Sacrifice of Beaſts; and nothing was thought ſufficient to appeaſe them, but the ſhedding of human Blood. So that, in all publick Frights, and Misfortunes, and whenever they were under the Terrors of a Battel, wherein they gave everything up for loſt; the diſturbed Imaginations of the *Romans* immediately repreſented to them all the Powers of Hell,

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIII.

MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS; Conſuls.

Enemy's Army with him, to the *Dii Manes*. Theſe *Devotements* were not unuſual among the *Romans*; but it ſeldom 53 happened, that a General of an Army, or even a private Perſon, voluntarily devoted himſelf. For this reaſon, the Troops

Hell, as armed againſt the Republick. Whilſt under the Troubles which theſe Pannicks produced, they thought every thing conſpired to ruin their Country. And their Religion furniſhed them with no other Remedy to prevent theſe Misfortunes, but that of glutting the Rage of theſe ſanguinary Gods, by turning the Scourges with which *Rome* was threatened, upon the Head of one of their Citizens. In Conformity to which Principles, there was not wanting one among them, who gloried in ſurrendering himſelf up to the Fury of theſe *Dii Manes*; in full Perſuaſion, that he ſhould, by this means, not only appeaſe the Anger of theſe revengeful Divinities, but engage them to arm againſt the Enemies of his Country.

53 The Magiſtrates often devoted dangerous Citizens to Death, of their own Authority; and then it was lawful for any one to kill them. Theſe Vows were moſt common, before the taking of beſieged Cities. And the Beſiegers were alſo very careful, not to be wanting in another Ceremony, by way of Precaution, which the Ancients call *Evocation*. They thought, they could not effectually deliver up a City to the Severity of the infernal Powers, till it was firſt deprived of the Protection of its tutelary Gods. *Macrobius*'s Deſcription of this preparatory Act, *Saturn. B.* 3. is this. When the *Romans*, ſays he, had reduced any Place to Extremity, they endeavoured, by Prayers, and magical Terms, to prevail on the tutelar Deities of the Place, to leave the Temples which were conſecrated to them, and come and ſettle at *Rome*. They promiſed them Subjects more zealous for their Glory, a more reſpectful Kind of Worſhip, Temples, Games, and Sacrifices. His Words are theſe. *Conſtat omnes urbes in alicujus Dei eſſe tutela, moremque Romanum arcanum, & multis ignotum fuiſſe, ut cum viderent urbem hoſtium, eamque jam capi poſſe confiderent, certo carmine evocarent tutelares Deos; ne aut aliter urbem capi poſſe non crederent; aut non poſſent, nefas æſtimarent, deos habere captivos.* Without this Precaution, they thought it impoſſible to force a beſieged City, as long as it continued under the Protection of its Gods. Beſides, the *Romans* were of Opinion, that they could not offer a greater Injury to theſe Gods, than as it were to tear them from the Places which were conſecrated to them. So bold an Enterprize as this, would have been thought an unparallell'd Act of Impiety and Wickedneſs, and moſt contrary to the Reſpect due to Things ſacred. The Form of this *Evocation*, as the Author collected it, out of a Book of *Sammonicus Serenus*, entituled, *Of Secret Things*, was as follows. The latter pretends to have found it in an ancient Piece, which he aſcribes to one *Facius*. It was indeed the particular Form uſed at the taking of Carthage. But if the Name only be changed, it will ſuit any of the Cities the *Romans* conquered. *If there be any God, or Goddeſs, who defendeth the People and City of* Carthage, *and Thou Divinity more eſpecially, who haſt honoured them with thy Protection, I entreat You, with the moſt profound Veneration, to abandon this City, deſert the Temples conſecrated to You, reject the Worſhip they pay You, and fill the Citizens with a Spirit of Deluſion, Fear, Confuſion, and Terror. Vouchſafe to become ours. Remove to* Rome, *and take up your Dwelling there. Accept of our Temples and Myſteries. Be propitious to the* Roman *People, my Self, and my Army. I, in Gratitude for it, ſolemnly vow, That I will, in that Place, erect Temples, and celebrate Games to your Honour.* The original Words, of this ancient, and therefore venerable Form, are theſe: *Si Deus, ſi Dea eſt, cui populus civitaſque Carthaginenſis, eſt in tutela; teque maxime ille, qui urbis hujus populique tutelam recepiſti, precor, venerorque, veniamque a vobis peto, ut vos, populum, civitatemque Carthaginenſem deſeratis; loca, templa, ſacra, urbemque eorum, relinquatis; abſque his abeatis; eique populo, civitatique, metum, formidinem, oblivionem, injiciatis; proditique Romam, ad me, meoſque veniatis; noſtraque vobis loca, templa, ſacra, urbs, acceptior, probatiorque ſit; mihique, populoque Romano, militibuſque meis, præpoſiti ſitis; ut ſciamus intelligamuſque. Si ita feceritis, voveo vobis templa, ludoſque, facturum.* According to *Verrius Flaccus*, whom *Pliny* quotes, *B.* 28. *c.* 2. the Form of *Evocation* was contained in the Ritual of the *Pontifices*, and was there to be read in his time. The Ceremony concluded with offering Sacrifices. At theſe, the *Haruſpices* always preſided, and judged by inſpecting the Entrails of the Victims, whether the Prayers made to the tutelary Gods of the inveſted City were heard. The *Romans* were ſo fully perſuaded of the Efficacy of theſe *Evocations*, that they always thought it Matter of indiſpenſable Duty to keep the Name of the tutelar God of *Rome*, and even the *Latin* Name of the City itſelf, profound Secrets. They were afraid the Enemy, if once informed of theſe Secrets, would make uſe of the ſame Practices againſt them, which they had ſo often tried with Succeſs. Hence the impenetrable Myſtery of the ſacred Depoſitum, which was kept in the Temple of *Veſta*, as the moſt valuable Pledge of the perpetual Duration of the Power of *Rome*. Only the *Pontifices* and *Veſtals* knew what it was. *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 3. *c.* 5. that one *Valerius Soranus*, was puniſhed with Death, for having diſcovered the myſterious Name of *Rome*: And the Truth of this Fact is alſo confirmed by *Solinus*, *B.* 1. It was probably the ſame Perſon *Servius* ſpeaks of, when he ſays, *On the firſt Georgick*, that one of the *Tribunes of the People* was condemned to be crucified for this Reaſon. But the Ceremony of the *Evocation*, was only a Prelude to that of the *Devotements* practiſed by the *Romans*, in order to deſtroy the beſieged Cities. *Macrobius* ſtates the Form of this Imprecation thus. *Dis Pater, Vejovis, Manes, ſive vos, quo alio Nomine fas eſt nominare, ut omnes, illam Urbem Carthaginem Exercitumque, quam me ſentis dicere, Fuga, Formidine, Terroreque compleatis; quique adverſum Legiones, Exercitumque noſtrum, Arma, Telaque ferent; uti Vos, eum Exercitum, eos Hoſtes, eoſque Homines, Urbes, Agroſque eorum, qui in his Locis, Regionibuſque, Agris, Urbibuſve habitant, abducatis; Lumine ſupero privetis; Exercitumque Hoſtium, Urbes, Agroſque, eorumque, quos me ſentio dicere; uti Vos eas Urbes, Agroſque, Capita, Ætateſque eorum devotas, conſecrataſque habeatis, illis Legibus, quibus quandoque ſunt maxime Hoſtes devoti; eoſque ego vicarios pro me, Fide, Magiſtratuque meo, pro populo Romano, Exercitibus, Legionibuſque noſtris do, devoveo; ut me meamque Fidem, Imperiumque, Legiones, Exercitumque noſtrum, qui in rebus gerundis ſunt, bene ſalvas ſiritis eſſe. Si hæc ita faxitis, ut ego ſciam, ſentiam, intelligamque, tunc quivis hoc Votum faxit, ubi ubi faxit, recte factum eſto, ovibus Atris tribus, Tellus Mater, teque* Jupiter *obtiſtor.* &c. That is, *O Father* Pluto, *thou implacable* Jupiter, *and all the infernal Gods, by what Names ſoever we may invoke You, fill* Carthage, *and the Army, upon which I implore your Vengeance, with Conſternation and Terror. Diſperſe our Enemies, I conjure You, and deprive them of the Light of the Sun. Pour out all your Fury upon their Cities, Fields, and all that dwell in them. Let not thoſe who fight againſt our* Legions *be able to eſcape your Corrections. Permit me to deliver them over abſolutely,*

Year of ROME CCCCXIII.
MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

crificed Beaſts. Theſe Livers they uſually divided into two Parts: one of which they ſaid, foretold what would happen to the Enemy; the other, what would befa the *Romans*. And it is not only ſaid, that by that Side of the Liver, which wa now to ſhew what would be the Fate of the *Latins*, it appeared that they wer threatned with ſome great Misfortune, whilſt the Side of the *Romans* promiſe them a favourable Event: but likewiſe, that the Entrails, which were conſulted i relation to the Generals, ſeemed to preſage nothing but what was fortunate t *Manlius*. And this filled his Collegue with Joy. He from thence inferred, that i either of them was to devote himſelf to Death in the Battel, he ſhould be the Man Whilſt on the other hand, *Manlius* could not help envying *Decius* the Happine he would probably have, of falling a Victim to the publick Good. So great a Emulation was there, at that time, among the *Romans*, who ſhould do his Countr the moſt important Services, tho' at the Expence of his Life!

§. XIII. ALL things being thus prepared, the Signal was given. *Manlius* com manded in the Right Wing; *Decius*, in the Left. At firſt the Ardour of both Ar mies was equal, and the Onſet furious on both Sides. Their Way of fighting wa the ſame, and their Strength much alike. Nevertheleſs, the Wing *Decius* com manded, being vigorouſly preſſed by the *Latins*, loſt Ground. The firſt Line wa forced to give way, and retired, without turning their Backs upon the Enemy, into the Spaces in the ſecond Line. This Diſadvantage therefore, which was only in the Left Wing, put *Decius* in mind of his Agreement with his Collegue, that the *Conſul* whoſe Wing ſhould firſt be broken, ſhould devote 52 himſelf, and all the Enemy's

gies, the Senſe of Oracles, and whatever related to the Worſhip of the Gods, or the Ceremonies of Religion. Sometimes they were called into the Senate, to give their Opinions; and the *Fathers* regulated their Decrees, according to their Anſwers. That great Regard was ſhewn to their Deciſions, is evident from the following ancient Inſcription.

DEO FULGURATORI
ARAM
ET LOCUM HUNC
RELIG.
EX HARUSPICUM SENT.
Q. PUBLICIUS FRONT.
POS. ET
D. D.

But there was another Sort of *Haruſpices*, who made it their Buſineſs to foretell future things, and calculate Nativities, for Money; by Chiromancy, Lots, and Aſtrology. *Ennius*, whom *Tully* quotes in his Book *De Divin.* declaims warmly againſt theſe Cheats, who impoſed upon the Credulity of the Simple. His Words are theſe. *Non habeo denique nauci Marſum Augurum, non vicanos Haruſpices, non de circo Aſtrologos, non iliacos conjectores, non interpretes ſomniorum; non enim ſunt ii, aut Scientia aut arte divini, ſed ſuperſtitioſi vates, impudenteſque Harioli, aut inertes, aut inſani, aut quibus egeſtas imperat: qui ſibi ſemitam non ſapiunt, alteri monſtrant viam; quibus divitias pollicentur, ab iis drachmam ipſi petunt. De his divitiis ſibi deducunt drachmam, reddunt cætera.* *Ennius* calls theſe profeſſed Impoſtors *Vicanos Haruſpices*, becauſe they ran about the Villages, where they found their Impoſtures turn to more Account. As much reſpected as the *Haruſpices* were in *Rome*, Perſons of the beſt Senſe openly derided an Art, which was made venerable only by popular Errors and Superſtition. *Cicero* ſays, *De Divin.* that *Hannibal* reproached King *Pruſias*, with having more Dependence upon the Entrails of a Calf, than upon the Experience and Valour of his Officers. Nevertheleſs, this chimerical Art had its Rites, Ceremonies, and Myſteries; which were contained in certain Rituals which *Cicero* mentions. *Antiſtius Labeo* compiled them together, digeſted them into fifteen Books, and added a Commentary to them.

52 Their Love for their Country, which was the

Characteriſtick of the ancient *Romans*, never ma eminently appeared, than when they voluntarily de voted themſelves to certain Death, for her ſak Whether they borrowed the Ceremonies and Cu tom of theſe *Devotements*, from the *Greeks*, o it was the Effect of the Citizens own Superſti tion, or extravagant Zeal for the Intereſt of the Republick; the *Roman* Hiſtory affords us many I ſtances of this generous Contempt of Life. W have already obſerved, that the moſt conſiderable the Senators ſignalized themſelves, by thus devot themſelves to Death, after the unfortunate Battel the *Allia*, and the taking of *Rome* by the Ga The ſame Motive likewiſe prevailed on young C *tius*, to ride headlong into the Gulph, upon the ſwer of the *Haruſpices*, (according to *Varro*, *de Ling. Lat.*) that the Sovereign of the *Dii Ma* required, that the moſt valiant Man among the *mans* ſhould be ſacrificed to him. *Eſſe reſpon Deum Manium Poſtulionem poſtulare, hoc eſt, re fortiſſimum poſtulare.* The Name of *Poſtulio* given to the Victim appointed to be ſacrificed t infernal Gods. Theſe *Devotements*, which w thought the higheſt Acts of Heroiſm, were u from time to time; even after the Love of G and their Country ceaſed to be the predominant ſion of the *Romans*. In the Hiſtory of the Em which will follow that of the Republick, we find Courtiers devoting themſelves to die, by ſol Vows; out of a firm Perſuaſion, that they ſhal the Expence of their Lives, purchaſe of the G either a long Chain of Proſperity, or a Reco from a Fit of Sickneſs, for their Maſters. only End propoſed in theſe *Devotements*, w appeaſe the Wrath of the infernal Gods. It w received Tradition among the Pagans, That relentleſs Gods were not to be moved by the V or Prayers of the Living.

Neſciaque humanis precibus manſueſcere cor Geor

They were little affected with the Sacrifice of Be and nothing was thought ſufficient to appeaſe them the ſhedding of human Blood. So that, in all pu Frights, and Misfortunes, and whenever they wer der the Terrors of a Battel, wherein they gave e thing up for loſt; the diſturbed Imaginations of th *mans* immediately repreſented to them all the Pom

Enemy's Army with him, to the *Dii Manes*. Theſe *Devotements* were not unuſual among the *Romans*; but it ſeldom 53 happened, that a General of an Army, or even a private Perſon, voluntarily devoted himſelf. For this reaſon, the Troops

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS; Conſuls.

Hell, as armed againſt the Republick. Whilſt under the Troubles which theſe Pannicks produced, they thought every thing conſpired to ruin their Country. And their Religion furniſhed them with no other Remedy to prevent theſe Misfortunes, but that of glutting the Rage of theſe ſanguinary Gods, by turning the Scourges with which *Rome* was threatened, upon the Head of one of their Citizens. In Conformity to which Principles, there was not wanting one among them, who gloried in ſurrendering himſelf up to the Fury of theſe *Dii Manes*; in full Perſuaſion, that he ſhould, by this means, not only appeaſe the Anger of theſe revengeful Divinities, but engage them to arm againſt the Enemies of his Country.

53 The Magiſtrates often devoted dangerous Citizens to Death, of their own Authority; and then was lawful for any one to kill them. Theſe Vows ere moſt common, before the taking of beſieged ties. And the Beſiegers were alſo very careful, t to be wanting in another Ceremony, by way of caution, which the Ancients call *Evocation*. ey thought, they could not effectually deliver up ity to the Severity of the infernal Powers, till it s firſt deprived of the Protection of its tutelary ds. *Macrobius*'s Deſcription of this preparatory , *Saturn. B.* 3. is this. When the *Romans*, ſays had reduced any Place to Extremity, they enoured, by Prayers, and magical Terms, to ail on the tutelar Deities of the Place, to leave Temples which were conſecrated to them, and e and ſettle at *Rome*. They promiſed them ects more zealous for their Glory, a more reful Kind of Worſhip, Temples, Games, and fices. His Words are theſe. *Conſtat omnes in alicujus Dei eſſe tutela, moremque Romae arcanum, & multis ignotum fuiſſe, ut cum ent urbem hoſtium, eamque jam capi poſſe con- certo carmine evocarent tutelares Deos; it aliter urbem capi poſſe non crederent; aut ſent, nefas æſtimarent, deos habere captivos.* out this Precaution, they thought it impoſſible ce a beſieged City, as long as it continued une Protection of its Gods. Beſides, the *Romans* of Opinion, that they could not offer a greater to theſe Gods, than as it were to tear them the Places which were conſecrated to them. ld an Enterprize as this, would have been t an unparallell'd Act of Impiety and Wicſs, and moſt contrary to the Reſpect due to s ſacred. The Form of this *Evocation*, as uthor collected it, out of a Book of *Sammo- erenus*, entituled, *Of Secret Things*, was as s. The latter pretends to have found it in an ece, which he aſcribes to one *Facius*. It was the particular Form uſed at the taking of ge. But if the Name only be changed, it it any of the Cities the *Romans* conquered. *here be any God, or Goddeſs, who defendeth ple and City of* Carthage, *and Thou Divinity pecially, who haſt honoured them with thy ion, I entreat You, with the moſt profound Ve- n, to abandon this City, deſert the Temples ted to You, reject the Worſhip they pay You, the Citizens with a Spirit of Deluſion, Fear, on, and Terror. Vouchſafe to become ours. to* Rome, *and take up your Dwelling there. of our Temples and Myſteries. Be propitious* Roman *People, my Self, and my Army. I, in de for it, ſolemnly vow, That I will, in that ect Temples, and celebrate Games to your Ho-* The original Words, of this ancient, and e venerable Form, are theſe: *Si Deus, ſi , cui populus civitaſque Carthaginenſis, eſt in tutela; teque maxime ille, qui urbis hujus populique tutelam recepiſti, precor, venerorque, veniamque a vobis peto, ut vos, populum, civitatemque Carthaginenſem deſeratis; loca, templa, ſacra, urbemque eorum, relinquatis; abſque his abeatis; eique populo, civitatique, metum, formidinem, oblivionem, injiciatis; proditique Romam, ad me, meoſque veniatis; noſtraque vobis loca, templa, ſacra, urbs, acceptior, probatiorque ſit; mihique, populoque Romano, militibuſque meis, præpoſiti ſitis; ut ſciamus intelligamuſque. Si ita feceritis, voveo vobis templa, ludoſque, facturum.* According to *Verrius Flaccus*, whom *Pliny* quotes, *B.* 28. *c.* 2. the Form of *Evocation* was contained in the Ritual of the *Pontifices*, and was there to be read in his time. The Ceremony concluded with offering Sacrifices. At theſe, the *Haruſpices* always preſided, and judged by inſpecting the Entrails of the Victims, whether the Prayers made to the tutelary Gods of the inveſted City were heard. The *Romans* were ſo fully perſuaded of the Efficacy of theſe *Evocations*, that they always thought it Matter of indiſpenſable Duty to keep the Name of the tutelar God of *Rome*, and even the *Latin* Name of the City itſelf, profound Secrets. They were afraid the Enemy, if once informed of theſe Secrets, would make uſe of the ſame Practices againſt them, which they had ſo often tried with Succeſs. Hence the impenetrable Myſtery of the ſacred Depoſitum, which was kept in the Temple of *Veſta*, as the moſt valuable Pledge of the perpetual Duration of the Power of *Rome*. Only the *Pontifices* and *Veſtals* knew what it was. *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 3. *c.* 5. that one *Valerius Soranus*, was puniſhed with Death, for having diſcovered the myſterious Name of *Rome*: And the Truth of this Fact is alſo confirmed by *Solinus*, *B.* 1. It was probably the ſame Perſon *Servius* ſpeaks of, when he ſays, *On the firſt Georgick*, that one of the *Tribunes of the People* was condemned to be crucified for this Reaſon. But the Ceremony of the *Evocation*, was only a Prelude to that of the *Devotements* practiſed by the *Romans*, in order to deſtroy the beſieged Cities. *Macrobius* ſtates the Form of this Imprecation thus. *Dis Pater, Vejovis, Manes, ſive vos, quo alio Numine fas eſt nominare, ut omnes, illam Urbem Carthaginem Exercitumque, quam me ſentis dicere, Fuga, Formidine, Terroreque compleatis; quique adverſum Legiones, Exercitumque noſtrum, Arma, Telaque ferent; uti Vos, eum Exercitum, eos Hoſtes, eoſque Homines, Urbes, Agroſque eorum, qui in his Locis, Regionibuſque, Agris, Urbibuſve habitant, abducatis; Lumine ſupero privetis; Exercitumque Hoſtium, Urbes, Agroſque, eorumque, quos me ſentio dicere; uti Vos eas Urbes, Agroſque, Capita, Ætateſque eorum devotas, conſecrataſque habeatis, illis Legibus, quibus quandoque ſunt maxime Hoſtes devoti; coſque ego vicarios pro me, Fide, Magiſtratuque meo, pro populo Romano, Exercitibus, Legionibuſque noſtris do, devoveo; ut me meamque Fidem, Imperiumque, Legiones, Exercitumque noſtrum, qui in rebus gerundis ſunt, bene ſalvas ſiritis eſſe. Si hæc ita faxitis, ut ego ſciam, ſentiam, intelligamque, tunc quivis hoc Votum faxit, ubi ubi faxit, recte factum eſto, ovibus Atris tribus, Tellus Mater, teque* Jupiter *obtiſtor.* &c. That is, *O Father* Pluto, *thou implacable* Jupiter, *and all the infernal Gods, by what Names ſoever we may invoke You, fill* Carthage, *and the Army, upon which I implore your Vengeance, with Conſternation and Terror. Diſperſe our Enemies, I conjure You, and deprive them of the Light of the Sun. Pour out all your Fury upon their Cities, Fields, and all that dwell in them. Let not thoſe who fight againſt our* Legions *be able to eſcape your Corrections. Permit me to deliver them over*

 abſolutely,

Year of ROME CCCCXIII.

MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

Troops were made to believe, that *Decius*'s devoting himſelf, was done in Obedience to the expreſs Order of the Gods. Theſe Conſecrations were generally made by the *Conſuls*, who choſe out ſome particular Perſon in the Army, to be ſacrificed to the Gods of Hell. It was neceſſary the Perſon choſen ſhould be a *Roman* Citizen; for this chimerical [54] Honour was never conferred on Strangers, or Volunteers. If the devoted Soldier loſt his Life, the Army applauded him. If he eſcaped out of the Battel, he was loſt, in point of Reputation, and [55] became an Object of Horror. He was not allowed the Privilege of offering Sacrifice, either in publick, or private. And as he was thought dead in Law, a Statue of Wood, of at leaſt ſeven Foot high, was buried in a Field in his room [56]; and the Place where this Image was buried, was deemed unlucky. No *Conſul* [57] ever ſet his Foot upon it. But theſe *Devotements* took place only, in the firſt Ages of the Republick. Afterwards, [58] as *Rome* increaſed in Confidence, and Dependence upon her own Grandeur; her Superſtition proportionably abated.

DECIUS being therefore obliged in Honour to ſacrifice himſelf for his Country, as ſoon as he ſaw his Troops give way; he called with a loud Voice, on *Valerius*, the *Pontifex Maximus*. He was in the Army, and his Attendance was neceſſary, to dictate the Words of the Conſecration, in order to its being done in due Form. Firſt, the *Pontifex Maximus* ordered the *Conſul* to lay aſide his military Habit, and put on the Robe he wore in the Senate. Then he covered his Head with a Veil; ordered him to hold one Hand extended under his Robe, and as high as his Chin; and put a Lance under his Feet. This was the uſual Ceremony on theſe Occaſions. This Lance was much reſpected afterwards, and the *Romans* were very much [59] afraid of letting it fall into the Enemy's Hands. If by any Misfortune, they became Maſters of it; this was a melancholy Event, which it was thought neceſſary to expiate, with a Sacrifice, conſiſting of a [60] Bull, a Boar, and a Ram. When the *Conſul* was raiſed up, upon the Lance, which was placed croſs-ways under him, he repeated theſe Words, after the *Pontifex*. *O* Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Romulus, Bellona, *and ye* Lares! *O all* [61] *ye nine Gods, which were brought*

abſolutely, to be the Objects of your Wrath. I devote them to You, I dedicate them to your Service, I ſubſtitute them in the room of my ſelf, our Magiſtrates, our People, our Legions, *and in ſhort, I offer them up to You, as Sacrifices for the Safety of the Republick. If Thou, O Goddeſs* Earth, *and Thou O* Jupiter, *will vouchſafe to accept of the Vows I make to You, I promiſe to ſacrifice three black Sheep to your Honour, either my ſelf, or by ſome other Perſon, in any Place whatſoever.* It is evident, from this Form, that the *Romans* had nothing in View, in theſe Imprecations, but turning the implacable Fury of the infernal Gods upon the Enemies of *Rome*. The Effect of theſe *Devotements* which followed the *Evocation*, was thought ſo certain by the Pagans, that they never made any doubt of taking the beſieged City, after this; taking it for granted, That its tutelar Gods had deſerted it, in order to find a ſafer Retreat elſewhere, and That the infernal Powers conſpired to deſtroy it. Agreably to this, *Virgil*, ſpeaking of the Deſtruction of *Troy*, ſays its tutelary Gods had forſaken their Temples:

Exceſſêre omnes adytis, arîſque relictis,
Di quibus imperium hoc ſtaterat. Æneid 2.

54 *Livy* adds, in this Place, that it was not lawful for a *Conſul*, *Dictator*, or *Prætor*, to devote himſelf, when he pronounced the Form of Devotement againſt the Enemy's Army. *Illud adjiciendum videtur, licere Conſuli, Dictatorique & Prætori, cum legiones hoſtium devoveant, non utique ſe, ſed quem velint ex legione Romana ſcripta, civem devovere!* Upon which the Queſtion is ſtarted, Why then did *Decius* devote himſelf to Death? But it is anſwered, that his *Devotement* was thought to be an irrevocable Decree of the Gods, who inſiſted on his being ſacrificed to them.

55 He who eſcaped the Death he ſought for, might reinſtate himſelf in his former Rights, by conſecrating his Arms to *Vulcan*, or any other Divinity. This Conſecration was attended with a Sacrifice, or Offering, of whatever Kind the Supplicant pleaſed. He, by this means, purified himſelf from the Execrations he had uttered againſt himſelf, according to the following Law, mentioned by *Livy*. QUI SE DEVOVERIT, VULCANO ARMA SIVE CUI ALII DEVO DEVOVÊRE VOLET, SIVE HOSTIA, SIVE QUO ALIO VOLET, JUS ESTO.

56 An expiatory Sacrifice was alſo offered up at the ſame time. The Deſign of the Ceremony of burying a wooden Statue, was to fulfil, in Repreſentation at leaſt, the Vow which the Perſon devoted had not performed.

57 The *Conſul* was abſolutely forbidden entering into this Place, which was deemed execrable; becauſe it was thought impoſſible for him to do it, without contracting ſuch Pollution as would diſable him from diſcharging the Office of a *Conſul*.

58 *Cicero*, *B.* 3. *De Nat. Deor.* juſtly derides that ſuperſtitious Credulity, which aſcribed ſuch wonderful Effects to theſe *Devotements*. He could not conceive, how Men of Senſe could form to themſelves any ſuch Beings as miſchievous Gods, who thirſted after human Blood. So that he looked on theſe voluntary *Devotements*, as no more, at Bottom, than heroic Acts of Valour, or the laſt Efforts of Generals, who gave up the Victory for loſt, and, out of a noble Deſpair, threw themſelves into the Midſt of the Enemy's Squadrons, in order to engage their Soldiers to follow them.

59 For this Reaſon, the Lance was guarded with great Care, leſt the Enemy ſhould ſeize it. If they did ſo, it was thought an unlucky Accident, which foreboded ſome great Misfortunes to be brought upon them by the Enemy.

60 Theſe three Animals were offered up in Sacrifice to the God *Mars*.

61 Theſe were the Divinities the *Romans* called *Dii Novenſiles*. But this old Word *Novenſiles*, is very differently interpreted. Some explain it of the new created

Year of ROME CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

brought to Rome *by the* Sabines! *O all ye Heroes who dwell in Heaven, and all ye Gods, who rule over us, and our Enemies! And you eſpecially, who are the Gods of Hell! I honour you, invoke you, and humbly intreat you to proſper the Arms of the* Romans, *and to transfer all Fear, and Terror, from them to their Enemies. I devote myſelf to the* Dii Manes, *and the Goddeſs* Terra, *in order to obtain Succeſs for the* Roman *Arms, and* Legions. *And with myſelf, I devote to them all the Army, and Auxiliaries of the Enemy.* As ſoon as *Decius* had finiſhed this Prayer, he tucked [62] up his Robe, and girded it round him. Then, he ſent his *Lictors* to inform his Collegue, that his Head was devoted to the Gods, and that he was going to ſeek Death. After this, he inſtantly mounted his Horſe, rode into the midſt of the Enemy's Battalions, like one deſperate; and the Surprize made the *Romans* believe, that he grew conſiderably taller, all on a ſudden, and appeared bigger, and more majeſtick in his Air, than Men uſually are. They immediately took him for ſome Hero, who was come down from Heaven, on purpoſe to drive all the Miſfortunes of the War from the *Roman* Army, and turn them upon their Enemies. What cannot Superſtition do, in the Heat of a Battel! The *Romans* and their Enemies were equally ſurprized at this Sight. The devoted *Conſul* broke through the firſt Line of the *Latins*, and penetrated into the midſt of their Army. Terror and Fear ſeemed to attend him; wherever his Horſe carried him, the Soldiers about him ſtood motionleſs, as if they had been thunderſtruck. Till at length, having received numberleſs Wounds, the Victim fell to the Ground: and [63] then the whole Face of Affairs changed in both Armies. The *Romans* felt the Effects of the *Devotement* of their *Conſul*. His Blood raiſed their Courage, and ſunk that of the *Latins*. When *Decius* was dead, the *Legions* all fell with Fury upon the *Latin* Troops, and almoſt all the Parts of the *Roman* Army engaged. Even the [64] *Rorarii*, who were light-armed, and placed behind the Lines, came and joined in the Fight. They were poſted in the Spaces of the two firſt Lines, and ordered to

reated Gods; or of thoſe, the Worſhip of whom ad lately been brought to *Rome*, from ſome foreign Country. Others pretend, it ſignified the nine *Muſes*. *Varro* underſtands it of the nine Divinities *Tatius* rought to *Rome* from his Country; *viz.* the Godeſſes, *Lara*, *Veſta*, *Minerva*, *Feronia*, *Concord*, *Fidelity*, *Fortune*, *Chance*, and *Health*. Several read *Novenſides*, inſtead of *Novenſiles*, intending to ſignify thereby another Sort of Gods, who preſided ver Novelties.

62 This Robe was tucked up, in the manner of hoſe which the Ancients call *Cincti Gabini*. We ave given the Reaſon of this already, *Vol.* I. *p.* 395. *Note* 26. The Term of the *Gabian Knot*, was borowed from the *Gabini*, who were ſurprized by the nemy as they were ſacrificing, and therefore ran aſtily to their Arms, to put themſelves in a Poſture f Defence. And as it was the Cuſtom of this Peole to offer Sacrifice with their Robes thus tucked p about them, the *Roman* Magiſtrates and *Pontifices* ontinued the Cuſtom of tucking up their Robes in he ſame manner, when they ſacrificed before a Battel.

63 The ſudden Changes which followed theſe *Devotements*, cannot be ſurprizing to any, who ver ſo little conſider the Effect the Sight of a great Man, making himſelf a voluntary Sacrifice for the Welfare of his Country, muſt have had upon the whole Army. The great Apparatus before the Ceemony, the fierce Countenance of the Hero, the ſolemn Appearance of the *Pontifex*, who pronounced he Form of the Devotement with him, the Prejudices of the Pagan Religion, which were all rouzed p on this Occaſion, the meritorious Act of the geerous Sacrifice himſelf, and in ſhort, all other Circumſtances, conſpired to invigorate and rouze the Minds of the moſt cowardly, and fill them with eroic Sentiments. The Soldiers, animated by this Sight, ran with ſpeed to engage the Enemy, out of a Perſuaſion, that they were running to certain Vicory. The Heroiſm of him, who delivered himſelf up to die for them, was an Aſſurance to them of their Succeſs. He was no longer an ordinary Perſon; he immediately became a propitious Divinity, whoſe Standards they followed. The warm Imaginations of the Soldiers, inſtantly ſhewed them all the Gods in Arms, fighting for the *Roman Legions*, and filling their Enemies with Fear and Terror. Even the Death of this precious Victim raiſed their Hopes; and his Blood was a Pledge of the Protection of the Gods.

64 This is their *Latin* Name, according to *Livy*. They were then reckoned the chief of the light-armed Soldiers. They were called *Rorarii*, according to *Feſtus*; *Quod ut ante imbrem fere rorare ſolet, ſic illi ante gravem armaturam prodibant*. And *Varro* gives us the ſame Etymology of their Name; *i. e.* Their Skirmiſhes at the Head of the Army, were generally the Prelude to a Battle, as *a Dew* is generally the Fore-runner of a great Rain; and therefore they took their Name from the *Latin* Word *Ros*, which ſignifies *Dew*. They differed from another Sort of light-armed Men, whom the Hiſtorians call *Accenſi*, or *Adcenſi*, in this, that the latter fought with Slings. And they were inferior in Rank to the former, and, according to ſome old Authors, attended the Army only as Voluntiers, or Supernumeraries, to fill up the Places of any of the *Legionaries*, who ſhould be ſlain in Battel: So that they were not enrolled in the *Legions*. This is the Idea *Feſtus* gives us of them: *Adcenſi dicebantur, qui in locum mortuorum militum ſubito ſubrogabantur; dicti ita, quia ad cenſum adjiciebantur*. For this Reaſon, they were alſo ſometimes called *Aſcriptitii milites*; *quia legioni aſcribebantur*, i. e. *Additional Soldiers*, becauſe they were *added to* the *Legion*. It is probable, the *Accenſi* were thoſe *Servius Tullius* placed in the fifth *Claſs*, according to *Livy*, *B.* 1. Some very abſurdly confound them with the *Rorarii*. They don't conſider, that *Livy* plainly diſtinguiſhes them from one another, when he ſays, that each of them had its own military Enſign. *Primum vexillum Triarios ducebat . . . . Secundum Rorarios; . . . . . Tertium Accenſos*. *Plautus*, *in Frivol*, ſhews us there was a Difference between them, in the following Lines,

——*Ubi*

Year of ROME CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

to throw their Darts. By this means, the Strength of the firſt *Manipuli* was conſiderably increaſed: but the *Triarii* had not yet engaged. They waited with one Knee on the Ground, to receive the General's Orders to enter upon Action. In the mean time, the *Latins* fought with Ardor, and in ſome Places had the Advantage of the *Romans*. This was the State of the Army, when *Manlius* received the News of his Collegue's Death: which drew Tears from the brave *Conſul*'s Eyes, who immediately gave *Decius* the Praiſes he deſerved. And being now left to command alone, he deliberated a little, whether he ſhould order the *Triarii* to engage; but thought it would be better to reſerve them to the laſt Extremity, and therefore commanded the Volunteers to advance into the firſt Line. Whilſt, on the other hand, the *Latins*, who were hard preſſed by theſe freſh Troops, which they took to be the *Roman Triarii*, ordered their own *Triarii* to advance; and then the Action became bloody. The Enemy had already fought ſo long, that they had broken or blunted their Weapons; but nevertheleſs, gained the Advantage over the *Romans* a ſecond time, and repulſed them. Inſomuch, that the *Latins* thought themſelves already victorious, and took it for granted, that they had broken thro' the laſt Line of the Enemy; when the *Conſul* gave the Word of Command to his *Triarii*, who continued hid under their Bucklers, and upon their Knees. *Riſe, Fellow-Soldiers*, ſaid he to them, *and defeat Men who are already tired with fighting. Remember* Rome; *Remember your own Valour*; *Remember your Wives and Children: and don't forget, that a* Conſul *has loſt his Life, in order to gain you the Victory.* Then the [65] Line of the *Triarii* appeared all on a ſudden, as if they had ſtarted out of the Ground. Their Arms were ſhining, and their Strength not exhauſted. The *Manipuli* of the two firſt Lines of the *Romans*, filled up the Spaces between their *Triarii*, in order to renew the Fight. One may imagine, that never was Battel fought with more Obſtinacy, ſince the *Triarii* on both Sides engaged: But at laſt, Victory declared in favour of the *Romans*. Their freſh *Triarii* gave a Shout, which itſelf put the *Latins* who oppoſed them, in ſome Diſorder. Then the *Romans* marched up cloſe to their Enemies, and their *Triarii* found no difficulty in knocking down thoſe of the *Latins*. After which, they walked over them, penetrated into the *Manipuli* of the other Lines of the *Latins*, whom they found fatigued, and in a manner without any Arms; and in ſhort, made ſo great a Slaughter of them, with very little Loſs, that ſcarce a fourth Part of their Army was left alive. The *Samnites*, for whoſe ſake this Battel was fought, had no ſhare in it. They continued drawn up in Battalia, a great way from the *Roman* Army, at the Foot of Mount *Veſuvius*, and only ſerved to keep the Enemy a little in Fear. So that all the Honour of this noble Action belonged to the two *Conſuls*. One of them increaſed the Confidence of the ſuperſtitious *Romans*, by devoting himſelf to Death: but the Circumſtances of his Death are differently related by the Hiſtorians. The greateſt Part of them, make him fall in the midſt of the *Latin* Squadrons: whilſt others ſay, he was ſacrificed by the Hands of a *Roman*, who attended him. But both *Latins* and *Romans* agree in giving us the ſame account of *Manlius*. It is unanimouſly confeſſed, that the *Latins* would have conquered, had he been their General; and conſequently, that *Rome* entirely owed her Victory to his being *Conſul*, at that time. Which is the moſt glorious Acknowledgment that can be made, of his Valour, Wiſdom, and Experience in War. If unhappy, on the one hand, in having been obliged to ſacrifice his own Son, in order to preſerve Diſcipline among his Troops; he was as happy, on the other, in having gained his Country this important Victory. He would much more willingly have ſhed his own Blood for her ſake, than have ſeen his Collegue ſhed his.

§. XIV. AFTER the Battel was over, the *Latins* fled for Refuge [66] to *Minturnæ*, a

———*Ubi Rorarii*
Faſtis? en ſunt. Ubi ſunt Accenſi?
Ecce———

In After-times, the light-armed Soldiers were all indifferently called *Velites*, and *Ferentarii*, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter, when we come to give a particular Account of the military Art of the ancient *Romans*.

65 The *Triarii* were, according to *Dion. Hal.* B. 5, & 8. a Sort of *Corps de reſerve*. They were generally ſet to guard the Camp, and were the laſt Refuge of the *Roman* Armies, in great Emergencies, when the Victory began to turn againſt them, and the firſt Lines were grown weak, and ſcarce able to withſtand the Attacks of the Enemy.

66 This City afterwards became very famous, as will appear in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, for the Defeat of *Marius*, who hid himſelf in the Marſhes of *Minturnæ*. Some Geographers very improperly place

Year of ROME CCCCXIII.

MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

a little above the Mouth of the *Liris*. Their Camp was taken, and plundered, and a great many of thoſe, who retired to *Minturnæ*, were trod to death in the Crowd. Many of the *Campani* eſpecially, periſhed that Way. As for the *Romans*, tho' it was almoſt Night, their firſt Care was to find out the Body of the brave *Decius*. The Darkneſs indeed hindered the Soldiers from paying him Funeral Honours, on the Day he had made memorable for his Piety: but the next day, they found him covered with Heaps of Dead, and wounded in a thouſand Places; and his Collegue performed Obſequies for him, worthy of his Rank, and Valour.

WHILST the *Latins* were flying in Diſorder, the Inhabitants of *Lavinium* marched from thence, with a Reinforcement for them. They took it for granted, a Battel would not be fought ſo ſpeedily. But before they were all got out of their Gates, News was brought them of the Defeat of their Allies. Upon this, their Leaders immediately turned about, and their Troops followed them. And it is ſaid, that *Millionius*, who commanded them, and was like a *Prætor* in their Diſtrict, foreſaw the Storm, which threatned all *Latium*. *Our March*, ſaid he to thoſe about him, *has not been long, but we ſhall pay dearly for it.* Nevertheleſs, the *Latins* had not yet loſt all Hopes of ſhaking off the *Roman* Yoke. The Bulk of their tattered Army was aſſembled at *Minturnæ*, and the reſt followed in ſmall Parties, and cantoned themſelves on the Banks of the *Liris*, near Mount *Maſſicus*, and the Diſtrict of *Falernum*, in a little Village called [67] *Veſcia*, not far from *Minturnæ*. There, *Numicius*, who ſeems to have been the ſole Commander of the *Latin* Army, aſſembled his Soldiers, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner. *Our Troops have indeed ſuffered a great deal, in the Battel, out of which we have eſcaped: but our Enemies have ſuffered as much. The Victory has, in appearance, declared for them; but, in reality, they ought to look upon themſelves as conquered. One of their* Conſuls *has cauſed his own Son to be put to death, the other has in effect killed himſelf. How many* Romans *have we left dead on the Plain? We bravely broke through their firſt and ſecond Lines, and continued the Slaughter even beyond the* Roman Eagles. *Their* Triarii *indeed a little repaired the bad State of their Army; but the Loſs is pretty equal, and we have a Remedy, which the* Romans *have not. They have no Allies to aſſiſt them, and are encamped in a Country, which is farther from* Rome, *than we are from the* Volſci, *and* Latium. *Let us therefore aſſemble the Youth of our Villages, and in the Country of our Allies, before they receive any Reinforcement; return to* Capua; *and try the Fortune of our Arms, once more. We ſhall ſurprize the* Romans, *and our ſudden Return will fill them with Terror.* Accordingly, the Propoſal was agreed to, and in order to encourage thoſe who had not been in the Fight, Letters were diſperſed all over *Latium*, and the Territory of the *Volſci*, giving an Account of a ſecond Battel, and repreſenting the Flight of the *Latin* Army, as an honourable Retreat. So that theſe Reports being fully ſpread abroad, brought great Numbers of young Fellows to their Camp, of whom an Army was immediately formed, and *Numicius* marched towards *Capua*, without delay. There was in the Road a Village called [68] *Trifana*, doubtleſs becauſe three Gods were worſhipped there, in three different Temples; and there *Manlius*, being informed of the Enemy's March, came to meet them. But neither Party gave themſelves time to encamp; they threw down their Baggage in heaps, and immediately began the Engagement. The *Latins* made but a weak reſiſtance; their tumultuous Army was routed. *Manlius* entered *Latium*, in order to lay it waſte, and met with no Reſiſtance. All the *Latin* Cities ſurrendered to him at Diſcretion: as did *Privernum*, in the Territory of the *Volſci*. All *Campania* was brought into Subjection to the *Romans*; and *Capua*, its Capital, returned to the Dominion of its former Maſters. Then, the *Conſul* made it his whole

ce it three Miles on the Eaſt Side of the *Li-* in the Place where *Trajetto* now ſtands. *Clu-* ſays, that there were remaining in his time ſome ly Ruins of old *Minturnæ*; and among the reſt, Aqueduct, Amphitheatre, and the Ruins of ſeve- ancient Monuments.

7 *Veſcia* ſtood in the Country of the *Aurunci*, the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, on this Side Mount *ſicus*, now *Monte Dragone*. It gave its own Name to a little Diſtrict, which the *Latin* Authors call *Ager Veſcinus*, and which reached from *Minturnæ* to *Mola*. Some, by Miſtake, confound the Territory of *Veſcia*, with the Country of the *Veſtini*.

68 This Village was under the Juriſdiction of the *Aurunci*, and lay beyond the *Liris*, at a little Diſtance from *Sinueſſa*, an ancient City in *Terra di Lavoro*, near the Place where *Rocca di Mondragone* now ſtands.

Year of ROME CCCCXIII.
MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

Buſineſs to puniſh the Guilty, and to make his Victory uſeful to his Fellow-Citizens. He diſpoſſeſſed the Inhabitants of *Capua*, *Latium*, and *Privernum*, of their old Eſtates; and diſtributed their Lands among the victorious People: and the fine Plains of *Falernum*, quite to the River *Vulturnus*, were alſo diſtributed among the *Romans*. But *Rome* had regard to Equity in her Diviſion of the conquered Country. Thoſe, who obtained Lands in *Latium*, were allowed only two Acres each, on account of their Nearneſs to *Rome*; but if any one had not his whole two Acres in *Latium*, he was allowed ſome Advantage in the Country of the *Privernates*. The *Romans*, who ſhared among them the Lands of *Falernum*, were allowed more, becauſe of their diſtance from *Rome*; they had each three Acres and a Quarter. Nevertheleſs, the *Latins* and *Campani* were not all deprived of their Eſtates, without Diſtinction. The *Laurentini*, in *Latium*, and the *Campanian Knights*, were not concerned in the Revolt; and the *Conſuls* [69] therefore continued to them all their Privileges. Nay, this was not all the *Romans* did for theſe faithful *Knights*, who were probably the Flower of the Nobility of the Country; they were made Citizens of *Rome*, but without Right of Suffrage. And that this Grant might be the more authentick, it was engraven on Braſs; and this Monument was fixed up, in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. The Number of theſe *Knights*, who continued ſo ſteady in their Fidelity, was 1600: and an Order was made, that they ſhould each be paid annually, and for ever, the Value [70] of twenty five *French Livres*, out of the publick Revenues in *Campania*; which in the whole muſt have been a conſiderable Sum, at that time.

AFTER this glorious, and advantageous Campaign of the Republick was over, *Manlius* returned to *Rome*. One would have thought, his Virtue, his Valour, and the great Services he had done his Country, muſt have gained him the Hearts of all; whereas, his extravagant Severity alienated all the Flower of the *Roman* Youth from him. Nevertheleſs, it is not to be doubted [71], but he obtained the Honours of a Triumph, notwithſtanding *Livy*'s Silence. Could they be refuſed him, after ſo many ſignal Conqueſts? Yet it muſt be confeſſed, that never was any Triumph leſs honoured, or accompanied with fewer Applauſes. None but the old Men walked before the Victor; all the Youth abhorred him, as a Parricide, for having condemned his own Son to death; and they conſpired together, not to aſſiſt at his Proceſſion. Nor did *Manlius* ever recover the Good-will of the Youth; they bore an eternal Hatred to this great Man. Whether his Uneaſineſs at this, had any ill Effect upon his Health, is indeed unknown; but it is certain he fell ſick. And

69 *Livy* adds, That the *Romans* renewed their ancient Alliances with the *Laurentini*; and, That the Memory of it was celebrated every Year, on the tenth Day after the *Feriæ Latinæ* ended; which began *The fifth of the Calends of May*; that is, the 27th of *April*.

70 The different Editions of *Livy* vary, as to the Sum the Republick ordered to be annually paid, to the 1600 *Campanian Knights*, who had not joined with their Countrymen in their Revolt. *Glarean* aſſures us, That in ſeveral MSS. of this Hiſtorian, his Words are, *Denarios nummos quadragenos quinos*, and not, *Denarios nummos quadringenos, quinquagenos*; as we read, in moſt of the printed Copies. If it be true, that only 45 *Denarii* * were paid them, according to the former Reading, *Denarios nummos quadringenos quinos*, this will amount at moſt to no more than 25 *French Livres*, reckoning each *Denarius*, with *Budæus*, to be worth a little more than 10 *Sous*. But the Sum is more conſiderable, according to the common Reading, which is, *Denarios nummos Quadringenos, quinquagenos*; that is, 450 *Denarii* †; which amount to 225 *French Livres*, at the Rate of 10 *Sous* for every *Denarius*. But, we are not to infer, from *Livy*'s computing this Money by *Denarii*, that therefore theſe *Denarii* were in uſe at *Rome*, at this time; ſince the *Romans* did not begin to uſe any coined Money, till five Years after the firſt War with *Carthage*, when *Q. Ogulnius Gallus*, and *Caius Fabius Pictor*, were *Conſuls*. The Deſign of the Hiſtorian therefore, in reckoning the Penſions of the *Campanian Knights* by *Denarii*, was only to ſhew the Value of them, according to the Money in uſe in his own time. At leaſt, it cannot be ſaid, that *Denarii* were current in *Campania*, in the 413th Year of *Rome*. Our future Remarks upon the *Roman* Money, will naturally lead us to treat of the *Roman*, or Silver *Denarius*: And we will at the ſame time explain what the Ancients mean by the copper, and gold *Denarius*. In the mean time, we have valued the *Denarius*, according to its original Valuation, that is, as equal to the *Attick Drachma*, or 10 *Roman As's*. For this we have *Pliny*'s Authority, *B.* 33. *c.* 3. *Drachma Attica*, ſays he, *Denarii argentei habet pondus*. Not that the *Denarius* underwent no Alterations; but this Affair of the ancient Species, requires a more particular Enquiry, which we poſtpone for the preſent, and will inſert in the ſubſequent Volumes.

71 The *Capitoline Marbles* teſtify, that *Manlius* triumphed, by theſe Words: T. MANLIUS L. F. A. N. IMPERIOS. TORQUAT. A. CDXIII. COS. DE LATINEIS, CAMPANEIS, SIDICINEIS, AURUNCEIS XV K. JUNIAS; that is, TITUS MANLIUS, *Son of* LUCIUS, *and Grandſon of* AULUS, *ſurnamed* IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, *triumphed over the Latins, Campani, Sidicini, and* Aurunci, *The ſixteenth of the Calends*, or the 18th Day of *June*, in the *Year* 413. This is not the only Triumph *Livy* has omitted, as we have often obſerved.

* 1 *l.* 9 *s.* 0 *d.* ¾ *Arbuthnot.*

† 14 *l.* 10 *s.* 7 *d.* ½ *Arbuthnot.*

whilſt he continued unactive at home, the *Antiates* took Arms, and made an Incurſion upon the Lands of the Republick, in the Territories of *Oſtia*, *Ardea*, and [72] *Solonium*. Theſe Cities were partly in *Latium*, and partly in the Country of the *Rutuli*, who were ſubject to the *Romans*. It was therefore *Manlius*'s Buſineſs to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of theſe new Enemies; but he, either out of Vexation, or on account of his Sickneſs, choſe rather to create a *Dictator*, than return to the War. He nominated [73] *L. Papirius Craſſus*, who was then *Prætor*, to the *Dictatorſhip*; and the latter choſe another *L. Papirius*, ſurnamed *Curſor*, to be his General of Horſe. There was nothing memorable in their Expedition againſt the *Antiates*; becauſe the Enemy durſt not appear in the Field. The *Dictator* kept his Troops in their Country, for ſome Months, upon free Quarter; and did not return to the City, till obliged to go, and preſide at the Election of new *Conſuls* for the next Year.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIII. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

§. XV. THE Law, which required that one of the *Conſuls* ſhould always be a *Plebeian*, was then pretty ſtrictly obſerved in *Rome*. As [74] *Tib. Æmilius* was now choſen out of the Nobility, ſo *Q. Publilius* was choſen from among the People, to ſucceed *Manlius* and *Decius*. And it unfortunately happened, that the *Plebeian* was more expeditious in Conqueſt, and received greater Honours than the *Patrician*. In ſhort, the *Latins*, tho' vanquiſhed, were not quite cruſhed; and their Fierceneſs was increaſed by their Deſpair. Several of theſe unhappy Men, whom *Rome* had deprived of their Eſtates, were gathered together, ſome near [75] *Ferentinum*, where formerly their Diets aſſembled; and others, near *Pedum*; where they pitched their Camp cloſe to the City, that they might be able to defend both together. The two *Conſuls* choſe their Provinces by Lot: and it fell to *Publilius*, to command the Army which was to act againſt the *Latins*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ferentinum*; and to *Æmilius*, to lead the Troops, which were to lay Siege to *Pedum*, and reduce the Remains of the Rebels. But *Publilius* finiſhed his Expedition much ſooner than his Collegue. He made it the Buſineſs of but a few Days, to come up with, conquer, and force the Enemy to ſurrender at Diſcretion. And upon his return to *Rome*, he obtained a Triumph. It was then cuſtomary always to grant it to Generals, after a glorious Campaign; eſpecially if they had defeated the Enemy in a pitched Battel, or their Victory had been followed by the Reduction of any Nation. And whilſt *Publilius* was entering *Rome* in State, his Collegue *Æmilius* claimed the ſame Honour. The Body of *Latins* he was to engage with, had indeed experienced his Valour, in ſeveral little Battels; but his Expedition was not ended. His Enemies had received Reinforcements from many Cities in Alliance with them. *Tybur*, *Prænesſte*, *Velitræ*, *Antium*, and *Lavinium*, had all ſent them Succours; *Pedum* was yet to be taken; and the Rebels ſtill continued in their Entrenchments. Nevertheleſs, *Æmilius*, jealous of the Glory of a Collegue, who was inferior to him in Birth, came to *Rome*, in order to ſollicit the Senate with Earneſtneſs, to decree him a Triumph. But this immoderate Deſire of an Honour, which did not legally belong to him, was diſpleaſing to the *Conſcript Fathers*. They declared to *Æmilius*, That he ſhould not have any Triumph, till he had forced *Pedum* to ſurrender, or taken it by Aſſault. How dif-

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIV. TIBERIUS ÆMILIUS, Q. PUBLILIUS, Conſuls.

72 *Cicero* ſays, *B.* 1. *De Divin.* that the Diſtrict of *Solonium*, was Part of the Territory of *Lanuvium*. *In Solonio, qui eſt campus agri Lanuvini.* It was but twelve Miles, *i. e.* about four *French Leagues*, from *Rome*. But it was but eight Miles from thence, by the Croſs-ways, according to *Feſtus*. It was near, *Oſtia*, *Antium*, and *Ardea*. It was watered by the Fountain *Juturna*, now *Rivo di Patrica*, and the River *Numicus*, or *the Numico*, in the Neighbourhood of *S. Abrocolo*, *Torre Maggiore*, and *Carqueto*. *Marius* and *Tully* had Country-houſes there.

73 The *Faſti Capitolini*, *Livy*, and *Tully*, all ſay, that *L. Papirius Craſſus*, who was then *Prætor*, was made *Dictator*. The latter ſays it expreſly, in a Letter to *Pætus*. But there is two Years Difference, between the Year of *Rome* in which he places this *Dictatorſhip*, and that in which the *Faſti* place it.

74 In the old Editions of *Livy*, *Æmilius* has the *Prænomen* of *Titus*, inſtead of that of *Tiberius*. This Miſtake ought to be corrected by the *Faſti Capitolini*; and the rather, becauſe he is not the firſt of the *Æmilian* Family, who had that *Prænomen*. This *Conſul*'s Surname is *Mamercinus*, which ſome Annaliſts have changed into *Mamercus*.

75 Tho' *Livy*'s Words are, *in campis Fenectanis*, and in ſome Editions *Senectanis*, we have nevertheleſs thought it beſt to tranſlate them thus, *in the Neighbourhood of Ferentinum*. It is difficult to gueſs what that Territory was, of which neither Hiſtorians nor Geographers ſay one Word. And we have therefore preſumed, that the Copyiſts have made a Miſtake, and that the Hiſtorian's Meaning was, That the *Latins* were beaten, in the Fields belonging to *Ferentinum*. This was indeed the *Rendezvous* of that Nation, as has been often obſerved.

ferent

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIV.

TIBERIUS ÆMILIUS, Q. PUBLILIUS, Conſuls.

ferent were the preceding *Conſuls* from the preſent ones! *Manlius* and *Decius* had nothing at heart, but the Intereſt of the Publick. The one had ſacrificed his own Life to it, the other that of his Son. But *Æmilius* had nothing in view, but the promoting his own Glory; *Publilius*'s whole Aim was, to aggrandize his Party. So true is it, that theſe *Romans*, who are ſo much magnified, had not all the ſame Love of Virtue: as will be very evident, from what follows.

ÆMILIUS, tho' a *Patrician*, ſuffered his Reſentment againſt the Senate to ſtifle the Affection he ought to have had for the Nobility; and his Collegue inflamed his Paſſion. He loved the *Plebeian* Faction; and knew how to take Advantage of *Æmilius*'s Rage, and turn it to the Advancement of his own Party. So that the two *Conſuls* both purſued the ſame Point; and aſſiſted one another in humbling the *Patricians*. The moſt furious *Tribunes of the People* never inveighed more bitterly againſt the Authority of the Nobility, than *Æmilius* now did. The uſual Subject of his ſeditious Harangues, was the unequal Diſtribution the Senate had made of the Lands in *Latium*, and the Territory of *Falernum*. He inſiſted, that the Nobility had a much greater Share of them, than the People: and theſe Diſcourſes of the enraged *Conſul* began to create a great deal of Diſorder. The Senate therefore, under pretence of carrying on the War with the *Latin* Rebels, made haſte, to prevent ill Conſequences; and ordered *Æmilius* to nominate a *Dictator*. He was then firſt *Conſul*; the *Faſces*, which the *Conſuls* had alternately, each a Month, were at his Houſe. And being ordered to nominate a *Dictator*, he ſeized this favourable Opportunity of revenging himſelf on the Senate and Nobility, and choſe his Collegue *Publilius*, who was a *Plebeian*. *Publilius* made one 76 *Brutus Scæva* his General of Horſe, who was not lineally deſcended from the firſt *Conſul Brutus*, but was of the ſame Family, and a *Plebeian*. So that the *Plebeian* Party was now as powerful as ever. It is to be ſuppoſed therefore, that *Publilius*, who was a great Zealot for the popular Faction, would not let ſlip the Advantages his tranſient Sovereignty gave him to promote it. And he accordingly made it his whole Buſineſs, to eſtabliſh the Rights of a People on a ſolid Foundation, and make them equal to thoſe of the Nobility, in every Particular. This he did by three Laws, which he either made himſelf, or revived, and put in Execution. The firſt was, *That the Decrees made by the People, at the requeſt of their* Tribunes, *ſhould be obſerved by all the Subjects of the Republick in general.* In the firſt Ages, after the Abolition of the regal Power, there was this difference between the Decrees of the *Roman* Senate, and thoſe of the People; that the former were general Laws, and extended to all; whereas the latter, were obligatory only on the People. And this had always been Matter of Murmur among the *Plebeians*. This Inequality of Power between the Senate and People, had indeed been reformed, in the *Conſulſhip* of *M. Horatius*, in the Year of *Rome* 303: and it was then enacted, That the *Patricians* ſhould obey the Laws of the People, as the People did thoſe of the Senate. But this Regulation ſeems to have been afterwards neglected, ſince the *Dictator Publilius* revived it. The ſecond Law he made, ſet Bounds to the Authority of the Senate, and even ſubjected it to the Power of the People aſſembled in *Comitia by Centuries*. Before *Publilius*'s time, theſe *Comitia* drew up Laws; but the Senate had a Power of accepting, or rejecting them, at pleaſure. Whereas, that Order was now changed. The *Dictator* ordered, *That the Senate ſhould conſent to the Laws, before they were brought into the* Comitia; *and That the People ſhould put the laſt Hand to them, by their Approbation.* And laſtly, the third Law, *Publilius* made, reſpected the *Cenſors*. Theſe Magiſtrates were become powerful in *Rome*: and this Office had hitherto been confined to the moſt illuſtrious of the Nobility; no *Plebeian* having yet enjoyed it. But the *Dictator* declared, that ſince the *Conſulſhip* was divided between the Nobility and the People; it was much more reaſonable, that one of the *Cenſorſhips* ſhould al-

76. There were always reckoned to have been ſeveral *Plebeian* Branches of the *Bruti*, in *Rome*, who all deſcended from the ſame Stock. *Lucius Brutus*, who was the firſt *Tribune of the People*, made the Branch from which he ſprung, famous; as *L. Brutus*, who deſtroyed the Regal Power, added great Luſtre to his. The Surname of *Scæva*, was probably given to this *Brutus*, whom *Publilius* choſe to be his General of Horſe, becauſe he was *left-handed*; for that is the Meaning of the Word. It was ſometimes underſtood in a good Senſe, and ſometimes in a bad one, as has been before obſerved.

always be lodged in the Hands of a *Plebeian*. And this Law was paſſed in Form, and a *Plebeian* was conſtantly joined with a *Patrician* in that Office, for above 200 Years after. Thus *Publilius* ſignalized his Zeal for his own Party. But the Senate lamented the Loſs of their Authority, and the *Patricians* publickly declared, That the *Dictator* had done the Republick more Miſchief by his Laws, than Service by his Victories.

Year of ROME CCCCXIV. TIBERIUS ÆMILIUS, Q. PUBLILIUS, Conſuls.

§. XVI. THE Senators therefore were bent upon revenging themſelves on *Æmilius*, who had contributed ſo much to the Downfall of the *Patricians*, by his Union with the *Plebeians*; and they found an Opportunity to do it, as ſoon as the new *Conſuls* entered upon the Government of *Rome*. Theſe *Conſuls* were 77 *L. Furius Camillus*, Grandſon of the Great *Camillus*; and *C. Mænius*, a *Plebeian*. The *Conſcript Fathers* knew how tender *Æmilius* was of his Honour; and therefore attacked him on that Side. In order to ſhew all the *Romans*, how negligently this *Conſul* had diſcharged his Commiſſion of finiſhing the War with the *Latins*; the Senate ordered the preſent *Conſuls* to undertake again the ſame Enterprize *Æmilius* had failed in, and to lay Siege to *Pedum*; ſince their Predeceſſor had not dared to attempt it. This was a mortifying Decree to *Æmilius*; and this was not all. Leſt *Camillus* and his Collegue ſhould be foiled in an Attempt which the Nobility had at heart; they plentifully furniſhed theſe Generals, with Men, Ammunition, Arms, and Machines. The *Conſuls* were ordered to open the Campaign with this Siege: And they both commanded at firſt in the ſame Army. But they afterwards ſeem to have ſeparated from one another; and to have commanded each a ſeparate Body. When the *Legions* marched from *Rome*, the *Latins* were reduced to ſuch a Condition, that they neither durſt take the Field to carry on the War, nor could they be content to ſit ſtill in Peace. To march out with any Troops, was to give the *Romans* a Pretence, to come and chaſtiſe them as Rebels. And how could they ſit down quietly, when all they had in the World was taken from them? Fear and Deſpair therefore made them waver between Slavery, and Death; and they choſe a middle Way. They ſhut themſelves up in their Cities, and aſſembled no Army; but were reſolved to aſſiſt their Neighbours, if the *Romans* came to diſturb their Tranquillity, and take their Towns by Force. Theſe were the Diſpoſitions of the Minds of the People in *Latium*, when *Camillus* came to *Pedum*. Upon the Report of his March, ſome Troops hurried away from *Tybur* and *Præneſte*, to the Relief of *Pedum*, came thither before the Forces of the other *Latin* Cities, and ſurpraſſed *Camillus*, when he began to inveſt this City. Nor were theſe the only People of *Latium*, who haſtened to relieve the Town which was going to be beſieged. The Inhabitants of *Aricia*, *Lavinium*, *Velitræ*, and *Antium*, all joined together, and took the Road to *Pedum*. But the *Conſul Mænius*, who covered the Siege with his Army, prevented theſe *Latin* Troops, went to meet the Reinforcements, and fought them on the Banks of the 79 *Aſtura*. And the Defeat of theſe Auxiliaries coſt *Mænius* but a ſlight Engagement: He attacked them briskly, and diſperſed them. But *Camillus* did not find it ſo eaſy a matter to deal with the *Tiburtini*. Theſe fell upon his Lines, whilſt the Garriſon of *Pedum* made a Sally. Nevertheleſs, as the *Romans* were attacked on both Sides, they faced about both ways; and on the one hand put the *Tiburtini* into Diſorder, who diſperſed themſelves about the Country; on the other, repulſed the Garriſon of *Pedum*, and forced them to retire within their Walls. Nor were they long ſuffered there. *Camillus* ordered the Town to be ſtormed the ſame Day; and his Army being numerous, ſurrounded the whole City at once; and in ſhort, *Pedum* was taken by Aſſault.

Liv. B.8 c.13.

CCCCXV. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, C. MÆNIUS, Conſuls.

77 The Names of theſe *Conſuls* are taken from the *Triumphal Tables*, on which it is recorded, that *Furius Camillus* was the Son of *Spurius Camillus*, who was the firſt Man raiſed to the Dignity of Dictator. And conſequently, he was the Grandſon of the Great *Camillus*, the Deliverer of *Rome*. We think it neceſſary to obſerve this, in order to prevent confounding the two *Lucius Camillus's*, which are mentioned in the *Faſti Capitolini*, and taking them for but one Man.

78 *Diodorus Siculus* has changed *Caius Mænius's* Name into that of *Manlius*.

79 The River *Aſtura*, or, as others, *Stura*, watered the *Pomptin* Territory, which is at preſent a Part of the *Campagna di Roma*. It diſcharges itſelf into the *Tuſcan* Sea, and retains, to this Day, its old Name, which it communicated to a ſmall Iſland, near the Mouth of it, ſix Miles beyond *The Promontory of Antium*, between that City, and *Circæum*. *Cicero* had a Country-houſe there; and was ſurprized and killed near it, by *Anthony's* Emiſſaries,

Year of *ROME* CCCCXV.
L. Furius Camillus, C. Mænius, Conſuls.

THEN the *Conſuls* improved the Victory they had gained, over different Nations. They united their *Legions* in one great Body, and with theſe formidable Forces over-run all *Latium*. Wherever they came, the Cities either ſurrendered at Diſcretion, or were obliged to it by Force. And the *Conſuls* did not put an end to their Incurſions, till there were no more Places to be reduced, or rebellious Cantons to be ſubdued. They placed ſtrong Garriſons every where, and returned to *Rome*, with great Glory, after having finiſhed a War, the *Romans* had ſo much dreaded; and brought thoſe Neighbours into Subjection to *Rome*, who never did her more Service, in the Character of Allies, than they were compelled to do, and were always ready to deſert her in her Diſtreſs, either out of Pride, or Jealouſy. It is eaſy to imagine with what Acclamations the two Conquerors were received in *Rome*. Triumphs were decreed them, on different Days, and for different Victories. *L. Camillus* is ſaid to have entered *Rome* in Triumph, on *The Fourth of the Calends of October*, for having conquered the *Pedani*, and *Tiburtes*; and *C. Mænius*, two Days after, for having defeated the *Antiates*, *Lavinienſes*, and *Veliterni*. And as the Victory of the two *Conſuls* was complete, and their Conqueſt important, the *Romans* thought proper to honour them with a laſting and diſtinguiſhing Monument. The Republick ordered two Equeſtrian Statues of Braſs, to be erected for them, in the Place where Harangues were made to the People. It had hitherto been a rare thing, to honour Generals, with ſo durable, and ſo glorious Marks, of Diſtinction.

Feſt. Capit.

Eutrop. B. 2. Liv. ibid.

AFTER this, the *Conſuls*, having yet ſome time to continue in their Office, employed it in determining the Fate of the Conquered. *Camillus* had had the greateſt Hand in the Conqueſt of *Latium*; and he gave the Senate his Opinion of the Uſe *Rome* ought to make of the Subjection of the *Latins*. His Speech was this. *The Gods, and the Valour of our Soldiers, have at length put an end to the War we were forced to make with the* Latins. *Our Enemies were defeated on the Banks of the* Aſtura. Pedum *is taken, all the Cities in* Latium *are ſubdued.* Antium, *in the Territory of the* Volſci, *is ſurrendered at Diſcretion, and all our Conqueſts are ſecured by ſtrong Garriſons. Thus our Work is completed. Nothing now remains, but to conſider, how we ſhall keep this untractable People in Obedience for the future; and whether we ſhall make a ſevere Uſe of our Right of Conqueſt. The Gods have put it in your Power to determine whether there ſhall be, for the future, any ſuch Place as* Latium *in the World, or not. You may ſecure yourſelves from the* Latins, *either by exterminating, or by pardoning, them. Take your Choice therefore. You may, if you pleaſe, aboliſh the very Name of a People, whom you have ſo often made uſe of in your Armies; and make the Land, which has produced ſo many brave Men to defend it, nothing but a vaſt Deſert: or you may imitate your Anceſtors, remove the Conquered to* Rome, *and by granting them the Privileges of Citizens, incorporate them with us; and make both Nations but one People, and one Republick. How fine an Opportunity now offers itſelf,* Conſcript Fathers, *for you to raiſe your Glory, by increaſing the Number of your Subjects! And what Government ſo ſafe, as that, wherein the People obey with Pleaſure; and Gratitude quickens and invigorates the Subjects in the Diſcharge of their Duty! But whether you chuſe Severity, or Lenity, it is neceſſary to come to a ſpeedy Determination. The People concerned, are wavering between Hope and Fear. Be ſpeedy therefore in determining their Fate; that, ſince they continue to tremble with Expectation of it, they may either meet their Puniſhment without Reſiſtance, or embrace the Effects of your Bounty, with Tranſport. It is our Buſineſs to force the* Latins *to ſubmit to your Will and Pleaſure; it is yours, to decree what you think moſt conducive to the publick Good.*

Liv. ibid.

THUS ſpake *Camillus*. His Diſcourſe ſufficiently ſhewed, that he inclined to Clemency: and the ableſt Men in the Senate, were, in general, of his Opinion. But the Caſe of all the *Latin* Cities was not the ſame; ſome were more criminal than others; and it was therefore thought proper to make a difference, in the manner both of rewarding, and puniſhing them. It was determined to examine particularly into all the Reaſons the Republick had, to pardon ſome, chaſtiſe others, and reward the moſt faithful. The Inhabitants of *Lavinium* were made *Roman Citizens*; and were ſuffered to worſhip their own Gods, but with ſome Conditi-

Year of ROME CCCCXV.
L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, C. MÆNIUS, Conſuls

Condition, that the [30] Wood and Temple, which they had dedicated to *Juno*, ſhould be in common between them, and the *Romans*. The Inhabitants of *Aricia*, *Nomentum*, and *Pedum*, obtained likewiſe the ſame Favour with thoſe of *Lavinium*, i. e. their Cities were made [81] *Roman Municipia*, their Soldiers had the Privilege of being incorporated in the *Legions*, ſhared all the Advantages of the *Roman* Soldiery, and were no longer upon the Foot of [82] Auxiliaries. As for the *Tuſculani*, they had formerly obtained this Favour of the Republick, and it was now confirmed to them. Not that there were none among them, who had joined zealouſly in the Revolt, but the *Romans* would not condemn a whole Country, for the Faults of only a few Revolters. The Caſe of the Inhabitants of *Velitræ*, was more offenſive to the Senate. This City had been a *Roman Colony* for above a hundred and fifty Years: and had, notwithſtanding this, deſerted her Metropolis, and joined with the Enemies of *Rome*. Beſides, they were an untractable People, and had often revolted from the Republick: and they were therefore treated with Severity. The City of *Velitræ* was razed, its Senate removed into another City, and all its Inhabitants ordered to ſettle, on the other Side of the *Tyber*. If any of them preſumed to paſs that River, he

80 When Idolatry began to ſpread in the World, the Pagan Deities had no other Temples, but the Tops of Mountains, Hills, and Plains. The Word *Temple*, ſignified in general, any Place which was conſecrated by Acts of Religion. After this, the Silence and Gloomineſs of Woods, was thought more agreable to the Recollection, which the Celebration of the Myſteries of Paganiſm required. The People therefore performed their Ceremonies, and Sacrifices, made their Vows, and Prayers, and, in a word, performed all the religious Worſhip they publickly paid their Gods, in them. Theſe Woods were generally planted upon Eminences; and ſome think they were not called *Luci*, becauſe very *light* Places, but for a quite contrary Reaſon; namely, becauſe they were ſo thick that the Rays of the Sun could not pierce thro' them. But others ſay, the Pagans held their Aſſemblies there in the Night, by Torch-light; and that a ſacred Wood, or Grove, was called *Lucus*, from thence. Not long after this, Buildings were erected in Honour to the profane Deities. Nevertheleſs, ſeveral Nations, as the *Indians*, *Greeks*, *Daci*, and *Getæ*, retained the old Cuſtom, for ſeveral Ages. The *Perſians*, who worſhiped the Sun, thought it would be diſreſpectful in them to ſhut up this pretended itinerant Divinity, within four Walls; *quod majeſtatem Solis putarent tantis tectorum angustiis coercendam*, ſays *Strabo*, l. 15. Theſe People, ſays *Cicero*, *De Legib. B.* 2. thought it unlawful, to confine thoſe ſuperior Beings within ſo narrow a Space, whoſe Dominion was as boundleſs as the Univerſe: *Non esse parietibus includendos Deos, quibus omnia deberent esse patentia et libera, quorumque hic mundus omnis templum esset, ac domus.* The *Romans* themſelves did not begin to build Temples, according to the ſame *Varro*, as quoted by *St. Auſt. de Civ. Dei, B.* 4. *c.* 36. till after the 170th Year of *Rome*. *Centum septuaginta primis annis ritu Persico, Templis, simulachris, Deorumque statuis, caruerunt.* Which if true, it will neceſſarily follow, That the Temples of *Janus*, *Jupiter Feretrius*, *Jupiter Stator*, *Quirinus*, *&c.* erected at *Rome*, in the Time of the firſt Kings, were not conſecrated Places. It is probable, they were then looked on only as venerable Monuments, which preſerved the Memory of ſome ſignal Action. Thus the Deſign of erecting the Temple and Statue of *Janus Biſrons*, was only to perpetuate the Memory, of the Union of the *Romans*, and *Sabines*, under the ſymbolical Figure of two Faces, which were given to one God. And after the *Romans* had dedicated Temples to *Mars*, *Diana*, *&c.* they ſtill continued to ſet apart ſacred Groves, or Woods, for their religious Worſhip; which they paid, from time to time, to the Deity which preſided in theſe gloomy Places. *Cicero* makes it to have been enjoined by a Law, which he ſays he took out of the old Laws of the *Pontifices*. CONSTRUCTA A PATRIBUS DELUBRA HABENTO, LUCOS IN AGRIS HABENTO, ET LARUM SEDES. So that *Rome* had her ſacred Woods, even within the City. The Groves of *Venus*, *Juno Lucina*, *Veſta*, *&c.* were all venerable Places among the *Romans*. We learn, from an old Inſcription, that one *Egerius of Tuſculum*, dedicated the Grove of *Diana*, in the Foreſt of *Aricia*. *Cicero*, *Pro Domo ſua*, ſpeaks of two Groves which were planted on the Ground on which *Manlius Capitolinus*'s Houſe formerly ſtood. The Woods of *Alba* had their own Prieſts. Even moſt private Families made it a Matter of Religion, to have ſome Place of Retirement to itſelf, ſurrounded with ſome Trees, where they uſed, at certain times, to worſhip their domeſtick Gods. Theſe Woods were ſo much revered, that it was thought impious to prune or cut any of the Trees, unleſs ſtruck with Lightning: And then the Part ſo ſtricken was cut off; and the doing it was called *conlucare lucum*. And this Operation was attended with the expiatory Sacrifice of a Swine. *Cato*, *De re ruſtica*, gives us the following Account of the Rites uſed, and the Form of Words pronounced, at this Sacrifice. *Porco piaculo faceto, ſi Deus, ſi Dea eſt, quojum illud ſacrum eſt, uti tibi jus ſiet porco piaculo facere, illiuſce ſacri coercendi ergo. Harumce rerum ergo, ſive ego, ſive quis juſſu meo fecerit, uti id recte factum ſiet. Ejus rei ergo, te hoc porco piaculo immolando, bonas preces precor, uti ſies volens propitius mihi, domo, familiæque meæ, liberiſque meis. Harumce rerum ergo, macte hoc porco piaculo immolando eſto.*

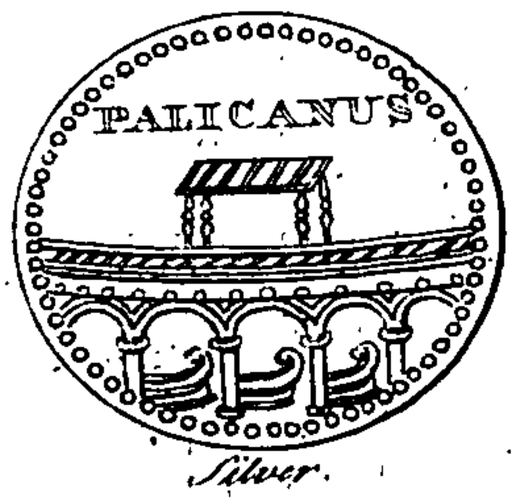
81 The Privileges granted by the *Romans*, to the *Municipia*, or *Municipal* Cities, were more or leſs, according to the Services they had done the Republick. The Hiſtorians have ſhewn us the Difference, in ſeveral Parts of their Hiſtories. The Citizens of ſome *Municipia*, had only the Title of *Roman Citizens*, without any of the Advantages of being ſuch. Others enjoyed all the Privileges annexed to this Title, without the burdenſome Duties of *Roman Citizens*. They could ſtand Candidates for Offices, were enrolled in the *Tribes*, had a Right of Suffrage, and ſerved in the Army only upon the Foot of *Legionaries*; and had therefore a Right to aſpire at military Offices. And at the ſame time, they enjoyed the free Uſe of all their own Laws, both with reſpect to Religion and Polity. We ſhall give a particular Account of the Rights, Origin, Immunities, and Government of the *Municipia*, in this Volume; and ſhew the Difference between them and the *Colonies*.

was

Year of *ROME* CCCCXV.
L. Furius Camillus, C. Mænius, Conſuls.

was obliged [83] to pay 1000 *Aſſes* of Braſs, and he was [84] liable to be ſeized, and kept Priſoner, till Payment was made. The Lands of their Senators were divided among a new *Colony* of *Romans*, who were ſent thither; and theſe new Inhabitants rebuilt it, in the ſame manner, it was in before. *Antium* was not puniſhed with ſo much Severity. This City had indeed been a *Roman Colony*, ever ſince the Year of *Rome* 286, and had often forgotten the Gratitude it owed the Republick. Nevertheleſs, its old Inhabitants were permitted to live in it together with the new, if they pleaſed; and to continue in their own Houſes. But the Galleys, in the Port of *Antium*, which the Inhabitants called their Fleet, were removed from thence. They had indeed only ſix Ships of War in all; but ſix Galleys were at that time thought a great Armament. The *Romans* carried ſome of them into their own Ports, and burnt the reſt. As to the Braſs Beaks, with which theſe Veſſels were armed, for fighting, the *Conſul Mænius* adorned the *Tribune of Harangues* with them, from which the *Conſuls* and *Tribunes* made their Speeches to the People: and theſe Beaks of Ships, which were placed there, by way of Ornament, gave this *Tribune*, which was looked on as the Sanctuary of Juſtice, the Name of [85] *Roſtra*. In ſhort, the Right of *Citizenſhip* was alſo granted to the whole *Colony* of the *Antiates*, on Condition, they went no more to Sea. As for the Inhabitants of *Tybur* and *Præneſte*, the *Romans* deprived them of all their Lands: but the Senate did not paſs this ſevere Sentence upon them, ſo much on the account of their late Revolt, as of the Aſſiſtance they had formerly given the *Gauls*, in Breach of the Fidelity they owed the Republick. And laſtly, all the *Latins* in general were forbidden aſſembling their Diets as uſual, making Intermarriages in different Cities, and ſetting up common Markets and Fairs for Trade. Thoſe of [86] *Fundi*, and [87] *Formiæ*, had alſo the Right of *Citizenſhip* granted them, but not a Right of Suffrage,

Flor. B. 1. c. 11.



Silver.

82 By Auxiliaries, were then meant only the Troops of the Allies. Afterwards, this Word ſignified the Troops hired by the Republick. But thoſe the Confederates furniſhed, were not ſo, as has been already obſerved.

83 In ſeveral Editions of *Livy*, we read, *uſque ad mille paſſuum*, inſtead of *uſque ad mille pondo*; as if the Hiſtorian intended to ſignify, that the *Velitrani* were not ſuffered to come 1000 Paces on this ſide the *Tyber*, on Pain of being ſeized.

84 The Puniſhment inflicted on the refractory, is expreſſed thus; *ut ejus qui eis Tiberim deprehenſus eſſet uſque ad mille pondo clarigatio eſſet. Liv. B. 8.* Ancient Authors underſtand the Word *Clarigatio*, in two different Senſes. It ſignified the Declaration of War the *Feciales* made *with a loud Voice*, or *clara voce*, in the Name of the Republick; or it ſignified a certain Form of Words, in which they uſed to demand Satisfaction of an Enemy, for the Injury done to the Republick. *Pliny*, *B.* 22. and *Servius*, *Æneid* 9. underſtand it, in this Senſe. And it alſo ſignified, the Right of ſeizing a Man's Body, by declaring him guilty and convicted of Diſobedience to the Laws, or the Commands of the Magiſtrate.

85 The *Roſtra*, or *Tribune of Harangues*, was erected in that Part of the *Forum*, which was called *Comitium*, near the Hill *Palatinus*. The *Tribune* from which the Magiſtrates uſed to harangue the People, ſtood upon Pillars, and was of the Form of an Amphitheatre. We gueſs ſo, by the Reverſe of one of *Auguſtus*'s Medals, which is, as above; that is, in caſe this Tribunal was not altered between the time we are here ſpeaking of, and the Reign of that Emperor, which was above three Centuries after it. This Place was called a Temple, becauſe it was conſecrated by the *Augurs*. Afterwards, Statues were erected here, in honour to thoſe who had made themſelves famous for the Service they had done the Republick.

86 The City of *Fundi* ſtood between *Formiæ* and *Terracina*, and between the *Liris* and the *Uſens* in the Territory of *Cæcubum*, and near *The Appian Way*. It gave Name to a Lake which diſcharges itſelf into the Sea. The Lands of *Fundi*, though marſhy, were planted with Vines, which produced excellent Wines, which were famous among the Ancients.

87 *Formiæ* was founded, according to *Strabo*, by a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*, who at firſt gave it the Name of ἰρμίαι, from its convenient Port: And *Pliny* and *Feſtus* approve of this Etymology. The City was in the Country of the *Aurunci*, between *Fundi*, and *Minturnæ*. The Town of *Mola*, which is built upon the Ruins of it, after it had been ſacked by the *Saracens*. This ancient City gave its Name to the Hills in its Neighbourhood, and to the Country-houſe which *Cicero* had near it, at a little Diſtance from *Gaeta*.

either in the *Comitia by Tribes*, or *Centuries*; which was a Privilege [88] sometimes granted to the *Municipal* Towns. The Senate did this, to reward the constant Fidelity of these two Nations, who had always given the *Roman* Armies a free Passage through their Lands. As for the Cities of *Campania*, as *Cumæ*, and *Suessula*, they were put upon the same Foot as *Capua*; i. e. all their Lands were given away, and this whole rich Province divided among the *Romans*. Thus a three Years War ended in the Subjection of two fine Countries to the Republick. Thus the *Latins*, from being the Allies of *Rome*, became her Subjects.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXV. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, C. MÆNIUS, Consuls.

88 *Fundi* and *Formiæ*, were therefore some of those *Municipal* Towns, whose Inhabitants had only the Honour of being stiled *Roman Citizens*, but none of the Privileges annexed to that Title.



THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XVII.

§. I. *ROME* had never yet been in a better Condition, to attempt the Conqueſt of all *Italy*, than now. The domeſtick Seditions which had ſo long diſturbed her Quiet, were perfectly appeaſed. Theſe Commotions had been, for the moſt part, excited by the Inequality the Nobility had kept up between the People and themſelves. For ſome time, the *Patricians* had uſurped all the Honours and Dignities of the Republick. Hence thoſe violent Shocks which had like to have brought it to Ruin. The *Plebeians* had been, more than once, forced into ſeditious Separations, compelled to leave their Country, and abandon *Rome* to the Violence of their Oppreſſors; and they had afterwards conſented to return, on Condition they ſhould be treated with more Moderation, and enjoy ſuch a Proportion of Power for the future, as would make their Reſidence in the City more tolerable. Afterwards, the People made incredible Efforts to bring their Authority to be equal, in all Particulars, to that of the Nobility; and had ſucceeded. The *Plebeians* had now ſo far gained their Point, that they ſhared all the Offices in the Republick with the *Patricians*. One of the two *Conſuls* was choſen out of the Nobility; the other, out of the People. There were *Plebeian Quæſtors*, and *Ædiles*, as well as *Patrician*. The *Cenſorſhip* was now very lately divided between the two Parties. Indeed the Senate, generally ſpeaking, conſiſted [1] of Perſons choſen out of the Nobility: But then the People had their *Tribunes*, and their *Comitia*, in which

1 Indeed, the Senate, generally ſpeaking, conſiſted of Perſons choſen out of the Nobility. But nevertheleſs, ſome *Plebeians* were continually admitted into it, eſpecially ſince they had ſhared the Honours of the *Curule* Magiſtracies with the *Patricians*; as we learn from *D. Hal. B.* 7. where he is ſpeaking of the Power the Commons aſſumed of citing *Coriolanus* to appear before their Tribunal. This was the firſt time, ſays that Author, the People uſurped the Right of judging a *Patrician*. After this, the *Tribunes of the People* took upon them to ſummons any Citizen whatſoever, to appear before the *Comitia by Tribes*. As much as the Power of the *Plebeians* was thereby increaſed, ſo much did that of the Nobility loſe, of its ancient Luſtre; eſpecially ſince the former had been admitted into the Senate, Prieſthood, and ſupreme Dignities in the Republick. But it is difficult to aſſign the exact Date of this Revolution. We only learn from *Livy*, *B.* 5. that *P. Licinius Calvus*, who was of *Plebeian* Extraction, was an old Senator, in the Year 354. *Zonaras* affirms, that King *Servius Tullius* made it a matter of Merit with the People, that he had incorporated ſeveral *Plebeians* by Deſcent, in the Senate. According to *Suetonius*, in his *Life of Auguſtus*, *ch.* 2. *Tarquin the Firſt* raiſed the *Octavian* Family to the *Senatorial* Dignity. To which he adds, that *Servius Tullius* afterwards made it noble. If we have the true Text of *Suetonius*, it will follow from thence, that the Senate did not then conſiſt, only of *Patricians*. *Feſtus* affirms, that *Brutus*, and *Valerius Poplicola* his Collegue, choſe out the moſt conſiderable of the *Plebeians*, or, according to *Livy*, of the *Roman Knights*, to fill up the Vacancies of thoſe Senators, whom *Tarquin the Proud* had ſacrificed to his Revenge, or his Suſpicions. But *Dion. Hal.* obſerves on that Occaſion, that the two *Conſuls* ranked theſe New-comers among the Nobility, before they raiſed them to the Dignity of Senators. This was what *Tarquin the Firſt* had done, when to the two hundred Senators of *Romulus* and *Tatius*'s Creation, he added another hundred, which he took out of the moſt conſiderable *Plebeian* Families. So that theſe different Promotions did not deſtroy the old Cuſtom, eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*, of admitting none, but the prime Nobility, into the Senate. They ought only to be conſidered, as Marks of Diſtinction, which *Servius Tullius*, and *Tarquin the Firſt*, thought fit to beſtow on the *Plebeians*. As to the Creation, in *Brutus* and *Valerius Poplicola*'s *Conſulſhip*, the Neceſſity of the Times, and the Want of *Patrician* Families forced the two *Conſuls* to have recourſe to the *Plebeians*, an hundred and ſixty four of whom were choſen, to fill up the Places of the Senators, whom *Tarquin the Proud* had deſtroyed. According to *Feſtus*, the *Plebeians* were admitted into the Senate from the time that the Republick was governed by *Military Tribunes*. His Words are theſe. *Plurimi Senatores quondam in opprobrio fuerunt, quod Reges ſibi legebant, ſublegebantque, quos in Curia Publico haberent, ita poſt exactos eos, Conſules eique & Tribuni Militum Conſulari Poteſtate, ſibi junctiſſimos ſibi quoſque Patriciorum, & deinde PLEBEIORUM, legebant.* If we may be allowed to add our Conjectures, concerning an Affair, of which

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each — 50 100

A Map of GREAT GREECE and of the Islands of SARDINIA and CORSICA By Mons. Delisle First Geographer to the King of France, and Member of The Royal Academy of Sciences.

26 Promon. Sacrum
43 42 41 40 39
32 33 34 35 36 37 48 42 41 40 39
THE ISLE OF CORSICA
Nicæa or Marianæ Col.
Aleria Colony
Rhatus
Urcinium
Marisca
Straits of Taphros
Capes St. Lucia
Hercules I.
Tibula
The Tower of Libisosa
Colony
THE ISLE OF SARDINIA
Olbia
Nora
Cornus
Tharros
Uselli Colony
Tus Sacer
Cagliari Colony
Tegula
Sulci
Sulci Promontory
PICENUM
Adria Col.
Aternus R.
Pinna
Apenninus Mons
VESTINI
Aternum
Ortona
MARRUCINI
Super æquum Col.
PELIGNI
MARSI
Piscia R.
FRENTANI
Fucinus Lake
Aufidena
Trinium R.
Triventum
SAMNIUM
CARACENI
Esernia Colony
Bovianum Colony
Sepinum
Larinæ Colony
Frentanus R.
Merinæ
Mont Garganus
Teanum of Apulia
Sipontum Colony
Arpi
Luceria Colony
Salapia
Aufidus R.
AUSONES
PENTRI
Æca
APULIA
Allifæ
Murgantia
Andonea
Cannæ
Barium
Minturnæ Colon.
Cales Col.
Saticula
Cominium
Canusium
PEUCETIA
Beneventum Col.
Aquilonia
Venusium
PEDICULI
Caudium
HIRPINIA
Vulturnum Colony
Capua
Forbi
Calatia
Suessula
Romuleæ
Acherontia
IAPYGIANS
CALABRIA
Naples Col.
Abellinum
Rufrium
Compsa
Casuentum R.
Messapia OR MESSAPIANS
Brundusium Col.
Cossilianum Col.
PICENTINI
LUCANI
Lupiæ
Tarentum
Salernum Colony
Silarus R.
Grumentum
Heraclea
Aciris R.
Hydruntum
SALENTINI
Cape Misenum
Pestum or Posidonia Colony
Velia
Buxentum Col.
Nerula
Sinus R.
Œnotrides Isles
Cape Palinurus
Pandosia
Acheron R.
Sibaris Thuriæ or Copiæ Colony
THE Promontory of Iapigia
Crathis R.
THE TYRRHENIAN SEA
BRUTII
IONIAN SEA
Petilia
Cosentia
Neæthus R.
Æsaras R.
Crotona
Lacinian Promontory
ISLES OF LIPARI
Lipari Colony
Vulcan I.
Hipponium Colony
ADRIATICK SEA
THE
ILLYRICUM
Epidaurus
Ulcinium
Lissos
Apollonia

which they had the whole Power, by means of the Number of their Suffrages. The late Law, which gave them a Right to confirm or diſannul the Decrees of the Senate, was a great Counterpoiſe to the Power of the *Conſcript Fathers*. Nay, the *Plebeian* Party might be ſaid to have had the Advantage over the *Patrician*, had not the *Prætor*, who was the ſole Judge of all Civil Affairs, been choſen only out of the latter. So that, all things conſider'd, the Ballance hung very even between the two Orders in the Republick; and the Advantages of the one, ſeemed to be ſufficiently compenſated by the Prerogatives of the other. For this Reaſon both Parties were quiet. There was no Appearance of Diſcontent, on either Side; nor any Neceſſity of having Recourſe to Factions, in order to guard againſt reciprocal Invaſions. It muſt be granted, that the Conqueſts of *Rome* had been often retarded by inteſtine Broils. But now, a perfect Equality between the two contending Bodies, gave her Tranquillity: And in this Situation of Affairs at home, ſhe was wholly at Liberty, to purſue the Welfare of the Publick.

ABROAD, the Dominion of *Rome* was conſiderably increaſed, ſince the Conqueſt of *Latium*, and the Reduction of *Campania*. The *Latins* were no longer conſidered barely as Allies, which were only obliged to furniſh the *Roman* Armies with ſuch Succours, as were demanded of them. They were become a kind of conquered Subjects, whoſe Cities, generally ſpeaking, being now either [2] *Colonies* or *Municipia*, were in a manner become one Body with the *Romans*; and paid the ſame

he Ancients have not given us a full Knowledge; is probable, the Senatorial Dignity became comnon to the Nobility and People, when the Republick began to be governed by *Decemviri*; ſince the *Decemvirate* was divided between them. The Senate was generally filled up with thoſe who had een honoured with the Magiſtracy. In proof of his, ſee *Tully*'s Oration for *Cluentius*, and that *De ignis*, againſt *Verres*.

2 The Accounts moſt Moderns have given us of e Privileges annexed to the *Colonies*, and *Municia*, are ſo very different from one another, that ey only confound the Reader. The more obſcure e Matter is, the more proper it muſt be, to treat it in a methodical Manner, and with all poſſible xactneſs. In order then to come to a right Unrſtanding of the Privileges which the *Roman Coies* and *Municipia* were entitled to, it is neceſſary ſt to know exactly what it was which was anciitly called the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*. What e have collected from the Hiſtorians of old *Rome*, this Subject, is as follows.

1ſt. Among the *Roman Citizens* themſelves, ſome them enjoyed the Right of *Citizenſhip* without y Reſerve; and their State was moſt advantageous d moſt honourable: *Atque ii erant optima lege*, in Language of the *Latin* Authors. Others were noured with the Title of *Citizens of Rome*, with ore or leſs Limitations; *Et ii non erant optima e*. The former lived in the City, or Territory *Rome*, were enrolled in the *Tribes*, might be inced into the *Legions*, and aſpire at Civil and Miary Honours. But this was not the Caſe of the *eed-men*. Though they were incorporated in the *ty-Tribes*, they had no Right to ſtand Candidates the Dignities of the Republick, as we ſhall have caſion to obſerve in another Place.

2dly. The Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, moſt exſively underſtood, comprehended what the old *vilians* called *Jus publicum*, or *Publick Right*, *Jus Privatum*, i. e. *Private Right*. *The Pub- Right* aroſe from the Laws and Cuſtoms which ated to Religion, Government, and Policy. By tue of theſe Laws the *Roman Citizens* became ject to the *Cenſus*, and all the Formalities which ompanied it. They were obliged to contribute he publick Welfare of the State, to the utmoſt their Power; and were matriculated into the *bes*. They alone were, by way of Diſtinction, mitted to ſerve the Republick in the *Roman Le-*. They were admitted to the Honours of the giſtracy, and into the *Comitia*, either *by Curiæ*, *Tribes*, or *Centuries*, and had the Privilege of voting in all the Elections made in them. They partook of the Feaſts and Sacrifices which were made in the Name of the People: And were ſubject to thoſe Civil and Religious Cuſtoms which were authorized by the Lawgivers. *Private Right*, or *Jus Privatum*, and *Jus Quiritium*, comprehended all the fundamental Laws which were made in favour of private Perſons; all Privileges, Immunities, Preheminencies, and other Advantages annexed to the Quality of *Roman Citizens*. It was a Sort of Code, which regulated for the Citizens, the Matter, Form, and Conditions, of Contracts, Covenants, Wills, Mortgages, Preſcriptions, Guardianſhips, Marriages, Succeſſions, Inheritances, private Property, as well in Immoveables as Moveables, the Authority of Parents over their Children, Families, Adoptions, and in a word, of whatever related to human Society.

3*dly*. The Title of *Roman Citizen*, and the Privileges inſeparable from it, were not confined to the City and Territory of *Rome*. The *Roman Colonies* which the Republick planted in the conquered Cities, with the Conſent of Senate and People, preſerved the ſame Right, and enjoyed the ſame Advantages: but with this Difference, between the Inhabitants of *Rome*, and them, That the latter partook only of *Private Right*, and the Privileges annexed to what the *Civilians* call *Jus Quiritium*. Nor does it appear, that the *Roman Colonies*, at leaſt in the firſt Ages, and that we are now treating of, were enrolled in the *Tribes*; and conſequently, that they preſerved their Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia*, and of ſtanding Candidates for the Dignities of *Rome*. But it is paſt doubt, that each of theſe *Colonies* was obliged to pay a Tribute to the Republick, and to furniſh its Contingent, or a certain Number of regular Troops, according to the Orders of the *Conſuls*, or Senate, and the Wants of the State. Whether the Citizens of a *Roman Colony* were incorporated into the *Legions* when they entered into the Service of the Republick, does not ſufficiently appear from ancient Story. I am of Opinion, that for the Space of near 600 Years, from the Foundation of the City to the *Julian* Law, of which we ſhall ſpeak in another Place, the *Legionary* Troops were choſen only out of the 35 *Tribes*, according to the Order of the *Claſſes* and *Centuries*; excepting only the mean Populace, whom we have already mentioned, more than once, under the Name of *Proletarii*, and *Capite-cenſi*. It is certain, that in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, the latter were never admitted into the *Roman Legions*, unleſs in Caſes of extreme

ſame Regard to the Decrees of the Senate, the Ordinances of the *Comitia*, and the Orders of the *Conſuls*, as the *Curiæ*, and *Tribes of Rome*. So that, the good Underſtanding

extreme Neceſſity. Theſe were the People out of which the Republick generally choſe the *Colonies* ſhe planted in conquered Countries. She by this means eaſed herſelf of the Burden of a great Multitude of indigent and turbulent *Plebeians*. Is it then probable, that this Mob, which, as *Cicero* obſerves, *Ep. to Attic. B.* 10. was looked on as the Filth and Refuſe of *Rome*, ſhould acquire a Privilege in their new Habitation, which they did not enjoy in their native City? And what is here obſerved of the *Roman Colonies*, with reſpect to the Soldiery, will hold much ſtronger, in relation to the Right of voting in the *Comitia*, and ſtanding for Magiſtracies. It is well known that this Right belonged only to thoſe Citizens, who were incorporated in the *Tribes*. Conſequently, the *Roman Colonies* had no Claim to it, till *Julius Cæſar*, and after him, *Cneius Pompeius Strabo*, granted the whole Right of *Citizenſhip* to moſt of the Nations in *Italy*. Then the *Colonies* were incorporated in the *Tribes*, and obtained the full Right of voting and ſtanding Candidates in the *Comitia*. As to the Form of Government peculiar to the *Colonies*, it is evident, from the Teſtimony of the *Roman* Writers, that they ſubmitted to the *Roman* Laws; that is, obeyed ſuch as were given them, either by the People, or Senate, or by the *Triumviri*, who were appointed to head them, and to make the Diſtribution of the Land, to each of thoſe, who followed the Standards of the new *Colony*. Theſe Magiſtrates, or rather Commiſſioners appointed by the Republick, were to provide for the good Order of the *Colony*, by fixed Regulations. After this, they choſe out ſome grave Perſons, to whom they committed the Care of ſeeing thoſe Laws obſerved, which related to Religion, and Polity; So that every *Colony* had its *Duumviri*, *Cenſors*, *Quæſtors*, *Ædiles*, *Pontifices*, and *Prieſts*, after the *Roman* Model. And in order to make the Removal of the *Roman Colonies* the more ſupportable to them, Temples and other Edifices were often raiſed in them, upon the Plans of thoſe in *Rome*. By this means, they in a manner found their own Country in a ſtrange Land. Thus ſome *Colonies* had their *Capitols*, *Circus's*, and Amphitheaters. The Newcomers took Pleaſure in giving the Names of the Rivers and Hills of their Metropolis, or Mother-City, to thoſe of their new Habitation. They alſo retained their Mother-Tongue, and the ancient Cuſtoms of the Country, from whence they came.

4thly, Among the *Colonies*, which the *Roman* Republick diſperſed all over her Dominion, frequent mention is made of the *Latin Colonies*. Theſe conſiſted either of *Latins*, or of ſuch *Roman Citizens*, as were no ſooner removed out of their own Country, but they loſt their Privileges, and enjoyed only the Rights of *Latinity*; as we learn from *Tully's Oration for* Cecina. *In Colonias Latinas ſæpe noſtri Cives, aut ſuâ Voluntate, aut Legis Mulctâ profecti ſunt ..... Cives Romanos ſi in Colonias Latinas proficiſcerentur Romanam Civitatem amiſiſſe.* The Privileges of the *Latin Colonies*, and others, who had the Right of *Latinity*, may be reduced to theſe two Heads. 1. The Citizens of the *Latin* Cities were ſometimes permitted to give their Suffrages in the *Comitia*, eſpecially, in relation to the Promulgation or Abolition of a Law; provided neither of the two *Conſuls* oppoſed it, but they on the contrary invited them to it. In this caſe, they came to *Rome*, and were placed by Lot, in one of the *Tribes*, in which they were to vote. But this Right of Suffrage was only given them for a time, and was, in ſome Caſes, diſputed. They were ſometimes even forced to leave *Rome*, whither they had come, in order to give their Votes in the Aſſemblies of the People. The *Roman* Hiſtory gives us ſeveral Inſtances of it. 2. They who had the Right of *Latinity*, acquired that of *Roman Citizens*, as ſoon as they had diſcharged any Magiſtracy in their own Country. This we learn from *Appian*, *B.* 2. when he tells us, that *Cæſar* reduced *Comum* to the Condition of the *Latin* Cities; ſo that the having been inveſted with any Magiſtracy there for one Year, was enough, to make any Man a *Roman Citizen*. According to *Strabo*, the *Quæſtorſhip* and *Ædileſhip* in a *Latin* City, gave thoſe who had been promoted to them, the Right of *Roman Citizens*. This Author ſays, that the Inhabitants of *Nimes* obtained the Right of *Latinity*: inſomuch, adds he, that the having been an *Ædile*, or *Quæſtor*, in that City, was enough to create a Man, *ipſo facto*, a *Roman Citizen*. And there is therefore more reaſon to believe, that the *Roman Colonies* enjoyed the ſame Advantages, that were given to the *Latin* ones, which were inferior to them. Whether the People, who had this Right of *Latinity*, were tributary to *Rome*, Hiſtory does not inform us. But it is to be preſumed, that they were, as to this particular, upon the ſame Foot as the *Roman Colonies*. At leaſt, it's certain, that, according to the old Conventions, they ſupplied the Republick with as many Soldiers, in time of War, as ſhe demanded of them.

5thly, The Lands conquered by the Republick, were very frequently given for a Subſiſtence, to thoſe old Soldiers, who were no longer able to bear Arms, or had ſerved as long as the Laws required. Hence the *Military Colonies*, which differed from thoſe we have mentioned, only in the Choice of the Perſons, of whom they conſiſted.

6thly, As there were two ſorts of *Colonies*, ſo there were two ſorts of *Municipia*, which both had the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*; with this difference, that one ſort were neither included in the *Tribes*, nor ſuffered to vote in the *Comitia*, and conſequently could not be promoted to Magiſtracies. Nevertheleſs, it is certain, according to *Sigonius*, that the Citizens of theſe privileged Cities had a Right to be incorporated in the *Legions*. The other ſort of *Municipia* enjoyed all the Advantages annexed to the *Roman Citizenſhip*, eſpecially with regard to the Right of contracting Marriages after the manner of the *Romans*, and that of ſtanding Candidates for the Dignities of the Republick. Ancient Hiſtory furniſhes us with ſeveral Proofs of the firſt Article. Among others, it informs us, that when the Right of *Citizenſhip* had been given to the *Latin* Cities, by the *Julian* Law, they laid aſide the old Formalities, they uſed to obſerve, in Marriages. Moreover, it was no uncommon thing, for *Citizens* of *Rome* to marry in the *Municipia*. The ſecond Particular is indiſputable, ſince *Titus Annius Milo* was *Dictator* at *Lanuvium*, at the ſame time that he ſtood for the *Conſulſhip* at *Rome*. The Inhabitants of theſe *Municipia* were only debarred voting in *Comitia by Curiæ*. This Privilege belonged only to thoſe who reſided in *Rome*. To which we muſt add, that this latter ſort of *Municipia*, did not partake of theſe Privileges, till they had abſolutely renounced all their own Cuſtoms, and ſubmitted to be entirely governed by the *Roman* Laws. They were then a Part of the Demeſnes of the Republick, became *Populus Fundus*, as the old *Civilians* ſpeak; that is, they voluntarily bound themſelves to obey the *Roman* Law. The former ſort of *Municipia* retained their own Cuſtoms, and Laws. The moſt celebrated *Roman* Hiſtorians ſhew us, that this was the difference between theſe two ſorts of *Municipia*. To convince ourſelves, that the former ſort enjoyed no more than the bare Title of *Roman Citizens*, as long as they continued to govern themſelves by their ancient Cuſtoms, we need only read, what *Livy* ſays, in the 9th Book of his third Decad. He ſays, that the Cities of *Alatrium*, *Fe-*

rentinum,

derſtanding between the *Romans* at home, and the Increaſe of their Power abroad, put them into a Condition of undertaking any thing; and their Bravery made them

rentinum, and *Verulum*, choſe rather to preſerve the free Exerciſe of their ancient Cuſtoms, than to purchaſe the Privileges annexed to the Right of *Citizenſhip*, by ſubmitting to be governed by the *Roman* Laws.

7thly, *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 16. *ch.* 13. deſcribes the former ſort of *Municipia*, thus. *The Inhabitants of the* Municipia, ſays he, *were* Roman Citizens. *But they governed themſelves by their own Laws, and enjoyed only the Title of* Roman Citizens, *without the Privileges annexed to it. Nor were they ſubject to any of the Burdens or Contributions, which the* Roman People *were obliged to furniſh; becauſe, they had not made themſelves entirely dependent on the Republick.* His Words are; *Municipes ergo ſunt Cives Romani ex Municipiis, Legibus ſuis, & ſuo Jure utentes, Muneris tantum cum Populo Romano honorarii Participes, a quo munere capeſſendo appellati videntur; nullis aliis neceſſitatibus, neque ulla populi Lege aſtricti, ni inquam Populus eorum* Fundus *factus eſt.* *Aulus Gellius* explains his Thoughts of this Matter, ſo as to leave no room for Doubt. *Cære*, adds he, *was the firſt* Municipium, *which obtained the Right of* Roman Citizenſhip, *of which ſhe had only the Title before, without the Right of Suffrage, or Share in Employments at* Rome. He expreſſes himſelf thus. *Primos autem Municipes ſine Suffragii Jure Cærites eſſe factos accepimus, conceſſumque illis, ut Civitatis Romanæ Honorem quidem caperent, ſed Negotiis tamen atque Oneribus vacarent.* Whence it is evident, hat this firſt ſort of *Municipia*, were not ſubject to he *Roman* Laws, nor did they enjoy what was alled *Jus Quiritium.* *Feſtus* gives us the ſame ccount of them. *The Citizens of the* Municipia, ays he, *who came to* Rome, *had no Share in the Magiſtracies there.* His Expreſſion is, *Municipes ant qui ex aliis Civitatibus Romam veniſſent, quibus non licebat Magiſtratum capere.* *Servius* the on, adds *Feſtus*, aſſures us, that at firſt, the Citiens of the *Municipia* were *Roman Citizens*, with is Condition, that their Governments ſhould conue diſtinct from that of the *Roman* Republick. uch, according to him, were the *Cumani*, the *Arrani*, and the *Atellani*, who had the Right of *Roan Citizens*, and of being incorporated in the *Leons*, but could not be promoted to Magiſtracies. *aul* the *Civilian*, is likewiſe of the ſame Opinion, hen he ſays, *The Inhabitants of the* Municipia, *who me to* Rome, *had not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Right* Citizenſhip, *though they enjoyed all the Privileges other* Roman Citizens, *except that of Suffrage, d that of ſtanding Candidates for the Dignities of e Republick, from which the* Municipia *were exided. Of this Number were the Inhabitants of* ndi, Formiæ, Cumæ, Acerra, Lanuvium, *and* uſculum, *who ſome Years after, became* Roman tizens. His Words are theſe: *Municipium id genus Hominum dicitur, qui cum Romam veniſſent, que Cives Romani eſſent, Participes fuerunt omm rerum ad Munus ſungendum, una cum Romis Civibus, præterquam de Suffragio ferendo, aut agiſtratu capiendo; ſicut fuerunt Fundani, Formi, Cumani, Acerrani, Lanuvini, Tuſculani, qui, aliquot Annos, Cives Romani effecti ſunt.*

8thly, The ſecond ſort of *Municipia*, are deſcribed by the ſame *Paul* the *Civilian*. *There is*, ſays *another ſort of* Municipia, *which, with regard to ir Government, are united to, and incorporated th, the Republick of* Rome. *Such were* Aricia, agnia, *and* Cære. He expreſſes himſelf thus. *o modo cum id genus Hominum definitur, quorum vitas univerſa, in Civitatem Romanam venit; ut* cini, *Anagnini, Cærites.* It is ſurprizing, that *ul* ſhould put *Cære* in this Number, ſince its Initants only enjoyed the Title of *Citizenſhip*, without the Privileges of it. But we muſt therefore infer from this Paſſage, that the *Cærites* were made *Citizens of Rome*, at two different times. The firſt, in Gratitude for the favourable Reception they gave the *Veſtals*, when they, at the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, fled to *Cære*, with the ſacred *Depoſita*, for which the Publick had a religious Veneration. It is probable, whatever *A. Gellius* may ſay to the contrary, that the *Cærites* were then made *Roman Citizens*; and had the Right of Suffrage, which was taken away from them in the Year of *Rome* 400, during the *Dictatorſhip* of *Titus Manlius Torquatus*, by way of Puniſhment, for their having joined with the *Tarquinienſes*, againſt the *Roman* Republick. Afterwards, it is probable, the Right of *Citizenſhip* was granted them a ſecond time; with this Proviſo, that they ſhould not be allowed to give their Suffrages in the *Comitia*. But this we only offer, by way of Conjecture, as the only Interpretation that can be given to the above-cited Paſſage of *Paul* the *Civilian*.

9thly, What further proves, that the Right of *Citizenſhip* was granted to the ſecond Order of *Municipia* before-mentioned, is, that the *Coruncanii*, the *Juventii*, the *Cato's*, the *Muræna's*, the *Voconii*, and the *Scantinii*, Natives of the *Municipal* Cities, of *Tuſculum*, *Aricia*, and *Lanuvium*, obtained the Honours of Magiſtracies in *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be obſerved, that the Citizens of theſe *Municipia*, had not the Liberty of voting in the *Comitia by Curiæ*, unleſs they were Inhabitants of *Rome*; ſince thoſe Citizens only, who reſided there, were admitted into theſe Aſſemblies. They only were Partakers of the Feſtivals, Sacrifices, and Privileges, which were either common to all the *Curiæ*, or peculiar to ſome of them only. But it is at the ſame time true, that the Inhabitants of every *Municipium* had their own Feſtivals, and religious Ceremonies, which the *Pontifical* College obliged them to obſerve very exactly, even when removed to *Rome*. This we learn from *Feſtus*. *Municipalia ſacra vocantur quæ ab initio habuerunt, ante Civitatem Romanam acceptam, quæ obſervare eos voluerunt Pontifices, & eo more facere, quo adſueſſent antiquitus.* Theſe Grants of the Right of *Citizenſhip*, made *Cicero* ſay, in his third Book, *De Legibus*, that the Citizens of the *Municipal* Cities, had two Countries, the one native, the other adopted. *Ego omnibus Municipibus duas eſſe cenſeo Patrias, unam Naturæ, alteram Juris.* For this reaſon, they could be entered upon the Roll of the *Cenſus*, either at *Rome*, or in their native City, as they pleaſed.

10thly, It is difficult to gueſs, what ſort of Government the *Municipal* Cities were under. We only know, that they had their *Knights*, and their *Decurions*, which latter is the Title given to thoſe of whom their Senates conſiſted. Hiſtory likewiſe mentions *Dictators*, *Duumviri*, *Quartumviri*, *Ædiles*, and *Quæſtors*, which exerciſed the ſame Offices in the *Municipia*, as well as *Colonies*, which thoſe Magiſtrates executed in *Rome*. And laſtly, there were in the *Municipia*, *Decemviri*, who were choſen by the *Decurions*. Their whole Buſineſs was, to raiſe the Taxes, for which they gave Security to the Publick Treaſury, according to *Hermogenes*. A great many Medals have tranſmitted to us the Names of the *Duumviri*, and *Ædiles*, who had the ſame Authority, in the *Colonies*, and *Municipia*, as the *Conſuls*, and *Ædiles*, had at *Rome*. On the Reverſe of a Medal ſtruck by order of the *Decurions*, or Senate of *New Carthage*, then a *Roman Colony*, we find the Names of the *Duumviri*, *Caius Petronius*, and *Marcus Antonius*, with the Figure of a Labyrinth; but we cannot diſcover what was intended by it. C. PETRONIO, M. ANTONIO II. VIR EX. D.D. that is, *Ex Decreto Decurionum.*

them capable of going through with whatever they thought fit to undertake. Scarce any thing could now ſtop the Courſe of their Conqueſts, but real Principles of Equity. Whereas they ſometimes only coloured over their ambitious Deſires, with the Appearances of Juſtice.

§. II. In





curionum. On the Reverſe of a Medal of *Tiberius*, we find the Names of *Quintus Varus*, or *Varius*, and *Quintus Pontius Plancus*, *Ædiles* of a *Municipium* in *Spain*, which the *Latin* Authors, and ancient Monuments, call *Turiaſo*. The Medal which follows, proves, among other things, that two *Cenſors* were eſtabliſhed in the *Colonies*, as well as in the *Municipia*. They were choſen every five Years, that is, at the end of each *Luſtrum*. They exerciſed the Office of *Cenſors*, with the Title of DUUMVIRI QUINQUENNALES. They are called ſo in the Inſcription. M. POSTUMIO ALBINO, L. PORCIO CAPITONE, DUUMVIRIS QUINQUENNALIBUS. On the Reverſe is the Figure of a *Cenſor*, dreſſed in the *Prætexta*. He holds in one Hand, a Veſſel appropriated to the holding the *Luſtral* Water, in the other a Branch of Olive for the Aſperſions, which were made in the Ceremony of the *Luſtrum*. Theſe were the Symbols of his Office. This laſt Medal, on the Face of which is the Head of *Auguſtus*, was ſtruck at *New Carthage*.

11*thly*, The Magiſtrates, in the *Colonies* and *Municipia*, wore an Habit of Diſtinction, which was the ſame with the *Prætexta*, or Robe bordered with Purple. The People choſe them by a Majority of Voices.

12*thly*, In the *Colonies*, as well as *Municipia*, the Adminiſtration of Juſtice was lodged in the Hands of the *Duumviri*. Theſe two Magiſtrates had the ſame Authority as *Roman Conſuls*, and *Prætors*. We have ſome Traces of this kind of Magiſtracy, on ancient Medals, which is ſignified by theſe Capital Letters, II VIRI. I.D. that is, *Duumviri Juri Dicundo*. We likewiſe find mention made in the ancient Monuments of *Triumviri*, and *Quartumviri*, who held the firſt Rank in ſome *Colonies*, as in that of *Oſma*, a City of *Spain*; III. VIR. IN COLON. AUXIM. BIS; and in that of *Signia*, or *Segni*, L. VOLUMNIO. L. F. POMP. JULIANO SEVERO IIII. VIRO COL. SIG. PATRONO COLONIÆ SUÆ, SENATUS POPULUSQUE SIGNINUS. We find the Names of four Magiſtrates on a Medal of *Tiberius*; namely, *Cneius Pompeius*, *Marcus Avonius*, *Titus Antonius*, and *Marcus Julius Serranus*, with the Title of *Quartumviri* of *Clunia*, an ancient City of *Spain*, which *Ptolomy* ſays, B. 2. *ch.* 6. had the Title of Κλουνία Κολωνία. The Figure of the Ox on the Medal, is the uſual Symbol of *Colonies*, as well as of *Municipia*. This appears by the Reverſe of an *Auguſtus*. It bears the Name of *Ergavica*, another City of *Spain*; MUN. ERGAVICA. The Deſign of repreſenting *Colonies* and *Municipia* by this Animal, was to ſhew the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, and to ſignify, that Cities chiefly depended on Agriculture.

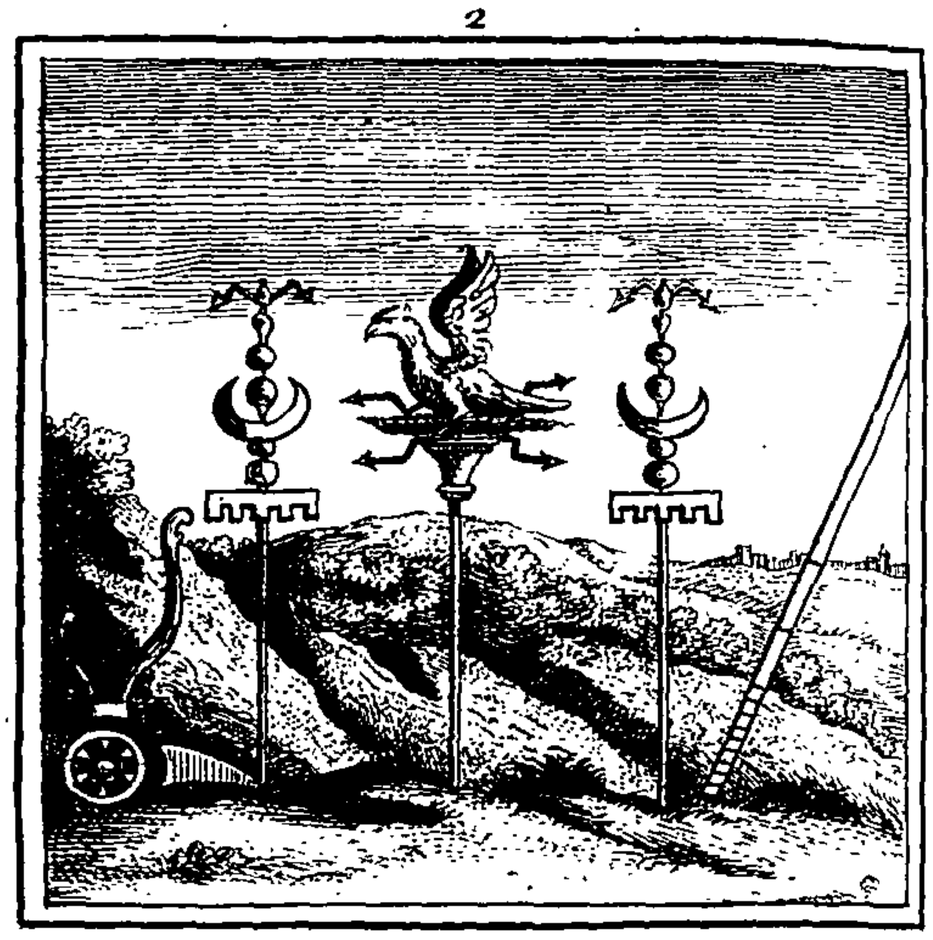
13*thly*, It may here be asked, which had the Preference, the *Colonies*, or the *Municipia*? about which ancient Authors are divided, according to *A. Gellius*. Some, ſays he, give *Colonies* the Prehemineence. But he, *B.* 16. *c.* 13. quotes the Emperor *Adrian*'s Authority, in favour of the *Municipia*, in a Speech he made to the Senate of the City of *Italica* in *Spain*, which was the Place of his Nativity. The Emperor ſaid he was ſurprized to ſee the Inhabitants of that City, and ſeveral other *Municipia*, among whom he named thoſe of *Utica*, chuſing rather to enjoy the Right of *Roman Colonies*, than to continue to be governed by their own Laws, as formerly. He, on this Occaſion, mentions the *Præneſtini*, who earneſtly deſired *Tiberius*, to reduce them from the State of a *Roman Colony*, in which they then were, to that of a *Municipium*, which was granted them as a Favour, in Acknowledgment of that Emperor's having been cured of a mortal Diſeaſe, in the Neighbourhood of *Præneſte*.

14*thly*, *A. Gellius*, in the ſame Place, ſhews us the Difference between the *Colonies* and *Municipia*. *The* Colonies, ſays he, *were much more cloſely united to the Republick, than the* Municipia. *They were, as it were, Buds of the ſame Stock, and were, in a manner, but one People with the* Romans. *They governed themſelves by the* Roman *Laws. And tho' they were not in ſo free a Condition as the* Municipia *which were governed by their own Cuſtoms, yet they were more honourable, and to be preferred before them, conſidering the Dignity of the* Roman *People, whom they repreſented in little.* Add to this, continues he, *that the Rights of the* Municipia *are now ſo little known, and ſo much aboliſhed, that they are no where in uſe.* His Words are theſe. *Sed Coloniarum alia Neceſſitudo eſt. Non enim veniunt extrinſecus in Civitatem, nec ſuis Radicibus*

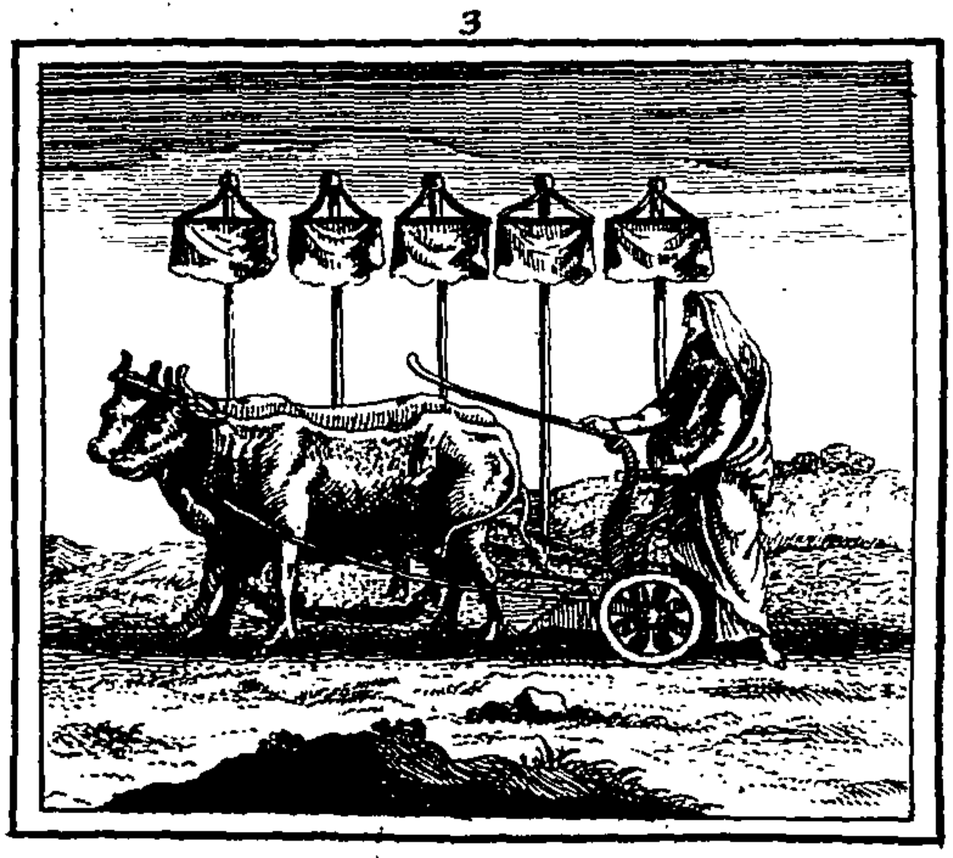
1



2



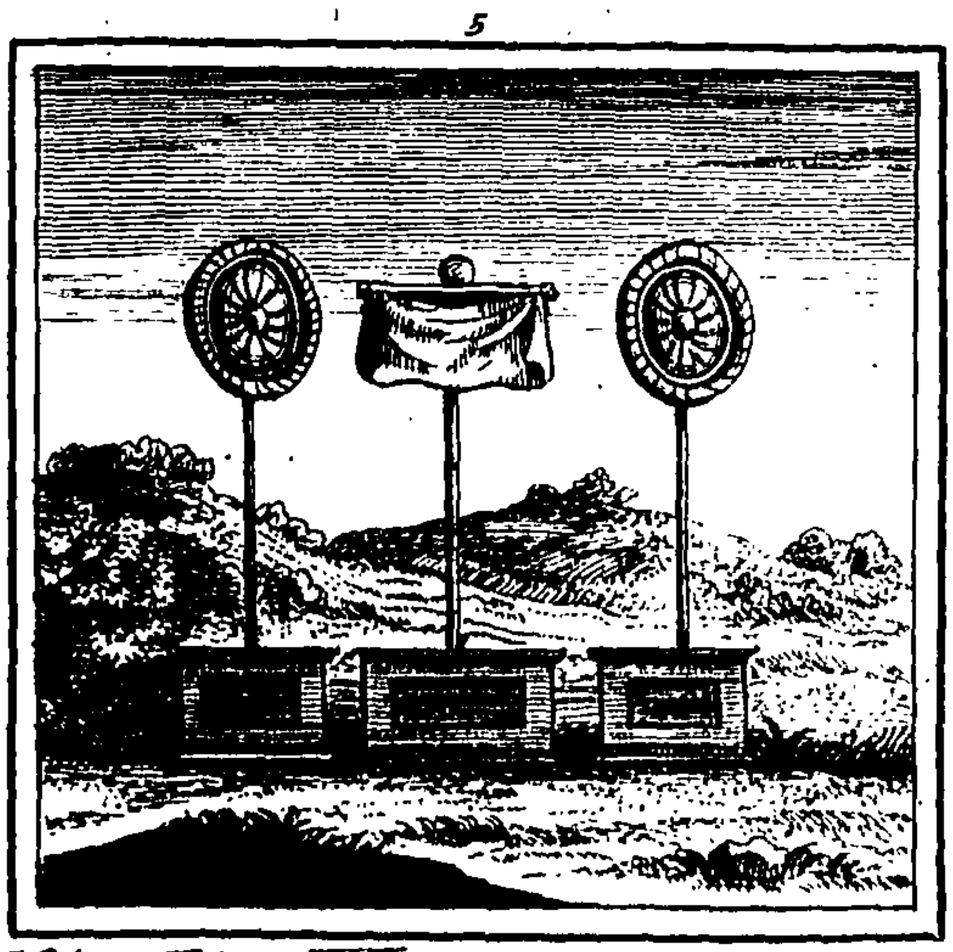
3



4



5



6



Vol. 2. Plate VIII.

§. II. In the Year of *Rome* 416, *C. Sulpicius* 3 *Longus*, and *P. Ælius Pætus*, were raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*. *Rome* had then no Enemies. All her Neighbours, whether out of Fear of her Arms, or Affection to her, ſeemed to be unanimous in paying her Reſpect. Whilſt, at the ſame time, the Nations about her were ſo unquiet,

Year of ROME CCCCXVI.

C. Sulpicius Longus, P. Ælius Pætus, Conſuls.



untur, ſed ex Civitate quaſi propagatæ ſunt, & Ju-a inſtitutaque Populi Romani, non ſui arbitrii ha-ent; quæ tamen Conditio, cum ſit magis obnoxia, minus libera, potior tamen eſt, & præſtabilior ex-imatur, propter Amplitudinem majeſtatemque Po-uli Romani, cujus iſtæ Coloniæ quaſi effigies parvæ mulachraque eſſe quædam videntur; & ſimul quia ſcura oblitteraque ſunt Municipiorum jura, qui-s uti jam per ignorantiam non queunt. From eſe laſt Words, it is natural to conclude, that ere were no *Municipia* in *A. Gellius*'s time, but hat made uſe of the *Roman* Law.

15*thly*, The Number of thoſe who were ſent out plant a *Colony*, was greater or leſs, in proportion the Quantity of the Lands, which were ordered a Decree of the Senate, and People, to be di-ed among them; in ſuch a manner, as the *Tri-viri*, *Quinqueviri*, *Septemviri*, *Decemviri*, and metimes *The Twenty Perſons*, who were commiſ-ned to regulate the Settlement of the new *Colony*, uld direct. This Decree was called an *Agrarian* w. After it was paſſed, they whom Neceſſity and ant forced to leave their Country, offered them-ves, that they might have a Share in the Diſtribution. he number of the Claimants exceeded that the Law ermined, the Magiſtrates choſe thoſe who were to to the new *Colony*, by Lot. When the time for ir Removal was come, all thoſe who had been olled drew up in Battalia under their Standards, marched on, with Colours flying, and in Or- of Battel, after having firſt performed the Cere-nies of the *Auſpices*, and *Luſtration*. The Con-t of this Troop was committed to one ſingle rſon, who was probably choſen out of thoſe, to om the Senate, or People, had given a Commiſ-n to put their Orders in Execution. *Plutarch*, in *Life of Gracchus*, *Appian*, *B.* 2. *Cicero*, *againſt llus*, and in his ſecond *Philippick*, expreſly men-n this Cuſtom. We find ſome Footſteps of it many Medals. When the Troop came to the ce appointed, the firſt Care of its Leader was to t Altars, in Honour to the Tutelary Deities of *Colony*. He there fixed up his Enſigns, and im-red the Protection of Heaven for the New-com-

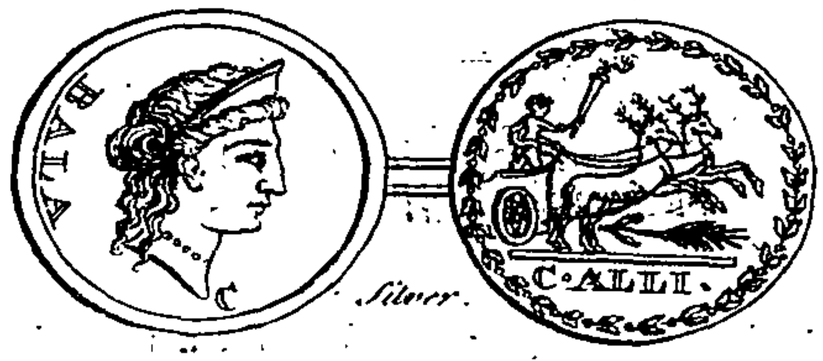
The Ceremony ended with *Luſtrations*, Sacri-s, Purifications, and other religious Ceremonies, ich the Pagans uſed, when they laid the Founda-ns of Cities. We have already mentioned them, . I. *p.* 22, 23. At the ſame time the *Auguries* re conſulted, in order to ſecure the Good-will the Gods. After this, the Sacrificer, who was, ording to ſome, an *Augur*, according to others, Founder or Head of the *Colony*, marked out the mpaſs of the City, and its Dependencies. He ſelf guided the Plough, which was drawn by a l and a Heifer yoked together. Theſe two Ani-s, the Symbols of Marriages, were afterwards n on the Altars. The Plate annexed, is taken m the moſt authentick Medals. In the firſt Part of it, you ſee a Plough drawn by two Oxen; and the Plough is guided by a Prieſt, whoſe Head is cover-ed with his Robe, to ſhew the Attention and Recol-lection which this Ceremony required; it being deemed a religious Office. In the ſecond Part, the Eagles, Standards, and Colours, denote the *Mili-tary Colonies*. They conſiſted of old Soldiers, to whom the Republick gave Lands, that they might cultivate them for their Subſiſtence. In this man-ner, the Generals of Armies, about the time of *Ma-rius*, and afterwards the *Emperors*, rewarded the Services of thoſe Soldiers, whom Age or Infirmi-ties would not permit to bear Arms any longer. The Diſtribution of the Lands is repreſented by a Surveying-Rod. In the third and fourth Parts of this Plate, we ſee an Ox and Heifer in a Plough, together with military Enſigns, which is deſigned to ſhew, that the *Colony* conſiſted of ſuch Perſons as were partly choſen out of the People, and partly out of the *Legionary* Soldiers. The Enſigns and Colours fixed upon three Altars, in the fifth Part, denote the Arrival of the *Colony*. The Wolf which ſuckles *Romulus* and *Remus*, is the uſual Symbol which the *Colonies* borrowed to perpetuate the Memory of their Origin: And we find the ſame Figures on the Medals of ſome *Municipia*.

16*thly*, The *Colonies* and *Municipia* enjoyed more or fewer Advantages, in proportion to their Fidelity, and the Services they had done the Republick. Some payed Tribute to the *Romans*: Others, as the mari-time *Colonies*, and Cities in Alliance, were exempt from the common Taxes, and deemed ſo many free Cities. This Prerogative is repreſented by an Horſe let looſe, as appears by the Medal above. Its In-ſcription is, Colonia Augusta Troadensis. The Medal agrees with *Tacitus*, who affirms, *B.* 12. that the Emperor *Claudius* exempted the People of this Country from Impoſts and Taxes, for ever.

3 This was the firſt *Conſulſhip* of *Caius Sulpicius Longus*, and *Publius Ælius Pætus*. *Diodorus* has diſplaced the latter, to ſubſtitute in his room *Lucius Papyrius*, who was not *Conſul* till the next Year. Inſtead of Παίτου, the *Greek Tables* have Φίτου, which is probably a Miſtake of the Copyiſt. The *Sulpi-cian* Family came originally from *Camerium*; at leaſt, the Surname of *Camerinus*, which was borne by the firſt *Sulpicius*, who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 253, leaves room for the Conjecture. This Family was divided into three Branches, the firſt of which was *Patrician*, the ſecond *Plebeian*, and the third *Equeſtrian*. The *Galba's* were reckoned to be of the firſt, and the *Rufus's* of the third. As for the *Ælian*, or *Allian* Family, tho' it was originally *Plebeian*, yet it paſſed for one of the moſt ancient in the Republick. It acquired great Luſtre by the Dignities with which Men of this Name were ho-noured. From this Stock ſprung the ſeveral Branches of the *Catus's*, the *Tubero's*, the *Ligur's*, the *Gallus's*, the *Stilo's*, the *Præconius's*, the *Sejanus's*, and the *Lamia's*.

Year of ROME CCCCXVI. C. Sulpicius Longus, P. Ælius Pætus, Consuls. *Liv. B. 8. c. 15.*

unquiet, that Dissentions were continually springing up among them, in which *Rome* always interested herself, and which she knew how to turn to her own Advantage. Among the rest, the [4] *Sidicini*, I know not upon what Motives, either of Discontent, or Interest, had taken up Arms against the *Aurunci*. The latter had submitted to the *Romans*, in the *Consulship* of *T. Manlius*, and had continued faithful to the Republick, amidst all the Confusions of the *Latin* War. The Capital of the *Aurunci*, was probably called [5] *Arunca*. The other Cities of their little State were, *Fundi*, [6] *Cajeta*, *Formiæ*, *Minturnæ*, and *Suessula*. This People



Silver.

Lamia's. *Horace* has celebrated the Nobility of the latter, in the 17th *Ode* of his third Book.

Ælî, vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,
Quando & priores hinc Lamias *ferunt*
Denominatos, & Nepotum
Per memores genus omne fastos;
Auctore ab illo Ducis Originem,
Qui Formiarum Mœnia dicitur
Princeps, & innantem Maricæ
Littoribus tenuisse Lirim,
Late Tyrannus.

The Nobility of the Descent, with which the Poet flatters his Friend *Ælius Lamia*, made *Juvenal*, *B.* 6. call a Lady of the first Quality, *Quædam de numero Lamiarum*. The Poet carries up the Genealogy of the *Lamia's*, to one *Lamus* the Son of *Neptune*, and King of the *Lestrigones*, who, he says, gave Law to the City of *Formiæ*, and all the Country watered by the *Liris*, where peculiar Honours were paid to the Goddess *Marica*, the Wife of *Faunus*. *Silius Italicus* makes him to have reigned in *Cajeta*. *Et regnata Lamo Cajeta*, *B.* 8. No body indeed has said, that the *Ælii* descended from *Lamus*, tho' the *Lamiæ* are said to have done so: which makes it probable, that the latter were admitted into the Family of the former, by Adoption. This Family had the Honour of giving *Rome* several Emperors, namely, *P. Ælius Hadrianus*, *T. Ælius Antoninus Pius*, and *L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus*. A Medal which is to be found in *Patinus's Roman Families*, has perpetuated the Name of one *Caius Allius*, surnamed *Bala*, who is not mentioned by the Historians. On the Reverse is a *Diana* in a Chariot drawn by two Stags. The Surname of *Pætus*, which *Ælius* had, was given to those, who were a little squint, or very much goggle-eyed.

4 The *Sidicini*, and *Aurunci*, inhabited Part of the District of the *Osci*; and were thought the Remains of the ancient *Ausones*. See what we have here said of the *Sidicini*, *p.* 134. *Note* 2. and of the *Aurunci*, *p.* 129.

5 *Livy* says nothing of the Name or Situation of the Capital of the *Aurunci*; and it is difficult to come at any probability concerning either. Perhaps this was the same *Aurunca*, or *Arunca*, which *Festus* says was built by *Ausonius*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Calypso*; but according to *Dion. Hal.* the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*. *Livy's* Account inclines one to believe, it stood towards *Teanum*, on the Frontiers of the *Sidicini*. It is probable, the Nearness of the Enemy forced these People to abandon their first Habitation, in order to secure themselves in *Suessa*, which they called *Aurunca*, probably to perpetuate the Name of the Capital, which they had deserted.

6 The City, Port, and Promontory of *Cajeta*, were so called from the Name of *Æneas's* Nurse, because she died in this Place, according to *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Solinus*, and most ancient Authors. *Servius* gives us the different Opinions of Writers, some of which derive this Name from *Creüsa's* Nurse, others from the Nurse of her Son *Ascanius*. *Sempronius* and *Cæsar*, as quoted by *Aurelius Victor*, in his Book *Of the Origin of the* Romans, derive the Word *Cajeta*, from the *Greek* Verb καιειν, *to burn*; because the *Trojan* Women, tired with the Length of their Voyage, *burnt* the Fleet of *Æneas*, at the Instigation of one of them, who was from this Event, surnamed *Cajeta*. But this Story is as incredible, as that of the burning of the *Trojan* Fleet, near the City of *Egesta* in *Sicily*, according to *Dion. Hal.*; or in sight of *Siris*, a City of *Lucania*, according to *Aristotle*, *in Mirandis*, and *Strabo*, *B.* 5; or in the *Neæthus*, a River which waters the Territory of *Croton*, according to *Isaac Tsetza*; or lastly, in the Mouth of the *Arno*, near *Pisa*, as *Servius* pretends in his *Commentary* on the eleventh Book of the *Æneid*. Nor is the Conjecture of *Diodorus Siculus* of any more Weight, when he contends, that the Port of *Cajeta* had its Name from King *Æta*, a Sovereign of *Colchis*, after the Golden Fleece had been taken from this Prince, by the *Argonauts*, who stopped here, in their Voyage. *Strabo*, *B.* 5. affirms, that a Colony of *Lacedemonians* settled in the same District, built the City of *Formiæ* there, and gave the Name of *Cajeta* to the Gulph near that City. The Word *Cajeta*, says that Geographer, is derived from the *Greek* Word ΚΑΙΑΔΑΣ, or ΚΑΙΑΤΑΣ, according to *Hesychius*, which, in the Language of the *Lacedæmonians*, signified a *Gulph*, or *Ditch*. They gave this Name to a deep Hole, appointed for receiving the Bodies of executed Criminals. *Cajeta*, now *Gaeta*, was formerly famous for the Goodness of its Port. The Sea, upon the Borders of which this City stood, was by the *Latins* called *Amyclanum Mare*, from the ancient City of *Amyclæ*, which was situated near it, on the same Coast. *Cicero* had a Country-seat in this Neighbourhood, which the Ancients sometimes call *Cajeta*, and sometimes *Formianum*; because it was but at a little distance both from *Formiæ*, and *Cajeta*. See what we say of *Suessa*, *p.* 144. *Note* 16; of *Minturnæ*, *p.* 168. *Note* 66; and of *Formiæ* and *Fundi*, *p.* 176. *Notes* 86, 87.

Year of ROME CCCCXVI.
C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS, Conſuls.

therefore claimed the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, who thought it worthy of their Protection. The *Aurunci* had not incurred the Hatred of the Senate by any Act of Unfaithfulneſs; and the free Gift they had made of their Lands to the Republick, merited her Aſſiſtance in time of Need. Accordingly, a Decree was paſſed, enjoyning the *Conſuls* to raiſe an Army, to march to the Defence of that People. I know not whether the *Conſuls* diſdained an Expedition, by which little Honour was to be gained; but they at leaſt delayed raiſing Troops ſo long, and were ſo dilatory in bringing their *Legions* into the Field, that they ſuffered the *Sidicini* to gain a great Aſcendant over the *Aurunci*. And the Misfortunes of this People, who became a Prey to their Enemies, recoiled at laſt upon the *Conſuls*. The *Aurunci*, being no longer ſafe in their Capital, deſerted it, and removed to 7 *Sueſſa*, which was from that time called *Aurunca*. After this, they fortified themſelves in their new *Aurunca*, and we don't find from Hiſtory, that they were ever driven out of it. Their old Capital was pillaged, deſtroyed, and diſmantled, by the *Sidicini*. This was an Indignity which the Indolence of the *Conſuls* had brought upon the Republick, and it did not continue long unpuniſhed. The *Romans* forced them to nominate a *Dictator*. The Perſon they choſe was *C. Claudius Craſſus*, who made another *Claudius*, ſurnamed *Hortator*, his General of Horſe. But neither of them continued long in their Office. The *Augurs* declared there had been ſome Defect in their Inauguration; ſo that their Abdication ſoon followed their Inſtalment. Then the *Conſuls* re-entered upon their Office. But neither was the End of their *Conſulſhip* more happy than the Beginning. The People gave a new Wound to the Authority of the *Patricians*. The *Prætorſhip* was the only great Dignity in the Republick which the *Plebeians* had not already ſhared with them; and they now undertook to gain a Part in this conſiderable Maiſtracy alſo. The *Plebeians* preſented one of their Body for this Office, but a Man of known Merit. It was the ſame *Publilius* who had been *Conſul* and *Dictator*, two Years before, and who had extremely weakened the Power of the *Patricians*, by Laws which favoured the People. Their Faction therefore choſe him again, to give the laſt Stroke to the Power of the Nobility. In ſhort, *Publilius*'s Name was put among thoſe of the Candidates for the *Prætorſhip*. Upon this, the *Conſul Sulpicius*, Preſident of the *Comitia*, made a Difficulty of accepting the Name of a *Plebeian*, and proteſted he would not propoſe him to the Aſſembly, as a Candidate. So that the Affair was brought before the Senate. Of the *Conſuls*, *Sulpicius* only oppoſed *Publilius*'s Requeſt. *Ælius*, his Collegue, was a *Plebeian*, and did not care to act againſt a Man of his own Party. In ſhort, the *Conſcript Fathers* pronounced in favour of *Publilius*. They thought a *Plebeian*, who had been formerly raiſed to the *Dictatorſhip* and *Conſulſhip*, ought not to be excluded from the *Prætorſhip*. By this means, the People were now arrived at the Height of their Pretenſions. By this means, all Pretences for Faction were entirely rooted out. By this means, there was now no Station in the Republick to which the People might not aſpire, as well as the Nobility. From this time, the Republick made it her Buſineſs to honour Merit only, and to raiſe it to the higheſt Dignities, without regard to the Condition of him in whom it was found, whether Noble, or a common Citizen. So that this might more properly be called the Age of *Roman* Virtue, than any of the former; and the greatneſs of the Rewards beſtowed, warmed every Heart with a more active Zeal, and Love for his Country.

NEVERTHELESS, the Women did not all ſurmount the Weakneſſes of their Sex. In *Sulpicius*'s *Conſulſhip*, one of the *Veſtals* diſhonoured her Profeſſion by her In-

7 This City of the *Aurunci*, which ſtood below *Fanum* Eaſtward, was diſtinguiſhed from *Sueſſa Pometia*, by the additional Name of *Aurunca*. It is now called *Seſſa*. Authors drop the additional Name of *Aurunca*, and generally call it only *Sueſſa*. They probably thought the Addition uſeleſs, when there were no longer any Footſteps of *Sueſſa Pometia*, the ancient City of the *Volſci*, which *Tarquin the Proud* had utterly deſtroyed. *Sueſſa Aurunca* became afterwards a *Roman Colony*. *Cicero* talks of it, as a *Municipium*, in his 13th *Philippick*. An ancient Inſcription, to be found in *Gruter*, *p.* 1093. ſhews it to have been a *Roman Colony* in the time of *Auguſtus*: And *Holſtenius* proves, by another Inſcription, that it had the Title of a *Municipium*. The Name of *Sueſſa* is preſerved in Medals. In the firſt of thoſe in the eleventh Plate, we ſee a *Hercules* grappling with the *Nemæan* Lion. The Head on the Face of the Medal probably repreſents the City of *Sueſſa*. On the ſecond Medal in that Plate, is the *Minotaur* crowned by a flying *Victory*. On the third we find a Head crowned with Laurel; behind which are three Legs, with a Face in the middle of them, the uſual Symbol of *Sicily*, on account of its three Promontories, as will be ſhewn hereafter. The Reverſe repreſents an Horſe-Race.

Year of ROME CCCCXVI. C. Sulpicius Longus, P. Ælius Pætus, Consuls. *Liv. B.8 c.15.*

continence. These Slips were thought so abominable in *Rome*, that the Historians mention them all as monstrous Things, of which they would give their Readers an Abhorrence. The Name of the sacrilegious Priestess was *Minucia*. She at first caused her Virtue to be suspected by her Love of Dress. She was thought ill of, as soon as she shewed an Inclination to please: And the Suspicion was soon changed into a full Conviction. Being accused at the Tribunal of the *Pontifices*, by one of her Slaves, she first purposed to give her Domesticks their Freedom, lest they should be put to the [8] Torture, and be thereby compelled to discover her Irregularities. Generally speaking indeed, the Depositions of Slaves against their Masters were not allowed of [9], in *Rome*; but the Law excepted two Cases, which

8 The *Eculeus* was the most common Rack the *Romans* made use of, when they examined any Person by Torture. This *Tully* tells us in his *Oration for Milo. Facti in* ECULEO *quæstio est, Juris in Judicio.* The Difficulty is, to know the Form of this Engine, which was used in the Punishment of Slaves. The Moderns have put their own Imaginations to the rack, to find out its Form and Make. *Sigonius*, in the 17th Chapter of his third Book *De Judiciis*, pretends that it was a sort of Pillory, or a Post made in the Form of a Screw. The Executioner tied the Patient to it with Cords, in the manner represented in the first Figure of the adjoining Plate: so that every Turn of the Screw upon its Shaft, raised up the Criminal, whose Arms and Legs were extended, by means of the Cords with which he was tied above and below, in a manner which was extremely painful, and at last dislocated all his Joints. The Wretch was left hanging in this miserable Condition, till he confessed the Truth. After that, the Screw was lowered, and the Cords slackned, to give him ease. *Sigonius* supports his Opinion, by several Quotations out of ancient Authors. He finds the *Eculeus* described, in these Lines of the Poet *Pomponius*, which are quoted by *Macellus*, in his Work, entituled, *De Proprietate Sermonum.*

Et ubi insilui in Cochleatum Eculeum,
Ibi tolutim tortor .....

He proves that the Sufferer was lifted up, and hung upon this Rack, with his Head upwards, and Feet downwards, by these Verses of the Poet *Prudentius*, written to celebrate the Triumph of St. *Vincent* the Martyr.

Incensus his Asclepiades jusserat
Eviscerandum Corpus ECULEO
Eminus pendere.

After this, he makes the Saint speak in this manner:

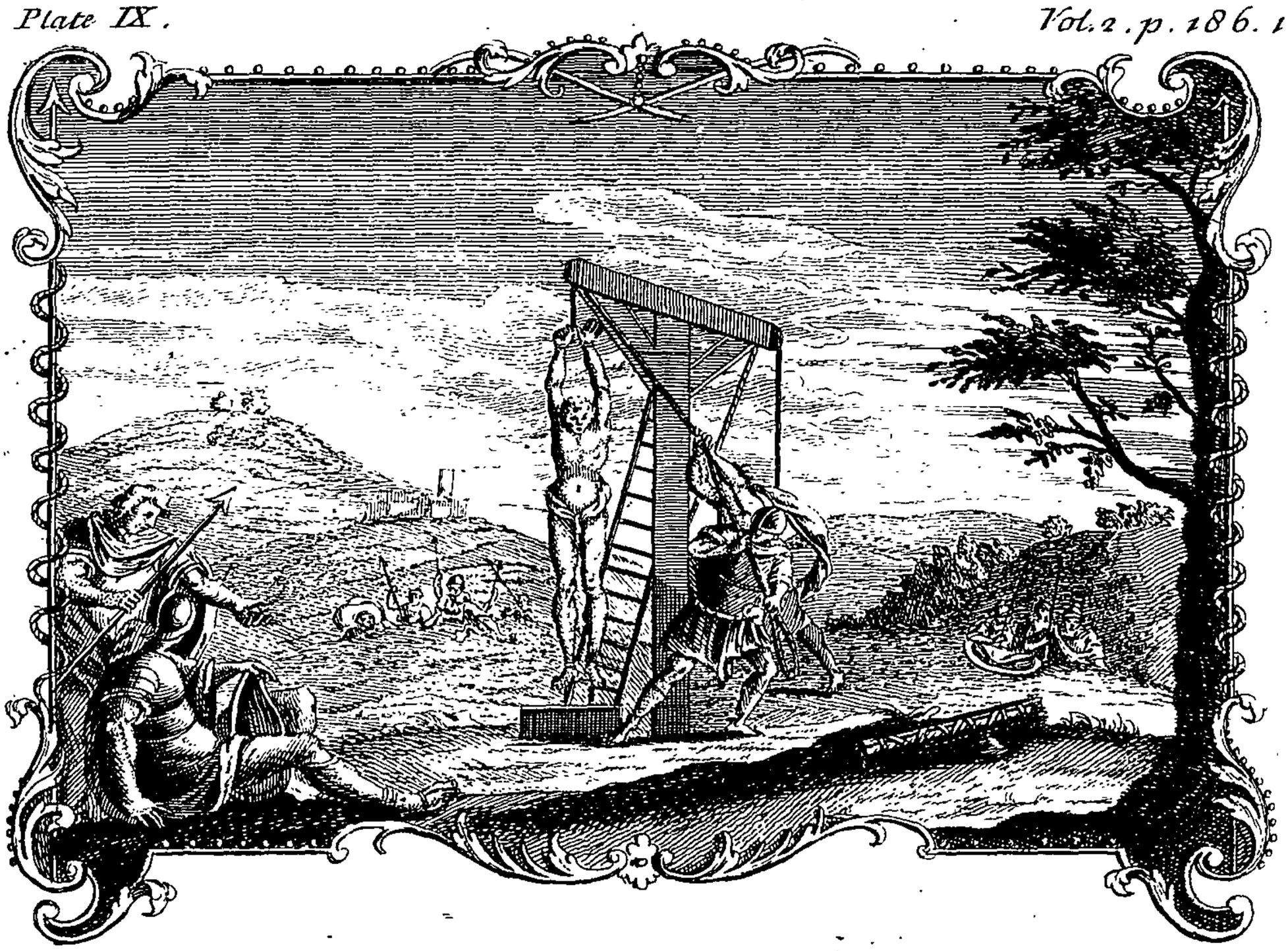
Audite cuncti, clamo longe & prædico
Emitto vocem de Catasta celsior.

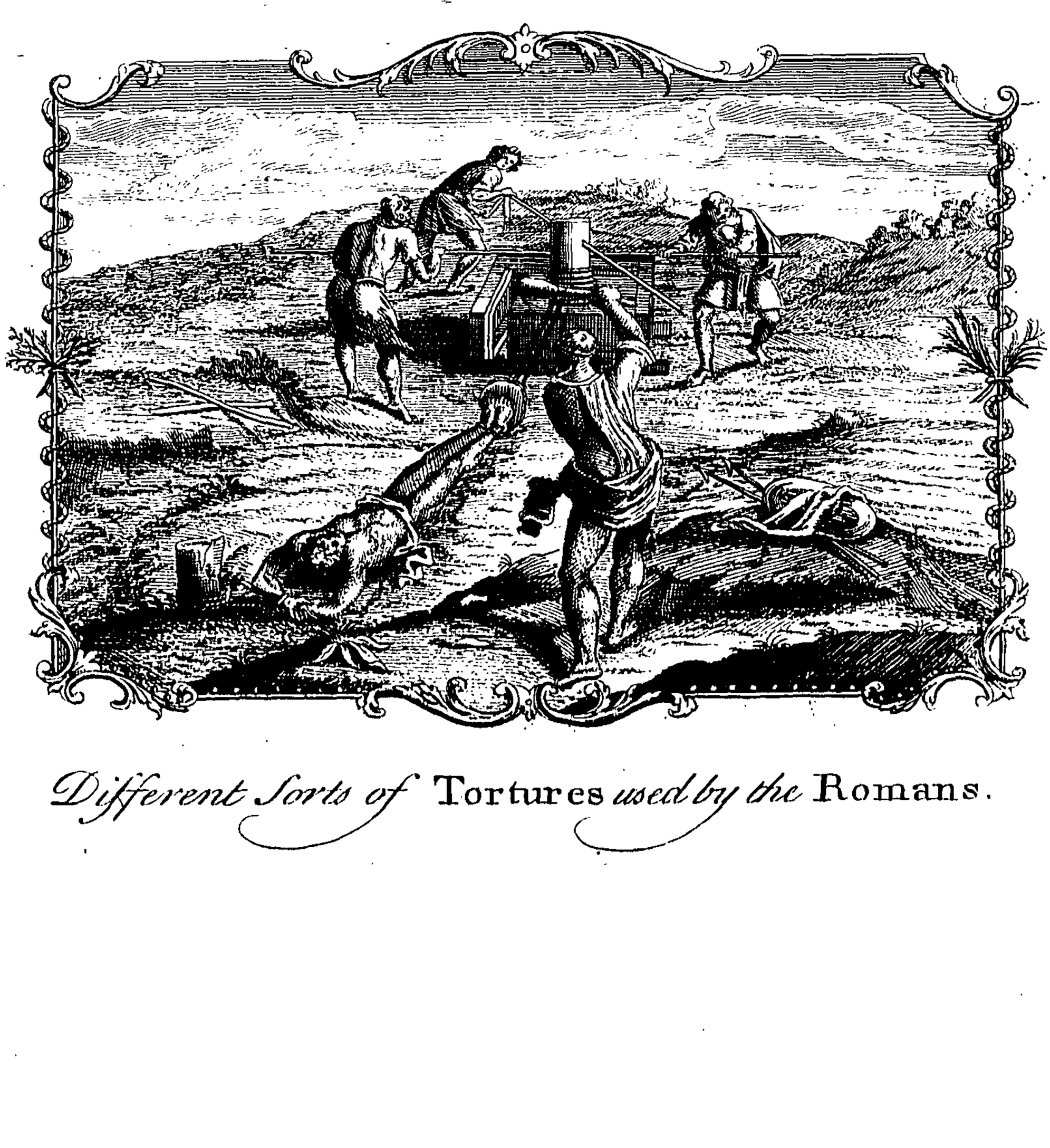
The exceeding painful Posture of the Person tortured, is described in the following Lines of the same Hymn.

Vinctum retortis brachiis
Sursum ac deorsum extendite,
Compago donec Ossium
Divulsa, membratim crepet.

The Etymology *Isidorus* gives of the Word *Eculeus*, favours this Opinion. *Eculeus dictus, eo quod extenderet.* The same Etymologist mentions the Cords used in this Torture, and calls them *Fidiculæ, quia iis rei in Eculeo torquentur, ut fides inveniatur.* And lastly, *Sozomen* speaks of it, in the same manner, when he relates the Martyrdom of a Christian, who was condemned to this Punishment. The Tyrant, says he, caused him to be lifted up, after he had been tied to a Post. *Et cum ad tortorium lignum adduxissent, in sublimi tolli jussit.* The Idea *Gallonius* gives us of the *Eculeus*, in his Book *De SS. Martyrum Cruciatibus*, is agreeable to the second Figure in the Plate. According to him, it was a Piece of Timber placed horizontally upon two Tressels. It was called *Eculeus*, because it somewhat resembled *an Horse*, in *Latin Equus*. The Criminal was fastned to this Piece of Wood, by his Hands and Feet, with his Face upwards. The Cords with which he was tied, pulled over two Wheels fixed to the two Ends of the Plank, and were fastned to two Rollers, or round Axle-trees, one at each end of the Rack. Round these Axle-trees, the Executioners wound the Cords, which were straitned by every Turn of the Wheels, which were moved by the Handles of the Axle-trees. This gave the Sufferer extreme Pain, and dislocated his Bones, which were drawn out of joint by the Cords, which stretched his Body both Ways at once. This made *Seneca the Philosopher*, say of a Man extended upon the *Eculeus*, that all the Parts of his Body were made longer by this Torture. *Eculeo longior factus. Gallonius*, in Proof of his own Opinion, and in Opposition to that of *Sigonius*, quotes *Seneca, Ep. 66; St. Jerom Ep. ad Innocent. 49; Cicero. Tusculan. Quest. B. 5.* and several other Writers; who represent those who were tortured, as lying along upon the *Eculeus*. *Jacebat in Eculeo ..... Impositus in Eculeum ..... In Eculeum conjiciuntur.* The same Author adds, that, according to several antient Writers, the tortured Person almost always fell off from the Plank, which was generally very narrow, not being able to keep himself upon it, and hang by his Hands and Feet, as soon as the Cords were slackned. And from all the Passages, which *Sigonius*, *Gallonius*, and *Jerom Magius* have quoted, it appears, that the Form of the *Eculeus* was not always the same. The little the Ancients say, of the Tortures used by the *Romans*, makes us conclude, that they may all be reduced to the four Ways of torturing represented in the two adjoining Plates. Whether the Ancients made use of Iron-Forks, Torches, and Burning-Plates of Metal, in the Torture of Slaves, as they were afterwards used to torment the Martyrs who were put upon the *Eculeus*, is not easy to determine. Ancient Authors have not said enough of it, to ascertain whether they did or no.

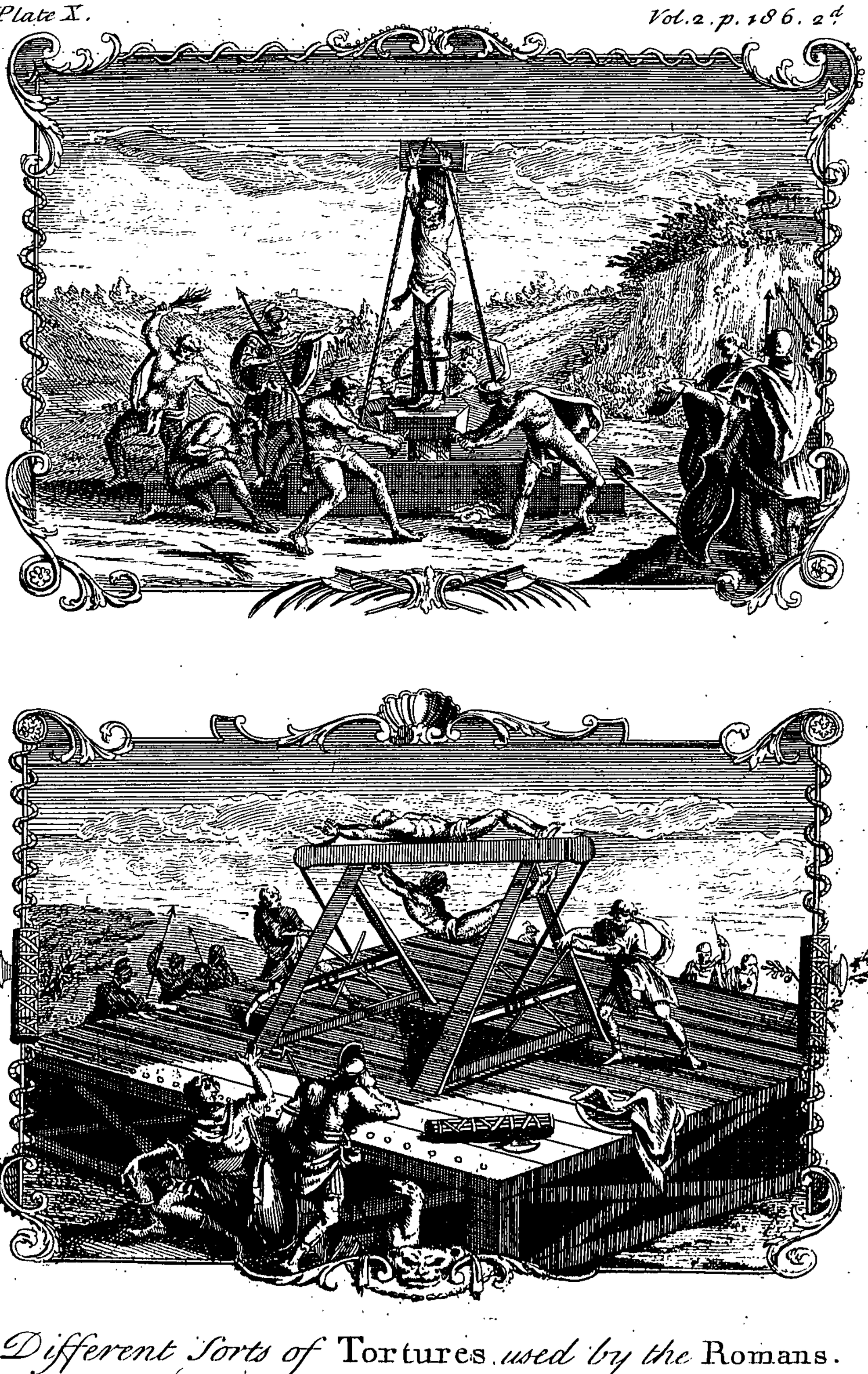
9 This Custom was founded upon the most equitable Principles. It would have been very unreasonable to have subjected the Life and Fortune of a *Citizen* to the Anger and Hatred of a Slave, whose Interest it was to execute his Revenge upon him. Besides, nothing was more sacred, than the Rights of Masters over their Slaves; and it was a Matter of Wisdom, and good Policy, to keep the latter to their Distance and Duty, by depriving them of all Means of hurting those, who had a despotick Authority over their Persons and Effects. It may easily be imagined, a Slave would let no Opportunity slip of revenging the ill Usage he had received from a severe Master. This, *Rome* wisely guarded against, by not suffering any Slave to be witness against his Master. This we learn from *Cicero*, who says, in his *Oration for* Deiotarus, that this Custom was authorized by the old *Romans*, who would not suffer a Slave to be put to the Rack, in order to extort a Testimony from him,





Different Sorts of Tortures *used by the* Romans.

Plate X. Vol. 2. p. 186. 2d.



Different Sorts of Tortures *used by the* Romans.

were [10] Inceſt, and Crimes againſt the State. *Minucia* was therefore forbidden to enfranchiſe any of her Slaves; and ſhe was at the ſame time commanded not to perform any ſacerdotal Office. At length, the *Pontifices* paſſed Sentence of Condemnation on the guilty *Veſtal:* She was conducted, in great Silence, through the Gate *Collina*, to a Field called *The Wicked Field*, or *Campus Sceleratus*, where ſhe was buried alive, in a ſubterranean Cave, under a Tomb, on the right Side of the common Road. There ſhe expiated her Crime, by the moſt terrible Sort of Death that can be ſuffered.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXVI. C. Sulpicius Longus, P. Ælius Pætus, Conſuls. *Cicero pro Milone. Liv. B. 8.*

§. III. In the preceding *Conſulſhip*, the *Aurunci* had not been revenged on the *Sidicini*, who kept Poſſeſſion of their Capital, which they had ſeized: And the latter therefore expecting to have all the Forces of the Republick immediately brought againſt them, had joined themſelves to the [11] *Auſones*, a People heretofore formidable, but now reduced to a little Canton in *Italy*. Before the Foundation of *Rome*, the *Auſones* poſſeſſed all that Part of *Italy*, which reaches from *The Streights of Sicily* to the Country of the *Volſci*; and their Dominions were ſo extenſive, that the *Greeks* often gave all *Italy* the Name of *Auſonia*. In Proceſs of Time, they were diſpoſſeſſed of the vaſt Countries they enjoyed, firſt by the [12] *Oenotrians*,

Year of *ROME* CCCCXVII. L. Papirius Crassus, Cæſo Duilius, Conſuls.

the Prejudice of his Maſter. *Cum, More Majorum, de Servo in Dominum, ne tormentis quidem quæri liceat, exortus eſt Servus, qui quem in Eculeo depellere non poſſet, eum accuſet ſolutus.* He gives the Reaſon for this Cuſtom, in his *Oration for Milo. Our Anceſtors*, ſays he, *would not ſuffer any Man's Slaves to be examined by Torture, in order to be Witneſſes againſt him, upon his Tryal, becauſe it would have been unworthy of them, to have had recourſe to a Method ſo odious, and which might be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences.* His Words are, *Majores noſtri in Dominum de Servo quæri noluerunt, non quia non poſſet verum inveniri, sed quia videbatur indignum, & Domini Morte ipſa feſtinus.* This Law was, according to *Tacitus*, *Ann.* 11. 30, 5. founded upon an ancient Decree of the Senate. *Vetere Senatus-conſulto Quæſtio in Caput Domini prohibebatur.*

[10] This Exception is confirmed in the *Oration for Milo. De Servis nulla Quæſtio fit in Dominum, nisi de Inceſtu.* The *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, according to *Cicero*, *De Partitione Orator. c.* 34. permitted Perſons of free Condition to be examined by Torture. But the *Romans* would not ſuffer ſo much as a Slave to be examined by Torture, as a Witneſs againſt his Maſter; unleſs in the Caſe of Treaſt, or a Plot againſt the Republick. Thus we find in *Valer. Max.* 6. 8, 1. that *Mark Anthony the Orator* being accuſed of Inceſt, his Slave was put on the Rack. The *Julian* Law, made by the Emperor *Auguſtus*, excepted likewiſe the Caſe of Adultery. This we learn from the old *Civilians*, *Ulp. c. de Quæſtion.*; *B.* 37. *c. de Adult.*; *B.* 17. *de Quæſtion. Marcian* reports, *B.* 5. that ſome *Roman*, whoever he was, who had been guilty of unlawful Commerce with one of his Relations, whether a Widow, or a Wife, was convicted on the Depoſitions of his Slaves only. It was then lawful to torture them, ſays that Author, in order to diſcover the Truth of Facts. Nevertheleſs, *Fabius Vopiſcus* aſſures us, that the Emperor *Titus* would not ſuffer a Slave to be tortured, when his Maſter was accuſed of High Treaſon.

[11] The *Auſones* were one of the moſt ancient Nations in *Italy*, even according to them who ſuppoſe that they landed there under the Conduct of *Auſon*, the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Calypſo*; or, according to ſome, of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*. But upon this Supoſition, a great Abſurdity will follow, *viz.* that *Italy* was abſolutely deſert, and uninhabited till after the Siege of *Troy*. What is certain, is, that that Nation was originally *Grecian*, as the *Colonies* here, which afterwards came over into this Country. *Pliny* obſerves, *ch.* 5. *B.* 3. that the *Auſones* gave their Name to that Part of the *Mediterranean* Sea, which reaches from the Sea of *Sicily* to the Country of the *Salentini*. This was then called *The Auſonian Sea*, according to *Dion. Hal.* himſelf, and not *The Sicilian Sea*, as *Strabo* pretends, who makes the latter the *Auſonian* Sea; tho' he is forced to confeſs, that the *Auſones* never inhabited the Coaſts of *Sicily*. They firſt planted themſelves in that Part of *Italy*, which comprehends *Samnium*, *Campania*, *Brutium*, and *Japygia*. But afterwards being driven from thence by new Conquerors, they were ſhut up within very narrow Limits, in the Neighbourhood of *Cale*, whoſe Territory they had poſſeſſed from time immemorial, according to *Feſtus*. But this Author is much miſtaken in his Calculations, when he ſays, that *Auſon*, the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Calypſo*, gave name to *Auſonia*, and built the City of *Arunca*. This Account is manifeſtly fabulous. At leaſt it cannot be reconciled with that of *Livy*, who tells us, that this City was not founded till eight hundred Years after the taking of *Troy*. What *Dion. Hal.* ſays of *Auſon*, the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Calypſo*, that he had reigned in the Territory of *Rome*, ſavours much of thoſe falſe Traditions, which the whole Tribe of Poets had made venerable. Nor is more ſtreſs to be laid on what *Hellanicus of Lesbos* relates, *viz.* that the *Auſones*, being driven away by the *Japyges*, paſſed over into *Sicily*, with their King *Siculus*.

[12] The *Oenotrians*, according to the moſt ancient Authors, were originally *Arcadians*. *Dion. Hal.* ſays, that they were the firſt *Greeks* who paſſed *The Ionick Gulph*, to ſettle in *Italy*, under the Conduct of the two Sons of *Lycaon*, King of *Arcadia*; one of whom was named *Oenotrus*, the other *Peucetius*. Being, ſays that Hiſtorian, diſſatisfied with their Patrimony, they equipped a Fleet, left *Peloponneſus*, and being followed by a numerous *Colony* of *Greeks*, landed, one at the *Cape of Japygia*, and the other, at another Gulph, which waſhes the Weſtern Side of *Italy*, and was then called *The Auſonian Gulph*. From thence they ſpread themſelves into different Parts of *South-Italy*. *Peucetius*, at the Head of his Company, made himſelf Maſter of *Apulia* and *Calabria*; and gave the Name of *Peucetians* to the Inhabitants of thoſe two Provinces. *Oenotrus* poſſeſſed himſelf of that Part of old *Auſonia*, which forms a Peninſula between the Gulphs of *Squillaci*, and *St. Euphemia*; anciently called *Lametinus*, or, according to others, *Terinæus*, and *Scylleticus Sinus*. *Italy* was called by the *Greeks*, *Oenotria*, from the Names of thoſe two Nations, and not from the *Greek* Word οἶνος, as *Servius* pretends; becauſe this vaſt Tract of Ground produced great Plenty of excellent *Wines*. *Virgil* is our Authority for the former Etymology, in the firſt

Year of ROME CCCCXVII. L. Papirius Crassus, Cæso Duilius, Consuls.

ans, and then by the [13] *Pelasgi*, were driven to the fartheſt of their Province near the *Volſci*, and maintained themſelves there. The *Aurunci*, *Sidicini*, and *Auſones*, were all, at the time of which we are now ſpeaking, but a ſmall Remain of the ancient *Auſones*; and weak as they were, the War divided them. Perhaps the *Sidicini* and *Auſones* were diſpleaſed with the *Aurunci*, for having withdrawn themſelves from the Body of their Nation, and ſubmitted to the *Roman*. But however that be, the *Sidicini* firſt, and afterwards the *Auſones*, declared themſelves Enemies to the *Aurunci*. It was therefore the Duty of the Republick to protect a People, who had *bona fide* delivered themſelves up into her Hands. Accordingly, no ſooner were *L.* [14] *Papirius* and *Cæſo Duilius* declared *Conſuls*, but they were ordered to make War with the *Sidicini*, and *Auſones*, in favour of the *Aurunci*. The *Auſones* were conſidered by the *Romans* as new Enemies, but were not at all formidable to them. Their Capital, or rather, their only City, was [15] *Cale*. As for the *Sidicini*, they were Maſters of [16] *Teanum*, which ſtood in the Neighbourhood

first Book of his *Æneid*.

Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii de nomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens Armis, atque ubere glebæ:
Oenotrii coluere Viri: nunc fama minores
Italiam dixiſſe.....

That the *Oenotrians* were driven out by the *Auſones*, is a Fact confirmed by the ancient Writers, contrary to the Opinion of *Antiochus of Syracuſe*, who, according to *Dion. Hal.* thought the latter had been the firſt Inhabitants of *Italy*. The *Oenotrian* Iſlands, *Iſcia* and *Pontia*, which *Pliny* mentions, *B.* 10. *c.* 7. are a Proof of the Invaſion, and Settlement of theſe New-comers in the Southern Parts of *Italy*. The *Auſones* were then confined to the Country which reaches from *Circæum* to Mount *Maſſicus*. Some reckon ſeveral other Nations within this Tract of Ground, as the *Volſci*, the *Oſci*, and the *Aurunci*; tho' indeed the earlieſt Hiſtorians conſider the *Oſci* and *Aurunci*, as the Remains of the ancient *Auſones*. According to *Strabo*, *B.* 5. that Part of *Italy*, which reached from *The Streights of Sicily*, to *The Gulph of Tarentum*, Eaſtward; and to *Poſſidonia*, or *Pæſtum*, near *Salernum*, Weſtward; was called *Oenotria*. It comprehended, ſays he, the Countries of the *Brutii*, and that of the *Lucani*, between *Pæſtum* and *Metapontum*. The ſame Geographer makes the City of *Pandoſia* the Reſidence of the Kings of *Oenotria*. *Dion. Hal.* imagines, that the *Oenotrians* afterwards poſſeſſed themſelves of a Part of *Umbria*: and, according to ſome Writers, they even ſpread themſelves into *Latium*, and *Sabinia*. Father *Kircher*, in his Work entituled, *Old and New Latium*, declares himſelf of opinion, that the *Oenotrus* here ſpoken of, was *Noah*. This Patriarch, ſays he, to avoid the Inſults and ill Deſigns of *Ham*, joined himſelf to *Japheth*, and *Gomer*, and the other Children of the former; came with them into *Italy*, which is called by the Rabbins, *Kittim*; and reigned in *Latium*, under the Name of *Janus*. He was ſo called from the *Hebrew* Word *Jain*, and the *Chaldee Jaino*, which ſignifies *Wine*; becauſe he firſt planted Vines, and found out the Secret of preſſing out the Juice of the Grape, and making it potable. For this reaſon, the *Greeks* call him *Oenotrus*, ἀπὸ τοῦ οἶνου ὀρχεῖν, which Signification and Etymology anſwers to the Surname of *Janus*. This Jeſuit brings a great many Proofs to ſupport his Opinion. He thinks, he finds ſome Traces of this Tranſmigration, in *Juſtin Martyr*'s *Apologies*, in *Tertullian de Pallio*, in *St. Auſtin de Civitate Dei*, in *Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico*, in ſeveral old Commentators upon *Geneſis*, and in *Beroſus*. But after all, theſe are only happy Conjectures, which ſtrike the Imagination at firſt ſight, but carry no Conviction with them. Nevertheleſs, we may, if we pleaſe, adopt them; at leaſt, till greater Certainty appears in any other Hypotheſis.

13 Long before the Siege of *Troy*, the *Pelasgi* originally *Peloponneſians*, being driven out of their Country by the *Curetes* and *Leleges*, removed from *Theſſaly*, into the Country, which is watered by the *Po*. Not far from the Mouth of this River, they founded the City of *Spina*. One Part of them croſſed the Mountains, joined the *Aborigines*, conquered ſeveral Cantons of *Umbria* and *Hetruria*, drove out the *Siculi*, the ancient Inhabitants of theſe Countries, and forced them to fly for Refuge into *Sicily*. They likewiſe took away ſeveral Cities in *Campania* from the *Aurunci*. Afterwards, a great Number of theſe People, who were purſued by Divine Vengeance, which viſited them with the moſt terrible Scourges, abandoned their Conqueſts, and returned to *Greece*.

14 This is the ſame *Lucius Papirius Craſſus*, who was *Dictator* in the Year of *Rome* 413. *Tully* mentions this *Conſulſhip* in a Letter to *Pætus*. *Lucius Papirius Craſſus* ſays he was *Conſul* with *Cæſo Duilius*, four Years after he had been choſen *Dictator*. *Diodorus Siculus*, as incorrect as uſual, in the Names, *Prænomina*, and Surnames of the *Conſuls*, makes one *Valerius Cæſo* Collegue to *Papyrius*. But it is a Miſtake of the Author, or his Copyiſts.

15. The City of *Cale* ſtood in *Campania*, between *Teanum* and *Capua*, on this Side Mount *Maſſicus*, and North of Mount *Gallicula*, which ſeparates the Lands called *Stellates Campi*, from thoſe of *Cale*. The Territory produced excellent Wines, which *Horace* ſays were kept for the Tables of the Great Men in *Rome*. In the 2d *Ode* of his firſt Book he addreſſes himſelf to *Mæcenas* thus;

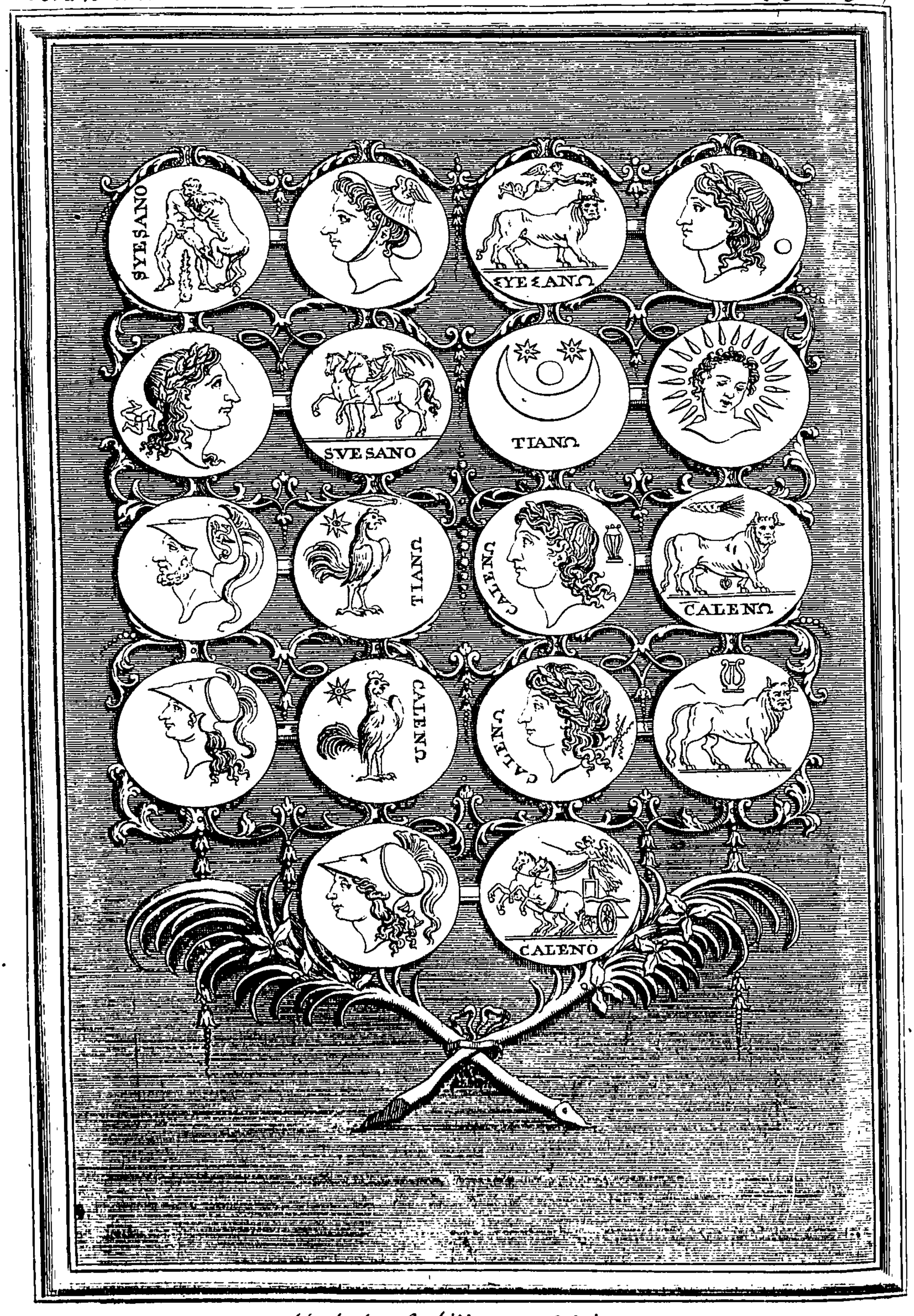
Cæcubum & prælo domitam Caleno
Tu bibes uvam.

And in the 31ſt *Ode*,

Premant Calena *falce quibus dedit*
Fortuna vitem.

The ancient Naturaliſts ſay there was a Spring in the Neighbourhood of this City, the Water of which had the Quality of making People drunk. *Fumerius* and Father *Briet* are miſtaken, in diſtinguiſhing the City of *Cale*, from that which they call *Calenum*, and which, they ſay, ſtill ſubſiſts, under the Name of *Carniola*. They did not conſider, that the *Latins* called the Territory of *Cale*, *Calenum*, as the Canton of *Formiæ* was by them called *Formianum*. The Reſemblance of the Names made the Poet *Silius* ſay, *B.* 8. that *Cale* was founded by *Calais*, one of the *Argonauts*, the Son of *Boreas* and *Orithia*, according to the fabulous Tradition of the Mythologiſts, *Cale* is now called *Calvi*, and gives Title to a Biſhoprick in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

16 See our Remarks on *Teanum*, *p.* 134. *Note* To which we ſhall only add here, ſome Account of two Medals, which bear this Inſcription, *Tea* On one Side of the firſt, (in the adjoining Plate)



Medals of different Cities.

hood of [17] *Casinum*, [18] *Atina*, and [19] *Fregellæ*. The *Consular* Army entered into the Enemy's Country; and one single Battel was sufficient; not indeed, to cut the Enemy in Pieces, for they could not stand before the *Roman* Army, but to put them to the Rout. The more they were within Reach of their Cities, the more ready they were to fly. So that the *Sidicini* and *Ausones* retired behind their Ramparts for Shelter, and kept themselves in Safety there, without having scarce attempted a Battel, or suffered the *Consuls* to reap much Glory.

Year of ROME CCCCXVII. L. Papirius Crassus, Cæso Duilius, Consuls.

§. IV. Nevertheless, the *Romans* did not lose Sight of an Enterprize which they had begun with little Advantage. The Conduct of the *Sidicini* had provoked the Republick; and the Assistance they had lent the *Campani*, in the War with *Latium*, was an Injury not to be forgotten. When the Time came for electing new *Consuls*, the Senate used their utmost Endeavours, to get at least one General of Reputation chosen; and they succeeded, in causing the illustrious [20] *M. Valerius Corvus* to be elected, who was now promoted to the *Consulship* the fourth time. The Collegue given him was [21] *M. Attilius*, surnamed *Regulus*, who now entered upon this Office for the first time. As the Name of *Valerius* was known, and his Exploits spoke in his favour, the Senate desired *Regulus* to consent that *Corvus* alone should, without drawing Lots, be put at the Head of the Army which was to act against the united *Ausones* and *Sidicini*: And *Regulus*, without Hesitation, readily paid that Deference to the noble Extraction, the Experience, and the Age, of his Collegue. So that *Valerius* took the Command of the Army which had acted against the *Sidicini*, the last Year, without making new Levies. He began the War with attacking the *Ausones*. His first Attempt was upon their Capital, which we have already said was called *Cale*. The Battel he fought with the Allies, was not long disputed. Upon the first Onset, the Enemy, intimidated both by the Remembrance of their former Rout, and the Shouts of the *Roman Legions*, fled in Disorder, within their Walls. But the *Roman* General was too much warmed, to leave his Victory imperfect: and he resolved to besiege the City. Had he yielded to the Impetuosity of his Troops, they would have begun to scale

CCCCXVIII. M. Valerius Corvus, M. Attilius Regulus, Consuls.

ee a Sun, or a radiated Head of *Apollo*; on the ther, a Crescent, which includes within it a Globe nd two Stars. What was the Design of the Medalliſt in this, we don't know. The *Mars*, the God of War, which is on the second Medal, signifies, perhaps, the warlike Genius of this Nation, or the particular Worship it paid to this false God. The Cock is the Symbol of Vigilance and Martial alour. The Grain of Corn over the Head of is Animal, imports the Fruitfulness of the Territory of the *Sidicini*. But it is, after all, uncertain, hether these Medals don't rather represent another ity of *Teanum* in *Apulia*. *Goltzius* is inclined to elieve, they relate to the *Teanum* which belonged o the *Sidicini*; tho' he brings but very uncertain roofs of it. But however that be, we thought roper to give the Reader these Medals in the adoining Plate, that nothing might be wanting to satisfy his Curiosity, with regard to Antiques which ave any relation to the *Roman* History.

17 The City of *Casinum*, or, as others write it, *asinum*, was, according to *Strabo*, *B.* 5. one of e last Cities of *New Latium*. It stood on the xtremity of the Territory of the *Volsci*, who seem o have been driven out of it by the *Samnites*. At ast the latter carried on their Conquests as far as at City: which afterwards became a *Roman Coony*. An old Inscription mentioned by *Gruter*, ews it to have had the Title of a *Municipium*. ear it was *Varro*'s Country-house. He, *B.* 3. *c.* 5. *erum Rusticarum*, speaks of a little River, which atered the Neighbourhood of *Casinum*. This is ought to be the same that *Pliny* calls *Scatebra* . 2. *In Casinate Fluvius appellatur* Scatebra, *fridus, abundantior æstate*. In the Territory of this ity, we now see the City of *San-Germano*, and e famous Monastery of Mount *Cassino*.

18 *Servius* is mistaken in placing *Atina* near the *omptin* Marshes. This City stood very far from thence, as is evident, upon the least Enquiry into the Historians and ancient Geographers, who place it on one of the *Apennine* Mountains, beyond the *Liris*, towards the Spring-head of the *Melfis*, now *Melfa*, and *Melpa*. *Atina* is now called *Atino*. We must take care not to confound it with another *Atina*, in *Lucania*. *Cicero*, *Orat. for Planc*, reckons the former among the *Præfectures*. *Frontinus*, in his Book *Of Colonies*, tells us, it afterwards became a *Roman Colony*. *Virgil* boasts of the Bravery of the Inhabitants of *Atina*, in the 11th and 12th Books of the *Æneid*.

19 *Strabo*, *B.* 5. places the ancient City of *Fregellæ*, on the Borders of the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, near the Place where the *Ceperano* now stands, according to *Cluverius* and *Holstenius*; or near *Ponte Corvo*, according to *Ferrarius*, and Father *Kircher*. This City, says *Strabo*, was formerly one of the most considerable in *Italy*. But it was razed by the *Prætor Opimius*, in the *Consulship* of *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Plautius Hypsæus*, according to *Tully*, *Orat.* 1. *de Leg. Agrag.*; *Julius Obsequens*, *Lib. de Prodigiis*; *Velleius*, *B.* 2. and *Val. Max. B.* 2. *c.* 8. about the Year of *Rome* 630. In *Strabo*'s time, it was only a Village. The Author of the Book *To Herennius*, reproaches this City with its Treachery, which was the Cause of its Ruin. *O perfidiosæ* Fregellæ, *quam facile scelere vestro contabuistis, ut cujus nitor Urbis Italiam nuper illustravit, ejus nunc vix fundamentorum reliquiæ maneant. Ceperano* is situated in the *Terra di Lavoro*, and belongs to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

20 The *Greek Tables* give *Valerius* the Surname of *Corvinus*, instead of that of *Corvus*.

21 The *Atilian* Family was divided into two Branches; one of which was *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. The *Longi* descended from the former; from the latter, the *Reguli*, the *Serrani*, the *Calatini*, and the *Bulbi*.

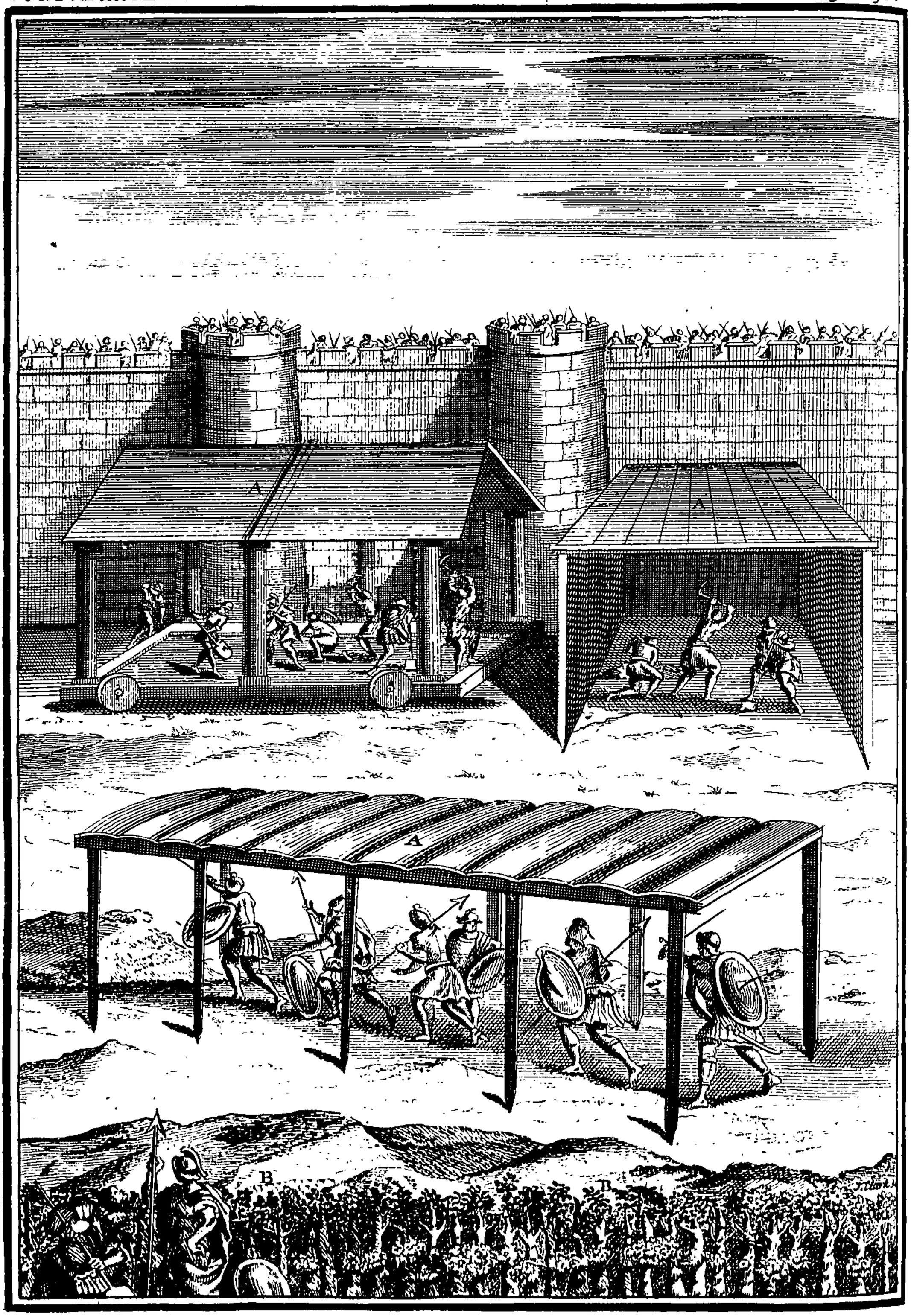
Year of ROME CCCCXVIII. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, M. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

the Walls the ſame Day the Battel was fought, and would perhaps have taken the Place by Aſſault. But the wiſe *Valerius* tempered the Ardor of his Troops, and choſe rather to make himſelf Maſter of *Cale*, with more Difficulty, and leſs Danger. He ordered [22] Machines of Wood to be built, and covered with Earth, that his *Romans* might from them both ſee and fight the Beſieged. He made his Approaches to the Walls under [23] *Covered Galleries*. Theſe ſcreened his Soldiers from Stones and Darts, and enabled them to ſap, and beat down the Walls, without Moleſtation. And laſtly he invented [24] *Moveable Towers*, which were built higher over it to the Ramparts, whilſt thoſe who were in the upper Floors annoyed the Enemy from above. *Vegetius*, *B.* 4. *c.* 17. gives us a Deſcription of theſe Towers. They were, ſays he, ſometimes thirty Foot ſquare; and often forty or fifty Foot broad. They were full as high, and even higher, than the Stone Towers which defended the Place beſieged. This Building was moveable, and went upon Wheels. It was moved backward or forwards, as there was Occaſion. It conſiſted of ſeveral Floors; which had each its particular Uſe; in the loweſt of them was the Ram for battering the Wall. In the Middle-Floor, was a Bridge made of two Beams covered with Hurdles. This Bridge, when let down made a Communication between the Tower and the Ramparts, leaving a free Paſſage from one to the other. The Soldiers poſted on the higheſt Floor threw Stones, Darts, and Sticks headed with Iron on the Beſieged. Theſe Towers were often full of *Baliſtæ*, *Catapultæ*, *Scorpions*, and all Sorts of murdering Machines. According to *Vitruvius*, *Diades*, who ſerved under *Alexander the Great*, gloried in being the Inventor of theſe *Moveable Towers*. He ſays they were taken to Pieces, for the greater Convenience of Carriage, when the Army took the Field. But *Heron*, *c.* 13. does not aſcribe this Invention to *Diades* alone. He aſſures us, that *Diades* and *Chereas*, the Diſciples of *Polydus of Theſſaly*, had an equal Right to that Honour. On the contrary, *Athenæus* pretends that theſe Machines were in uſe in the Time of the firſt *Dionyſius*, Tyrant of *Sicily*. However that be, it is certain the *Romans* knew the uſe of them in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, as may have been obſerved above. According to *Vitruvius*, *Diades* left ſome Writings, in which he taught the Art of building theſe Towers. The ſmalleſt ought to have been at leaſt ſixty Cubits high, and ſeventeen broad. It was this old Engineer's Cuſtom to narrow the Tower, as it roſe in Height; ſo that the Top was but one fifth as big as the Baſe. He required that the Poſts ſhould be three quarters of a Foot Diameter at the Bottom; and half a Foot at the Top. In the leaſt *Tower* he put ten Floors, which all had Windows. The biggeſt *Towers* he made, were a hundred and twenty Cubits high, and twenty three and a half broad. He obſerved the ſame Proportions in narrowing them, as in the former. In the great *Towers* he placed twenty Floors, each of which had its Parapet three Cubits high. He covered them with raw Skins of Beaſts, newly taken off, to prevent their taking Fire. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be confeſſed, that it is not eaſy to conceive how a *Tower* of an hundred and twenty Cubits, or thirty Fathom high, could ſtand upon a Baſe of only twenty three Cubits and a half. Beſides, there does not ſeem to have been any juſt Proportion obſerved, in making the Baſe of a *Tower* an hundred and twenty Cubits high, to be but twenty three Cubits and a half broad; when that of the little *Tower*, which was but fifty Cubits high, was ſeventeen broad. Which makes it probable, that ſome Error is crept into the Text, eſpecially if we conſider, that *Vitruvius* and *Athenæus*, ſpeaking of a *Tower* which *Demetrius Poliorcetes* cauſed to be built, at the Siege of *Rhodes*, ſay, that it was ſixty ſix Cubits high, by forty ſix broad. *Athenæus* has fixed the Height of every Floor of the great *Tower* before-mentioned. He makes the firſt

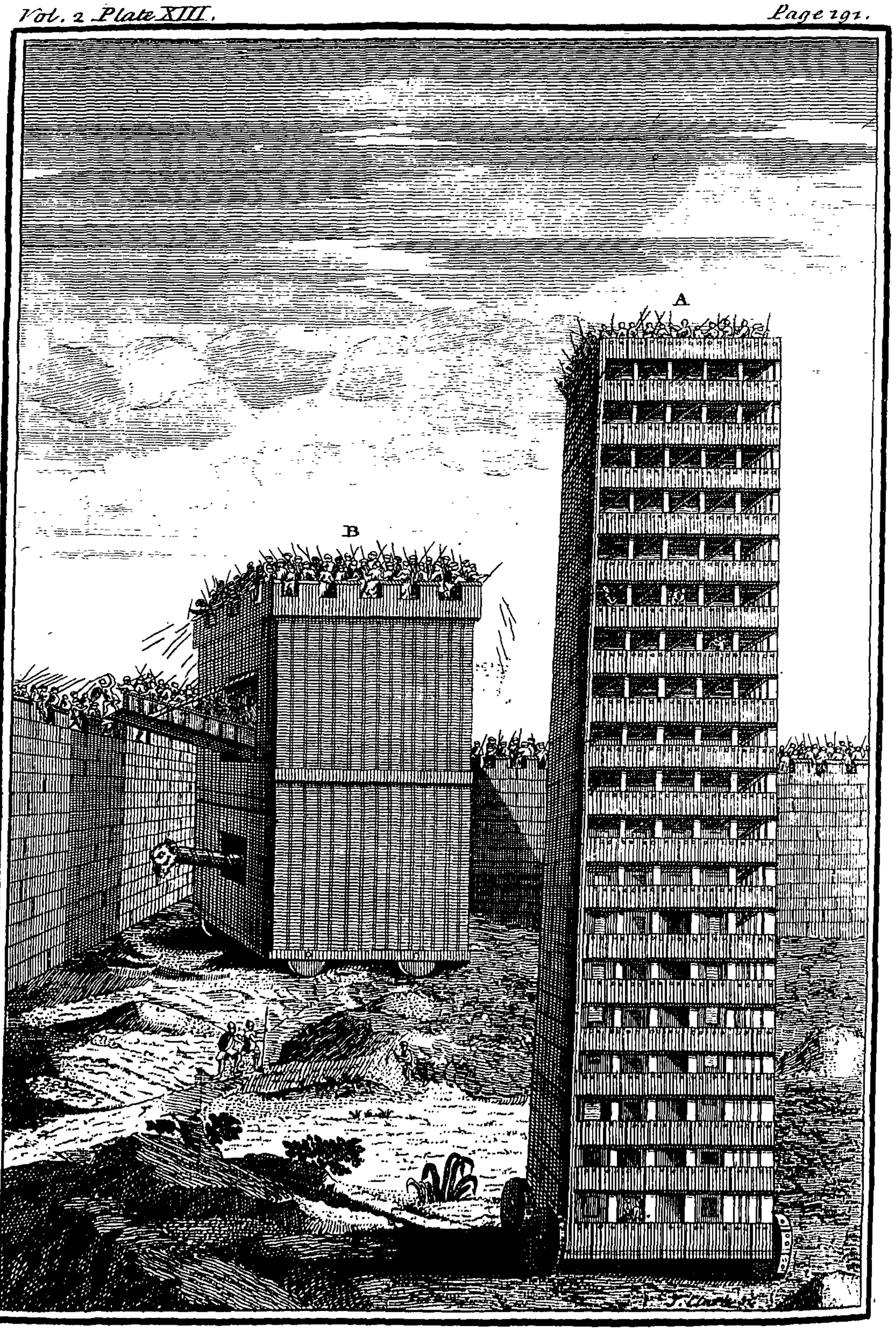
22 This is *Livy*'s Account of the Engines of War made uſe of in the Siege of *Cale*. *Itaque Aggerem*, *& vineas egit*, *turreſque muro admovit*. After having taken their Poſts round a beſieged City, the *Romans* built *Cavaliers*, or a kind of Terraſſes made of Earth, bound together with Faſcines, and ſupported on the Sides, by Hurdles, Trunks of Trees, and ſometimes Maſonry, at proper Diſtances. This raiſed Ground was called *Agger*, becauſe made of great Quantities of Earth *heaped up*, and beaten cloſe together. The whole Work ended in a kind of Platform. This *Agger* was carried on to the Edge of the Ditch, and as near the Walls as poſſible. Its Height was different, according to the Ground, and the Height of the Walls. *Cæſar* tells us, that the *Agger* he raiſed againſt *Avaricum*, the Capital of *Berry*, was fourſcore Foot high, and three hundred broad. By the help of this Platform, the Aſſaillants raiſed themſelves upon a level with the Beſieged, that they might fight them with the more eaſe. Upon it, they placed wooden Towers, which commanded the Ramparts, and from whence the Beſiegers could eaſily annoy the Garriſon with Darts and Stones.

23 In order to ſecure the Workmen, and thoſe employed in ſapping, againſt the Aſſaults of the Enemy, the ancients made uſe of *Covered Galleries*. The Timber of them was light, that they might be the more eaſily moved; but at the ſame time, ſtrong enough to reſiſt the Attacks of the Beſieged. The Tops of them generally terminated in a Point, or Ridge, and were made ſhelving, that the great Quantities of Stones thrown down upon them, might ſlide off. Without this Precaution, the Machine had been in danger of being broken through. To ſecure it from Fire, the Roof of it was made of Hurdles, daubed over thick with Clay, and covered with raw Skins. It is probable, as an able Engineer judiciouſly remarks, that the *Vineæ* of the *Romans* were not always made of Timber-work. A whole Foreſt, ſays he, would ſcarce have been enough to cover the *Legions*. I am of opinion, continues he, that they were moſt commonly parallel Ditches, the Banks of which were ſupported with Faſcines, or Hurdlework. In proof of it, he quotes a Paſſage in *Cæſar*, *in Bello Civili*, *B.* 1. where, ſpeaking of the Siege of *Marſeilles*, he ſays, that the Inhabitants were ſo well furniſhed with Neceſſaries for the Defence of the Place, that he could make no Sheds which were Proof againſt their Machines. According to *Cæſar*, they threw down Pieces of Wood twelve Foot long, armed with Iron Points, which pierced through four Beds of Hurdles, and afterwards ſtuck into the Earth. We ſhall hereafter ſpeak of the different ſorts of *Covered Galleries*, which were in uſe among the *Romans*. They had different Names and Forms, according to their Uſes, and the Occaſion there was for them.

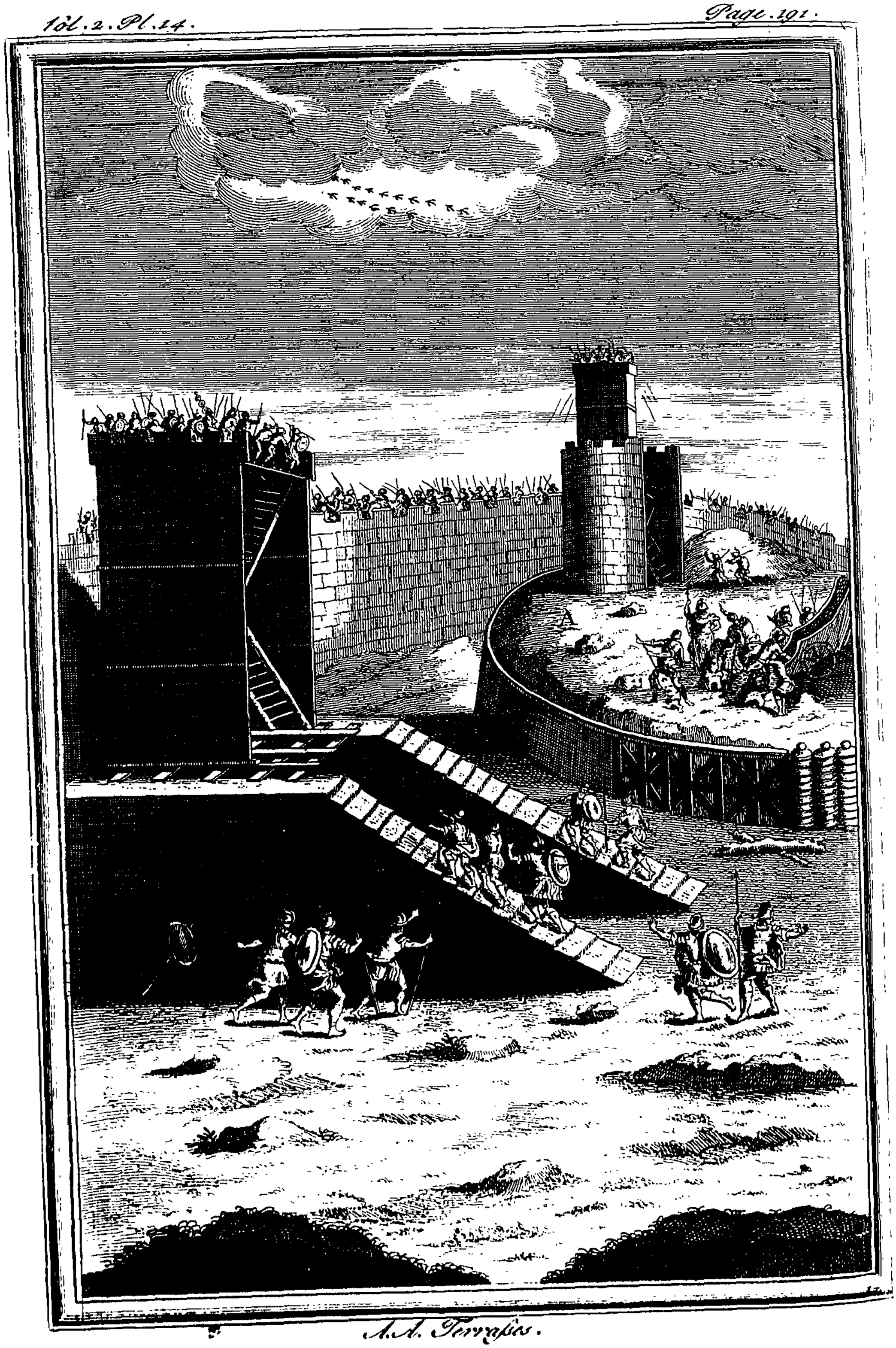
24 To what we have ſaid before, of the *Moveable Towers*, which were fixed upon Wheels, and frequently uſed, for deſtroying a Garriſon poſted on the Ramparts of a City, and for diſcovering what was done in it; we ſhall add, that theſe Towers had ſeveral Floors. On one of theſe Floors was built a Draw-bridge, which was let down upon a Level with the Walls; ſo that the Beſiegers marched ſtrait



A. *Different Sorts of* Covered Galleries.
B. Vine *for covering Besiegers.*



A. *A Tower of twenty Stories.* B. *A Tower with a Draw-Bridge.*



A. A. Tennyson.

higher than the Tops of the Walls of the beſieged City, and from them his *Romans* threw Stones and Darts upon the Enemy's Ramparts. An Accident ſhewed the *Conſul*, that theſe Machines might ſerve more than one good Purpoſe. One *M. Fabius*, whom the Enemy had taken in a Battel, and kept Priſoner in the beſieged City, broke his Chains, on a Feſtival-Day, faſtned a Cord to the Battlements of the Wall, and by the help of theſe Machines, which ſurrounded it, happily eſcaped from the Enemy, and returned to the *Roman* Army. When he was brought to the *Conſul*, he informed him, That the *Auſones* had ſpent the whole Day in Rejoicings; and That he would do well to attack them, while they were aſleep, full of Wine, and heavy with good Cheer. Accordingly, *Valerius* ordered the Walls to be ſcaled, and made as eaſy a Conqueſt of the *Auſones*, in the Aſſault of their Capital, as in the Battel wherein he had put them to flight. So that the *Auſones* were all made Captives, and their City, in which a *Roman* Garriſon was placed, was given up to be plundered by the Soldiers. After this Expedition, wherein he had ſubdued a whole Nation, *Valerius Corvus* returned to the City: and the Senate granted him the Honours of a Triumph. He entred *Rome* with Pomp, on *The Ides of March*; which was the third time this great Man triumphed. *Faſt. Capit.*

Year of *ROME* CCCCXVIII. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, M. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

THE *Auſones* were now overcome; but the *Sidicini* ſtill continuing unpuniſhed, and *Valerius* and *Regulus* having ſeveral Months yet to come of their *Conſulſhip*, they ſpent that time in the War, they were ordered to carry on againſt them. *Rome* did not think it proper to deprive *Regulus* of the Share he might gain of the Glory of this new Expedition. But leſt the Abſence of the two *Conſuls* ſhould retard the Elections for the next Year, they were obliged to nominate a *Dictator*, whoſe ſole Buſineſs ſhould be to preſide in the *Comitia by Centuries*, in which the new *Conſuls* were to be choſen. The *Dictator* named, was *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, and his General of Horſe was *Q. Publilius*. In the mean time, *Valerius* and *Regulus* marched againſt the *Sidicini*. It is probable, they uſed all the Expedition they could, in order to complete their Conqueſt, before the Expiration of their *Conſulſhip*. But they could only begin the Enterprize, and were forced to leave the Completion of it to others. Before they had entirely reduced the *Sidicini*, the *Dictator* had held the *Comitia*, and the Republick had choſen *T. Veturius* [25] *Calvinus*, and *Sp. Poſtumius Albinus*, *Conſuls*.

§. V. As ſoon as the new Magiſtrates were named, and before they entered upon their Office, they endeavoured to make themſelves acceptable to the People. Their firſt Care was to ſollicit a Decree, in favour of the Commons, by which a *Colony* was ordered to be ſent to the fine [26] Diſtrict of *Calenum*, and a Company of *Roman Citizens* directed to go and divide the Lands of this new Conqueſt, among them. Every thing was got ready for making this agreeable Settlement in due Form. *Cale* was thought no mean City, and its Territory was very fruitful; ſo that this Canton of *Auſonia*, may be ſaid to have been in nothing inferior to the

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIX. T. VETURIUS CALVINUS, SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, Conſuls. *Silius Italicus, B. 8. de Bello Punico.*

ven Cubits and a half high; the ſecond, the rd, the fourth, and the fifth Floors, he makes five ubits high; and all the reſt, four and a half. But theſe put together, make but 95 Cubits; whence is manifeſt, that the Copyiſts have altered the Text, d miſtaken one Cypher for another. Unleſs it be d, that *Athenæus* does not here include the Thickſs of the Floors, which in this Caſe muſt have n twenty two Inches, or one Cubit and a quar; that is half as thick again as a wooden Floor ed to be. The Plates annexed will ſhew the manof building theſe *Terraſſes*, *Covered Galleries*, *Towers*.

25 In *Zonaras*, we read *Tiberius Veturius*, inſtead *Titus Veturius*: Which is manifeſtly an Error of Copyiſt. The *Veturian* Family was, according the *Roman* Hiſtorians, originally *Patrician*, and moſt as ancient as the Monarchy it ſelf; at leaſt, lory mentions one *Veturius Mamurius*, who made *ma Pompilius*'s Bucklers. We have ſpoken of already, *Vol.* I. *p.* 64. The *Poſtumian* Family s divided into two *Patrician* Branches, the moſt ſtrious of which was that of the *Albini*. It has n obſerved of this Family, that it always continued *Patrician*; and no one that deſcended from it became a *Plebeian*.

26 *Velleius*, *B.* 1. mentions the *Roman Colony*, which the Republick ſent to *Cale*. *Cicero*, *Agrar.* 2. gives this City the Rank of a *Municipium*. *Calenum Municipium*. We find ſeveral Footſteps of this ancient City, on braſs Medals. On the four which are given Plate XI, after *Beger* and *Goltzius*, it is repreſented under different Symbols; and they all have this Inſcription, CALENO. The Thunderbolt on the firſt of them, inclines us to think that the Head is deſigned for that of *Jupiter Anxur*, whom the Pagans worſhiped under the Figure of a young Man. The *Minotaur* of *Crete*, on the Reverſe, imports perhaps the Origin of the Inhabitants of *Cale*. The Harp is ſuppoſed to ſignify the Worſhip this City paid *Apollo*. The two Heads with Helmets, and the Cock and Chariot on the other Medals, are ſymbolical Figures, the Meaning of which can only be arbitrarily gueſſed at; we don't find any Facts in Story which explain them. The Ear of Corn over the *Minotaur*, plainly ſignifies the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil of *Calenum*.

fineſt

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIX. T. Veturius Calvinus, Sp. Postumius Albinus, Consuls. *Horace, Juvenal, Martial. Vell. Paterculus, B.* 1. and *Livy, B.* 8.

fineſt Plains, and moſt excellent Vineyards of *Campania*. The Wine of *Calenum* was always in repute among the *Romans*; and almoſt all the Poets have commended it. Thoſe then of the *Romans*, who claimed a Share in theſe fine Lands, gave in their Names; and 2500 of them were choſen to go and cultivate, and people this beautiful Country, under the Juriſdiction of *Rome*. That the Diſtribution of the Lands might be made the more equally, the Senate choſe three Men of known Equity for that Purpoſe, who were *Cæſo Duilius*, *T. Quinctius*, and *M. Fabius*. Theſe conducted the *Colony*, ſettled it at *Cale:* and the Medals, to this day, give honourable Teſtimony to it.

The *Romans* ſeem to have then made ſome little Alteration in their ancient Cuſtoms. Formerly, the new *Conſuls* raiſed new Troops, and formed themſelves new Armies upon every Succeſſion. But now the Soldiers which were once raiſed, paſſed from one *Conſul* to his Succeſſor, at leaſt till the end of the War which had been begun. So that *Veturius* and *Poſtumius* put themſelves at the Head of the Army, which had reduced *Calenum*, under the Command of *Corvus*; and they entred the Country of the *Sidicini*, and utterly ruined it. The Enemy avoided coming to a Battel, ſuffered themſelves to be driven into their Cities, and appeared no more in the Field. In the mean time, a Report was ſpread at *Rome*, that the *Sidicini* had already aſſembled a formidable Army, and ſollicited the *Samnites* to join them, in order to ſet Bounds to the Power of the *Romans*. This News filled *Rome* with Fear; and the Senate was obliged to have recourſe to the uſual Remedy in Emergencies, which was to order a *Dictator* to be nominated. The *Conſuls* choſe *P. Cornelius Ruffinus*, who made one *M. Antonius* his General of Horſe. But their Authority did not laſt long. The *Augurs* found their Nomination defective in ſome Circumſtances, and *Ruffinus* was forced to abdicate the *Dictatorſhip*. Nay, *Rome* carried her Superſtition yet farther. As ſhe was viſited with an unexpected Plague, the College of *Augurs* declared, That all the *Auſpices* that Year, had been infected by the Contagion of the Air, and That the Inauguration of the *Conſuls* themſelves had been faulty. On this nonſenſical Prejudice, the chief Magiſtrates of *Rome* were diſplaced; and the Republick fell into an *Interregnum*, for the remaining Part of this *Conſular* Year. *Valerius Corvus*, the fifth, in Succeſſion, of the five Preſidents, who were choſen to govern the Republick by turns, each for five Days, aſſembled the *Centuries*, who choſe two *Conſuls* for the Year enſuing.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXIX. P. Cornelius Ruffinus, Dictator.

Interregnum.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXX. L. Papirius Cursor, C. Poetelius Libo Viſolus, Conſuls.

§. VI. [27] Here the Thread of the *Roman* Hiſtory ſeems to be broken. It is certain, there was a Year between the *Conſulſhip* of *Veturius* and *Poſtumius*, and that

27 The Omiſſion *Livy* is charged with, would not have been perceived, without the *Faſti Capitolini*. In them we find the Triumph of *Valerius Corvus* placed in the Year 418: and his ſecond *Conſulſhip*, together with *Æmilius*'s Triumph, are fixed in theſe valuable Monuments, to the Year of *Rome* 424. According to them therefore, there were ſix Years between theſe two Terms: whilſt *Livy*, *Diodorus*, and *Caſſiodorus*, reckon up but five *Conſulſhips*, and conſequently but five Years; from the Year 418, to that in which *Æmilius* triumphed over the *Privernates*. So that, according to theſe Annaliſts, this laſt Triumph muſt have been in the Year 423. This Miſtake was obſerved by *Gregory Haloander*, who has given us a Table of the *Conſuls*, in his *Pandects*. *Glarean* likewiſe obſerved the ſame Break. Upon this, *Pighius* imagined, that ſome Writers had occaſioned this Diſorder, by their Inaccuracy. He thought it probable, that, through Inattention, they might have confounded two *Conſulſhips*; that of *L. Papirius Curſor*, and *C. Pætelius Libo*, which we place in the Year 420, and that of the ſame *Pætelius*, and *Lucius Papyrius Mugillanus*, in the Year 427. It would not have been at all ſurprizing, if theſe two *Conſular* Years had been confounded, becauſe of the Similitude of the *Conſuls* Names, and of the Events which happened in both Years. *Solinus* gave riſe to this Conjecture, and he makes it probable. He, *c.* 35. of his *Hiſtory*, places the Foundation of the City of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, in the 112th *Olympiad*, when *Caius Poetelius Libo*, and *Lucius Papyrius*, the Son of *Spurius*, were *Conſuls*. Now the beginning of the 112th *Olympiad*, coincides with the 121ſt Year of *Rome*, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*. If then we take from 421, the ſupernumerary Year which *Solinus* adds in his Chronology of the *Conſulſhips*, we ſhall come to the Year 420, which is the very Year, in which *Caius Poetelius Libo Viſolus*, and *Lucius Papirius Curſor*, the Son of *Spurius*, were *Conſuls*. Indeed, according to the Calculations of *Diodorus Siculus*, the 112th *Olympiad* begins much about the 4th *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Valerius*, and the firſt of *Attilius* his Collegue: that is, the 418th Year of the *Faſti Capitolini*. But then this Author does likewiſe place the Foundation of *Alexandria*, only in the ſecond Year of that *Olympiad*, which was the *Conſulſhip* of *Spurius Poſtumius*, and *Titus Veturius*, who were promoted to that Office, in the Year of *Rome* 419. Add to this, that *Euſebius* places it in the third, and not in the ſecond Year of that *Olympiad*. In order to reconcile theſe two Authors, it muſt be ſaid, that the former meant the Year in which the Foundations of this City were begun to be laid; and that the latter meant the Year in which the Work was finiſhed. Upon this Computation, we ſhall be brought to the 420th Year of *Rome*; which is that of the *Conſulſhip* of *Lucius Papyrius*, and *Caius Poetelius*; which *Solinus* places in the 112th *Olympiad*. It will doubtleſs ſeem

of *Cornelius* and *Domitius*; and yet *Livy* is said neither to name the *Consuls*, nor give us any Account of their Time. And in this he is charged with great Negligence, because, as is said, he thereby confounds the whole Chronology of the Republick. But may it not be urged in his Defence, that this was a Year barren of Events; and, That he passed over in Silence, the Names of the *Consuls* for the Year of *Rome* 420, because there was no new Election that Year, but the *Consuls* for the preceding Year continued in Office, till the Republick fell into an *Interregnum?* Nay, the Circumstances of the Time, make this Hypothesis probable. A Plague then ravaged *Rome*; and it seems probable enough for the *Comitia* not to have been assembled at that time; and consequently, for the same *Consuls* to have continued two Years in Office, for want of a new Election. Nor do *Livy*'s Words contradict this Supposition; which if adopted, vindicates his Reputation. Nevertheless, lest I should recede from the most authorized Opinion, I shall, since so it must be, join with the most learned Criticks, in condemning *Livy*. I shall say, with them, upon the Testimony of *Solinus*, that *L. Papirius Cursor*, and *C. Poetelius Libo*, were chosen *Consuls* for the Year which *Livy* has omitted. The Reasons upon which this Conjecture is founded, are strong enough to make it credible. The whole Thread of the Chronology of the *Fasti Capitolini* depends upon it; and by it *Livy* himself avoids a Contradiction, which he would perhaps be accused of, without it. Nay, I will carry the Conjecture yet further: I will add, that the *Sidicini* were subdued in the *Consulship* of *Papirius* and *Poetelius*, since we don't find their Reduction fixed to any other time.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXX. L. Papirius Cursor; C. Poetelius Libo Visolus, Consuls.

§. VII. *A.* [28] *Cornelius* and *Cn. Domitius*, succeeded *Papirius* and *Poetelius*. The first, who was surnamed *Cossus*, was now promoted to the *Consulship* a second time. In their Year, *Rome* was under even greater Frights and Apprehensions, than the Plague, with which she had been afflicted, had given her. The *Gauls*, settled in *Italy*, were always such formidable Enemies to her, that the least Noise of their making Preparations for War, affrighted her; and she was now alarmed with such a Rumour. This was enough to oblige the *Consuls* to nominate a *Dictator*. *Papirius Crassus* was the Man, and he made *Valerius Poplicola* his General of Horse. They used the utmost Application to raise a stronger Army, and chose their Soldiers with more Care, than if *Rome* had been at War only with her Neighbours. But whilst the *Dictator* was taking these Steps, News came that all was quiet among the *Sidicini*: And then *Rome* was much less concerned at the Rumours which were spread, that the *Samnites* had already been a Year forming ill Designs against the Republick. Nevertheless, that no Precautions might be wanting, the *Dictator* did not call the Army, which was already encamped in the Country of the *Sidicini*. And since these *Roman* Troops continued not to act against a Nation, formerly an Enemy to *Rome*, is not this a Proof, that it had been subdued by the *Consuls* of the preceding Year?

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXI. A. Cornelius Cossus, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Consuls.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXI. Papirius Crassus, Dictator. *Liv. B. 8. c. 17.*

It is highly probable, that the *Samnites* had then no Thoughts of entering into War with the *Romans*. The Troops they were raising in their own Country, were only designed to defend *Italy*, against an Enemy, which was even more formidable than the ambitious Republick. *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, under Pretence of bringing Succours to the *Tarentini*, then at War with the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, two invincible Nations, who lay on the Coast nearest *Sicily*, had made a

[28] We have spoken of the *Cornelian* Family, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 523. *Note* 44. As for the *Domitian*, it was of great Distinction among the *Plebeians*. From this Stock sprung two Branches, one of which was that of the *Calvini*, the other that of the *Ænobarbi*. The former *Consul* had the Surname of *Arvina*, as well as that of *Cossus*. The *Romans* gave the former to those who were fat and lusty. *Domitius* is distinguished by the Surname of *Calvinus*.

[8], that *Livy* makes *Alexander the Great* to have given Orders for laying the Foundation of *Adria*, seven Years after the time fixed for it by *Pyrrus*, and *Eusebius*; that is, in the Year 427; which, according to the two latter, was the last Year of *Alexander*'s Life. *Livy* makes it to coincide with the *Consulship* of *Caius Poetelius*, and *Lucius Papyrius Mugillanus*. *Livy* himself does nevertheless honestly acknowledge, that some Annalists gave the latter the Surname of *Cursor*. Which Confession, added to the Testimony of *Solinus*, is a plain Proof of the Interruption and Confusion, which a Similitude of Names and Events, has made in the Course of the *Consular* Years; as the most judicious Writers cannot but acknowledge. The Reader will be fully convinced of it, if he does but at least consider, that *Lucius Papyrius Cursor*

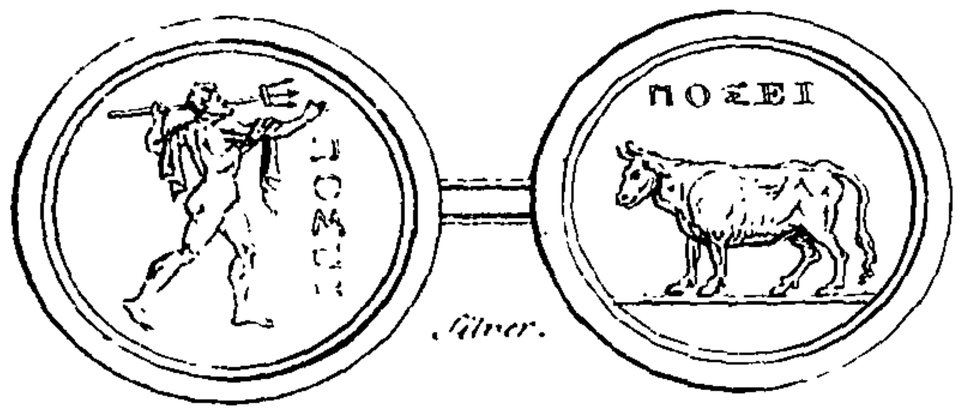
was *Consul* the second time, in the Year of *Rome* 433, according to *Livy* himself, and the *Fasti Capitolini*; and consequently had been *Consul* the first time, in the Year of *Rome* 420. His first *Consulship* cannot be fixed to any Year but this, which is the very Year, that is vacant in *Livy*, and *Diodorus Siculus*.

Year of ROME CCCCXXI.

PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, Dictator.

Just. B 12. c. 2.

Descent at [29] *Pæstum*, and began to grow formidable to all the Eastern Parts of *Italy*. We have already observed, that this Conqueror promised himself nothing less, than subduing the West with as much Rapidity, as *Alexander the Great*, his Nephew, had begun to conquer the East. He hoped, that *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*, would furnish as ample Matter for his Victories, as *Persia* offer'd for those of the Son of *Philip*. *Alexander of Epirus* was related to *Alexander of Macedon*, both by Consanguinity and Affinity. He was Brother to *Olympias* the Mother of *Alexander the Great*, and *Cleopatra* his Wife was Sister to the *Macedonian*. So that *Alexander of Epirus* had married his own Niece. In Point of Birth, the Uncle was equal at least to the Nephew. If it be true, that *Alexander of Macedon* was one of the *Heraclidæ*, or descended from *Hercules*; it is as certain, that *Alexander of Epirus* was one of the [30] *Æacidæ*, and was the eighteenth King from *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, who had reigned over the [31] *Molossi* in



Silver.

29 *Pæstum*, a maritime City, near the Mouth of the River *Silarus*, now the *Selo*, or *Silaro*, was by the *Greeks* called *The City of Neptune*, or *Possidonia*, from the *Greek* Word Ποσειδῶν, which was the Name they gave the God of the Sea. For this reason, *Velleius Paterculus* translates the Word *Possidonia*, by that of *Neptunia*. The Medal above represents, on one Side, *Neptune* with his Trident, either because this was the Symbol generally used to represent maritime Cities, or because *Neptune* was the tutelary Gods of the *Possidoniates*. It is well known, that the Bull, the Figure of which we see on the Reverse of the Medal, was consecrated to this God. Hence the Epithet Ταυρεος, which the Poets give *Neptune*, probably to signify, that the Noise of a raging Sea resembles the roaring of a Bull. Thus, it was customary to sacrifice a Bull to this Sea-God. *Virgil*, conformably to this Custom, says,

Taurum Neptuno, *Taurum tibi pulcher Apollo.*

Possidonia, according to *Strabo*, and *Marcian of Heraclea*, was built by the *Sybarites*, or, acccording to *Solinus*, *ch.* 8. by the *Dorians*. *Philargirius*, in his *Commentary on the fourth Georgick*, pretends that it was a *Colony* of *Tarentini*. We shall, in the Prosecution of our History, see it become a *Roman Colony*. It is conjectured, that it, at that time, changed its former Name of *Possodinia* into that of *Pæstum*, which its Ruins retain to this day. The Natives call it *Pesti*; and it is now but a Village. *Strabo* observes, that the Air of this ancient City was unwholesome, on account of its being near a River, which spread itself all over the Neighbourhood, and made the Ground marshy. The *Italians* call this River *Fiume Salso*. Its Spring rises in a Rock, where there are the Remains of a City, called *Capaccio Vecchio*, to distinguish it from *Capaccio Nuovo*, which stands at a little distance from the former. From this Rock, flow hot and brackish Waters, which meet together, and form a Pond near the Place called *Capo di Fiume*. There they meet with several Springs of sweet Water, which uniting with the others in the Pond, swell it, and turn it into a pretty large and deep River. After it has run about 2000 Paces, it falls into the Sea, near *Pæstum*. The Water of this River, according to *Plutarch* in his *Life of Crassus*, was sometimes so sweet, and sometimes so salt, as not to be drinkable. The Territory of *Possidonia* was formerly famous for its Rose-trees, which bore Roses twice a Year, in the Months of *May* and *September*. *Virgil* speaks of it in his 4th *Georgick*.

Forsitan & pingues hortos quæ cura colendi
Ornaret, canerem, biferique rosaria Pæsti.

Athenæus mentions a Ceremony practised by the *Possidoniates*, after they were subdued by the *Tyrrheni*, and the *Romans*. They assembled annually, says he, on one of those Days which the *Greeks* kept with greatest Solemnity. At this time, the *Possidoniates* renewed their ancient Customs, and the Remembrance of that happy time, when they were governed by their own Laws, and not subject to any foreign Dominion. At the remembrance of the Liberty they formerly enjoyed, they shed Tears and lamented their unhappy Condition. After they had made the Air resound with their Lamentations, they dispersed. The City of *Possidonia* had given name to the neighbouring Gulph, which was called *Sinus Possidoniates*, or *Pæstanus*. It is at present the Gulph of *Salernum*. This Gulph, or Road, is formed by the Promontory which was called *Possidonium Promontorium*, now *Capo di Licosa*, because it is over-against the Island of *Leucosia*, or *Licosa*.

30 The Descendants of *Æacus*, King of the Island of *Ægina*, and Grandfather of *Achilles*, were so called.

31 The Country of the *Molossi* was one of the most considerable Cantons of *Epirus*. *Scylax*, in his *Periplo*, makes it but forty *Stadia* in Compass. It is watered by three Rivers, which are mentioned by *Pliny* and *Livy*, namely, the *Aphas*, the *Arachthus*, and the *Acheron*. Some antient Authors say, that *Molossus*, the Son of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*, gave name to this Country, which was afterwards called *Pandosia*, from the City of that Name, which belonged to this Province, as did *Dodona*, *Ambracia*, and *Passaro*. This Country was famous for the best Mastiffs in *Europe*.

Veloces Spartæ Catulos auremque Molossum. *Georg.*

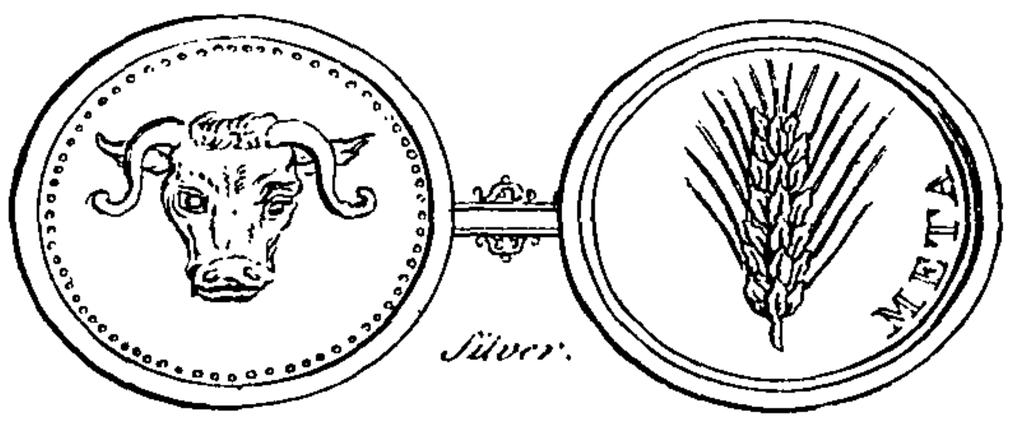
Athenæus, *B.* 11. speaks of some *Molossi*, who inhabited the Territory near the City of *Iolcus* in *Thessaly*.

Year of ROME CCCCXXI.
PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, Dictator.
Justin, ibid.

[32] *Epirus.* Proximity of Blood, Affinity, equal Nobility of Birth, and Similitude of Names, had made the two *Alexanders* Rivals in Glory. It may likewiſe be ſaid, that they had as it were divided the Conqueſt of the World between them. But their Succeſs was different. Yet who can ſay, that the *Epirot* would not have equalled the *Macedonian*, if the former had had to do with Nations enervated by the Heat of their Climate, and emaſculated by Pleaſure? It was *Alexander of Epirus*'s Misfortune, that the firſt Enemies he was to engage with were the *Lucani* and the *Brutii*, two Nations inured to Fatigue, and fierce even to Brutality. It's true, the Uncle was leſs active than the Nephew, and more wicked. He is accuſed of having, in his earlieſt Youth, been guilty of the worſt of Crimes with his Brother-in-law, *Philip of Macedon.* But he had ſome Qualifications for a Conqueror, which Hiſtory has not given to *Alexander the Great.* The latter carried all before him, by mere Dint of Strength; the former underſtood likewiſe how to make uſe of Art and Stratagem: The one was more ready and expeditious, the other more able in carrying on Negotiations.

D. Sic. B. 16. Juſt. B. 8. c. 8.

When therefore *Alexander of Epirus* had made a Deſcent in *Italy*, as is probable [33], a ſecond time, the *Samnites* marched to the Aſſiſtance of the *Lucani* and *Brutii.* As for the *Roman* Republick, it continued quiet, and gave itſelf little Concern about a Danger which threatned it at ſo great a Diſtance. Nay, *Rome* even made an Alliance with the *Epirot*, and ſuffered herſelf to be deceived by his Artifices. *Alexander* promiſed the *Romans* whatever they deſired; reſolving, without doubt, not to perform any thing at all, if his Arms had proſpered. In his firſt and ſecond Deſcents into *Italy*, he indeed took ſome Places from the Enemies of the *Tarentini.* He had likewiſe, after gaining a Victory over the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, entered into a Treaty with the [34] *Metapontini*, and [35] *Pediculi*; and had impoſed upon theſe Nations, as well as upon the *Romans.* And what ſuſpended the Progreſs of his Arms, for a time, is not known; but he ſoon after this left *Italy*, and we ſhall not ſee him appear in it any more, till he comes to meet his Fate there.



Silver.

32 Old *Epirus*, which ſome Moderns have very improperly confounded with *New Albania*, comprehended all the Countries lying between the *Ionian* Sea, to the Weſt, *Theſſaly* to the Eaſt, *Macedonia* to the North, and *Achaia* to the South and Eaſt. Among other Nations that inhabited this Kingdom, there formerly were the *Moloſſi*, the *Chaones*, the *Theſproti*, the *Amphilochi*, the *Acarnanes*, the *Athamantes*, and the *Dolopes.* *Epirus* was famous for good Horſes.

33 We have obſerved before, *p.* 155. that *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, came into *Italy* the firſt time, in the Year of *Rome* 413, to aſſiſt the *Tarentini*, who had implored his Help againſt the *Brutii.* This therefore of which we are ſpeaking, was that King's ſecond Deſcent into this Country. It is indeed very improbable, that he ſhould ſtay, after his firſt Expedition, ſeven Years together in *Italy*, without returning into *Epirus*, either to raiſe new Troops, or ſettle the Affairs of his Kingdom.

34 *Metapontum*, called *Metabum* by ſome ancient Geographers, was a City of *Great Greece.* It ſtood in *Lucania*, near *The Gulph of Tarentum*, three Miles from the Mouth of a River, anciently called *Caſuentum*, now the *Baſiento.* This City was thought to have been founded by *Neſtor*, at his return from *Troy.* *Euſtathius* and *Strabo*, *B.* 6. boaſt of the Riches of its Inhabitants, who ſent Sheaves of Gold, for an Offering, to the Temple of *Delphos*, by way of Thankſgiving for the Fruitfulneſs of their Lands. This Fruitfulneſs is expreſſed on the Medal above, by the Head of an Ox, the Symbol of Agriculture, and by an Ear of Corn. Moſt agree, that old *Metapontum* ſtood near the Place, where there is now a little Tower or Bellfrey, called *Torre di Mare.* *Pythagoras* came from *Crotona* to this City, and there ended his Days. *Juſtin*, *B.* 20. tells us, from a fabulous Tradition, that the *Metapontini* preſerved in the Temple of *Minerva*, the Inſtruments *Epeus* made uſe of in building the *Trojan* Horſe. *Euſtathius* is miſtaken, in taking *Metapontum* for the City of *Siris*, which was very different from it.

35 The Canton of the *Pediculi*, whom *Val. Max. B.* 7. *c.* 6. improperly calls *Fidiculi*, was a Part of ancient *Apulia*, as we learn from *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *c.* 11. He reckons up three Cities in this Territory, *Rudia*, *Egnatia*, and *Bari*, in the Neighbourhood of *Brunduſium.* They were watered by the *Auſidus*, and another River which he calls *Pactium Flumen.* *Strabo* and *Pliny* ſay, that ten young Men, and as many Women, came into this Country, and gave riſe to thirteen different Nations which ſettled in it.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXI. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, Dictator. *Liv. B.8. c.17.*

IN the mean time, the *Romans* being freed from their Fears of the *Gauls*, on the one hand, and of the *Samnites* on the other, applied themſelves wholly to Work of Peace. *Publilius Philo* and *Sp. Poſtumius*, the *Cenſors*, both Men of great Interest (for they had been *Conſuls*) undertook to make a new *Cenſus* of the People, and close it with a *Luſtrum*. This Enumeration was become neceſſary. The Republick had exceedingly multiplied the Number of the *Roman* Citizens, but a little time ſince, by having given the Right of *Citizenſhip* to ſo many Cities of *Latium*, and bordering upon it. The exact Number of the Citizens of *Rome* at this time is not known: But it was ſo conſiderably increaſed, that it was thought neceſſary to increaſe the *Tribes*. The *Romans* had yet had but twenty ſeven; from this time they had twenty nine, which all had a Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia by Tribes*, and *by Centuries*. The *Country-Tribes* were not indeed admitted into the *Comitia by Curiæ:* No Perſons were, who did not dwell in *Rome*. But this Loſs was not conſiderable. Scarce any Affair of Importance had been tranſacted in the *Comitia by Curiæ*, ſince King *Servius Tullius*'s Time. The two new *Tribes* were called *The* 36 *Mæcian*, and *The* 37 *Scaptian*. The Diſtrict of the former lay near *Lanuvium*; that of the latter not far from *Pædum*, between *Tibur* and *Præneſte*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Anio*. As for the *Prætor Papirius*, he got a Law paſſed, which gave the Right of *Citizenſhip* to the Inhabitants of *Acerræ* in *Campania*. But the Favour *Rome* granted them was not complete. The 38 *Acerrani* were debarred the Right of Suffrage in the Aſſemblies of the Republick. The *Romans* proportioned their Rewards to the Deſert of their *Municipia*, by augmenting their Privileges, according to their Merit and Fidelity.

Vell. Paterculus. B. 1. & Liv. ibid.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXII. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, C. VALERIUS POTITUS, Conſuls. *D. Aug. B. 1. c. 1. de Civ. Dei. Oroſ. B. 3. c. 1. Val. Max. B. 2. c. 5. §. 3. Liv. B. 8. c. 18.*

§. VIII. DURING the Tranquillity *Rome* enjoyed ſince the Reduction of the *Latins*, there ſprung up in her Boſom a new kind of Monſters, which ſhe had never heard of before. As ſoon as *M. Claudius* 39 *Marcellus*, and *C. Valerius Potitus*, the new *Conſuls*, were entred upon their Office, ſome Women, either tired, or diſcontented with their Husbands, or perhaps merely out of a Love for the Crime, plotted together to take off their Husbands by Poiſon. According to a venerable Author, a great part of theſe treacherous Creatures were well born, and their Number was incredibly great. Others make them amount to above 360: but the Hiſtorians of the beſt Credit ſay, they were not more than 170. However that be, theſe Furies took the Opportunity of an epidemical Diſtemper, to put their barbarous Deſign in execution. People were ſurprized to ſee, that only Men of Note died in *Rome*, and that they all went off with the ſame Symptoms. This great Number of Deaths was at firſt aſcribed to the Intemperature of the Air; tho' it was in reality the Work of theſe Furies. The Poiſoners had the Care of preparing Medicines for the Sick, and the Drink they gave them, infallibly killed them. The *Romans* had no Suſpicion of a kind of Aſſaſſination ſo contrary to their Manners, and againſt which, they had then no Law. But the Cauſe of this publick Plague was at laſt diſcovered, by the Information of a Woman, who was in the Service of one of theſe Criminals, and aſſiſted her in preparing her Poiſons. The Slave firſt applied herſelf to *Q. Fabius*, who was then 40 *Curule Ædile*. She promiſed to diſcover the Cauſe of all theſe Evils to the Republick, upon an Aſſurance, that her Information ſhould not be prejudicial to herſelf. The *Ædile* gave the Informer hopes of Impunity, and the *Conſuls* acquainted the Senate with the Secret the Slave had diſcovered. She was brought before the *Conſcript Fathers*, and depoſed, that the Mortality which raged in *Rome*, was wholly owing

36 The *Mæcian Tribe*, as *Feſtus* obſerves, was ſo called from a Caſtle, between *Lanuvium* and *Pometia*. *Cicero* ſpeaks of it in his *Oration for Plancius*.

37 The *Scaptian Tribe* took its Name from the ſame City of *Scaptia*, which *Cluverius* places in the Territory now called *Paſerano*. But Father *Kircher* places it near *Longheſſa*, not far from the *Anio*, four Miles from *Pedum*.

38 The City of *Acerræ*, between *Nola* and *Capua*, retains its ancient Name to this day. The *Clanius*, or *Clanio*, which waters it, ſometimes did very great damage to it, by its Overflowings, which *Vibius Sequeſter* ſays, were followed by contagious Diſtempers.

Et vacuis Clanius non æquus Acerris. Georg. 2.

Frontinus, in his Book *Of Colonies*, tells us this City afterwards became a *Roman Colony*.

39 *Livy*, on the Credit of ſome ancient Annals, gives *Valerius* the two Surnames of *Potitus* and *Flaccus*; tho' he confeſſes, they don't all agree in that Matter. What is ſure, is, that the Surname of *Flaccus* became afterwards very common in the *Valerian* Family. *Cicero*, *Orat. pro L. Flacco*, acknowledges that the *Flacci* were a Branch of the *Valerii*.

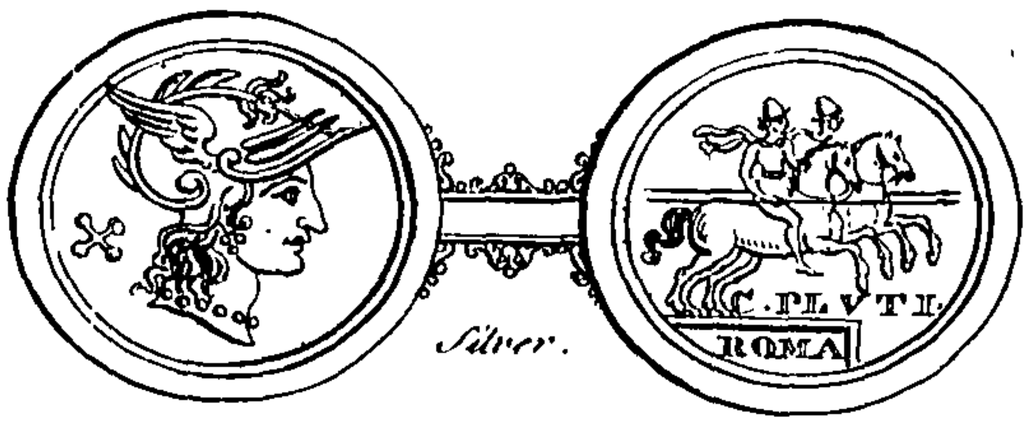
40 See what we have ſaid of the *Curule Ædiles* above, *B.* 14. *p.* 77. of this Volume, *Note* 51.

a Cabal of murdering Women, who ſpread Death every where, by poiſonous edicines. She deſired ſome People might attend her, and promiſed to lead them the Source of all theſe Murders. Her Information was of too much Importance be neglected; and the Slave, attended by a great Company of People, went to e Houſes of twenty *Roman* Ladies, who were all found buſy in preparing their edicines, or going to lay up thoſe which were already prepared. Among theſe, were o *Patrician* Women; the Name of the one was *Sergia*, that of the other *Cornelia*. he Affair was of a criminal nature, and it was brought before the Aſſembly of e People. An Officer cited the Accuſed to appear; but the two *Patrician* Laes inſiſted, that there were no Ingredients in their Medicines, but what were holeſome. Upon this, the Accuſer, finding herſelf ſuſpected of Calumny, proſed an Expedient to the People, to verify her Accuſation: which was, to make eſe Women themſelves take the Potions, which they owned they had prepared th their own Hands. Accordingly, the Experiment was ordered to be made mediately; but the two *Patrician* Dames deſired leave to have a private Conence with their Accomplices. At length it was reſolved, that they ſhould all nk the Potion, which they had deſigned for the Cure of other People; and the periment they made, both convicted them of their Guilt, and delivered them m a more ſlow Death. Not one of them could withſtand the Strength of the iſon. Nothing could be more ſurprizing to the *Romans*, than ſo terrible an ceſs of Wickednefs in a Sex, which had hitherto preſerved its Reputation unlied. The Republick aſcribed this unheard-of Prodigy, to a Spirit of Madneſs, ich the angry Gods ſometimes ſpread among a People, in order to puniſh them. *me* endeavoured to appeaſe the Anger of the Gods, by the ſame Ceremony ſhe formerly made uſe of, to bring the furious Populace to Reaſon, when they ſeparated themſelves, and retired to the Mountains, reſolving not to return the City. This was likewiſe the Ceremony ſhe had practiſed in the time of gues, and general Calamities. The Senate ordered the *Conſuls* to nominate a *ctator*, to go and drive a Nail in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, on the e next the Temple of *Minerva*. *Cn. Quintilius* was nominated *Dictator*, and *Valerius Potitus* made General of Horſe, only to repeat this ſuperſtitious ſtom.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXII. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, C. VALERIUS POTITUS, Conſuls.

§. IX. BUT this tranſient *Dictatorſhip* ſoon gave Place to new *Conſuls*. The one *L. Papirius*, now raiſed to the *Conſulſhip* the ſecond time; the other, *L. Plautius Venno*. The Beginning of their Adminiſtration was made memorable, the Deputations ſent by two Nations to the *Roman* Republick. The firſt came m the Inhabitants of 42 *Fabrateria*, a City in the Country of the *Volſci*. The

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, L. PLAUTIUS VENNO, Conſuls.



Silver.

The *Plautian*, or *Plotian* Family, was origiy *Plebeian*. But it was made famous by the t Offices with which its Deſcendants were hored. We have the Figure of a *Plautius*, on an ent Medal, under the Name of *Plutius*. The reſentation of a *Caſtor* and *Pollux* on Horſe, as they appear on the Reverſe of this Medal, equently to be met with, on thoſe Monuments he *Roman* Families, which have been tranſmitted n to us. The *Plautian* Family is reckoned to e ſpread out into the ſeveral Branches of the nones, the *Venox's*, the *Proculi*, the *Deciani*, the ſci, and the *Sylvani*.

2 *Fabrateria* was a City belonging to the *Volſci*, ate near *The Latin Way*, not far from the River *Trerus*, now the *Trero*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Liris*, or *Garigliano*, a little way from thence. It ſtands on the Confines of the *Campagnia di Roma*, and is now called *Falvatera*. *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *c.* 5. mentions two Cities of this Name, *Old*, and *New Fabrateria*; and his Teſtimony ſeems to be confirmed by two ancient Monuments; one of which is antique Marble, which bears this Inſcription, FABRATERNOR NOVOR: and on the other, which was found in this City, we read theſe Words, FABRATERNI NOVANI. *Velleius* affirms, that *Fabrateria* became a *Roman Colony*, in the Year of *Rome* 628, when *Caſſius Longinus*, and *Sextius Calvinus*, were *Conſuls*.

Year of ROME CCCCXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, L. PLAUTIUS VENNO, Conſuls. *Liv. B.* 8.

ſecond from the *Lucani*, or rather [43] *Poluſcani*, who were likewiſe within the Territory of the *Volſci*. Theſe two Nations deſired the *Romans* to take them under their Protection. Indeed the *Samnites* now threatened theſe two Cantons, and their Fears drove them to implore the Aſſiſtance of the only Nation which was able to protect them againſt ſuch powerful Enemies. Theſe *Volſci* promiſed the Republick to be ever after obedient to her Laws, if ſhe would protect them from the Invaſion of the *Samnites*. *Rome* therefore, always ready to ſuccour the Oppreſſed, ſent an Embaſſy to the *Samnites*, to intreat them to ſpare the Frontiers of theſe Cantons, which had ſheltered themſelves under the *Roman* Name. The *Samnites* were proud, and could but ill brook, that the haughty Republick ſhould give Law to them. Nevertheleſs, they complied with the Requeſt of the *Romans*, not out of any Love for Peace, but becauſe they had not yet made the proper Diſpoſitions for making War with Advantage. *Rome* therefore turned her Arms againſt the *Privernates*. Theſe had join'd the Inhabitants of *Fundi*, and ventured to inſult the *Romans*. The General they had choſen was indeed a Native of *Fundi*, and had Lands there; but he was likewiſe an Inhabitant of *Rome*. He had a Houſe on the Hill *Palatinus*, in order to entitle him to all the Rights of a *Roman Citizen*. The Name of this Traitor was *Vitruvius Vaccus*. He was the Man who, for the ſake of the trivial Honour of commanding an Army, had ſollicited ſome of his Countrymen to revolt. So that, the audacious *Roman* threw himſelf into the Territories of the Cities of *Setia*, *Norba* and *Cora*, at the Head of the Confederate Troops; and there committed Robberies with great Fury. The *Conſuls* marched to defeat the Rebel, without Delay. The two Armies join'd, and each General fortified himſelf in his Camp. And now how great is the Difference between the martial Ardour of the *Romans*, and the Fearfulneſs of *Vitruvius!* This weak General could neither determine with himſelf to continue in his Entrenchments, nor to give Battel. He equally feared being beſieged in his Camp, and running the Hazards of a pitched Battel; and therefore choſe a middle Way. This was, to give Battel ſo near his Entrenchments, that his Troops had always a ſure Retreat to them. But, in War, timorous Projects never gain Succeſs. *Vitruvius* marched out his Troops; but he had ſcarce drawn them up in Order, almoſt at the Gate of his Camp, before they turned their Backs, at the firſt Onſet, and left the Plain. One would have thought, the Enemies of the *Romans* had only appeared in ſight of them, to obſerve their Diſpoſition, without daring to fight them. It is true, their Retreat was made without much Slaughter. They had an *Aſylum* ſo near, that it was not poſſible for the *Romans* to cut them in pieces, after they had routed them. Few of them periſhed in the firſt Attack; the little Loſs they had, was wholly owing to the Diſorder of their Flight. Nor did the Victory coſt the *Conſuls* much; but it was undeniably ſuch: and the Glory of having terrified the Enemy, barely with their Looks, was as great, as it would have been, to have covered the Plain with dead Bodies.

THE Fright of the Conquered would not ſuffer them to tarry all Night in their Camp. As ſoon as the Sun was down, they marched away, to gain themſelves more Security, within the Walls. *Privernum* was then a conſiderable City, and well fortified; and they fled thither for Refuge. In the mean time the *Conſuls* divided their Troops. *Plautius*, with one Part of the *Roman* Army, entered the Territory of *Fundi:* And upon the News of his Arrival, the Senators of the City went out in a Body, to meet the General. *We don't come*, ſaid they to him, *to aſk any Favour for the perfidious* Vitruvius, *or any of his Faction: But to deſire you not to make the faithful People of* Fundi *Accomplices in the Act of a Rebel, whoſe Treachery we abhor. Of this we ſhall urge no other Proof, than his own Behaviour*

43 We have mentioned the City of *Poluſca* more than once already. We read in all the Editions of *Livy*, that not the *Poluſcani*, but the *Lucani*, ſent a Deputation to the Republick. Which *Sigonius* thinks an Error of the Copyiſts, for theſe Reaſons. 1. Becauſe *Livy*, when he ſpeaks of the two Nations who ſent Deputies to *Rome*, ſays they both lived in the Territory of the *Volſci*; *Ex Volſcis Fabraterni & Lucani.* Now the Country of the *Lucani* was very different, and lay at a great diſtance, from that of the *Volſci*. 2. Becauſe it is very improbable, that the *Lucani* ſhould deſire the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans* againſt the *Samnites*. Theſe two Nations were ſo far from being at war with one another, that they joined together againſt the King of *Epirus*. 3. Becauſe *Livy* himſelf, when he ſpeaks of the People of *Apulia* and *Lucania*, five Years after this, owns, that they had never had any thing to do with the *Romans*, till that time. *Quibus Gentibus nihil ad eam diem cum Populo Romano fuerat.* Yet *Gronovius* retains the Text as it is, and thinks that *Sigonius*'s Reaſons are not unanſwerable. The Reader is to chuſe which Opinion he likes beſt.

ur, after his Defeat. He is not come into his own Country for Refuge. Fundi, *hich was not at all concerned in his Revolt, would have refuſed him a Place of Retreat: No Enemies of the* Roman *Name are to be found within our Walls.* Pri- ernum *takes the Rebel into her Boſom: And of* Privernum *he is to be demanded.* itruvius *is equally blameable, for having deſerted* Fundi, *which gave him Birth, nd betrayed* Rome, *of which he was a Citizen. As for us, in Gratitude for the ight of* Citizenſhip, *with which* Rome *has honoured us, our Hearts are as much* oman, *as the audacious* Vitruvius's *was ungrateful, for an Advantage which he njoyed in common with us. Turn therefore the Storm, with which you threaten , another Way; and depend on the Fidelity of a City, which is ſincerely attached You, and which nothing can ſeparate from your Intereſts.*

Year of ROME CCCCXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, L. PLAUTIUS VENNO, Conſuls.

PLAUTIUS's Anger was appeaſed by this Submiſſion of the Magiſtrates of *undi:* The *Conſul* wrote to *Rome,* in favour of the City, and prevailed. The *rivernates* only were thought worthy of the Severity they had brought upon emſelves. *Plautius* took the Road to *Privernum,* and re-joined his Collegue, ho had probably blocked up the City already. The *Romans* thought themſelves bliged to puniſh this People firſt, who had been the Authors of the Revolt. Ac- rding to one ancient Author, the *Conſuls* ſent 350 *Privernates* to *Rome,* doubt- ſs, of thoſe whom they had taken in their March. Theſe were to be tried by e *Roman* Senate. The Wretches promiſed to engage their Fellow-Citizens to rrender at Diſcretion; but this Promiſe was only conſidered as an Engagement rced from a Company of People reduced to Extremity. The *Roman* Army there- re laid Siege to *Privernum;* but it continued a great while before the Place. nd while the *Romans* were obſtinately purſuing the Reduction of this important ty, one of the *Conſuls,* whoſe Name is not mentioned, was called back to *Rome,* preſide in the *Comitia by Centuries,* which were to chuſe new *Conſuls.* The Re- blick thought it neceſſary to haſten the Elections before the uſual time, in order create Generals, fit to be employed in a yet more important Expedition than t of *Privernum.*

Claudius, in Liv. B. 8.

THE *Romans* were the Terror of their Neighbours; and the *Gauls* in *Italy,* ere the Terror of the *Romans* themſelves. The latter were immediately alarmed, on the firſt Rumour, that the former were in Motion. Nevertheleſs, they did t neglect to adorn *Rome.* It is well known, what a Love the *Romans* had for e *Sports* of the *Circus.* Chariot-Races, above all others, was what delighted hem moſt, in theſe *Shews*: but the Place in which they were run, both wanted rnaments, and Convenience for the Drivers. They ſtarted in the open Air, and ere expoſed to the Heat of the Sun, whoſe Beams incommoded the Horſes, and igued them before they ſet out. A Line marked with Chalk, was the Goal from hich they ſtarted, by Sound of Trumpet. The *Ædiles* therefore, (whoſe Pro- nce it was to take care of the publick Buildings, and the Magnificence of the *ames*) thought fit to build ſumptuous Portico's, at the Entrance of the *Circus,* to rve for Houſes [44] for the Chariots, and to ſhelter the Horſes. The *Romans* were w in a Condition to bear theſe great Expences, ſince they had been enriched by e War with the *Latins,* and the Reduction of *Campania.*

Liv. B. 8.

§. X. THE Siege of *Privernum,* and the Threatnings of the *Gauls,* engaged all e Attention of the *Romans,* when *L. Æmilius,* [45] and *C. Plautius,* nomi- ted to the *Conſulſhip,* entred upon their Office: which they did before the uſual me, that is, on the firſt of *July,* the very day they were choſen. Theſe Varia-

Year of ROME CCCCXXIV. L. ÆMILIUS, C. PLAUTIUS, Conſuls.

[44] The *Romans* gave theſe Houſes for Chariots the ame of *Carceres,* or *Priſons,* becauſe the Horſes re ſhut up in them, till the Signal was given for Race. The Walls of this Building were adorned th Battlements, and flanked with Towers, after manner of ancient Cities; whence, accord- to *Varro, B. 4. N.* 32. it had the Name of *ppidum. Nævius Oppidum appellat, Carceres dic- quod coercerentur Equi, ne in de exeant, ante- am Magiſtratus miſit. Oppidum, quod a muri parte, nis turribuſque Carceres olim fuerunt.* Theſe uildings, which were like Portico's, were ſhut up ith Baluſtrades, which opened all at once; and ence the Competitors advanced to a Line marked ith Chalk, from which they ſtarted.

[45] This was the ſecond *Conſulſhip* of *Lucius Æmilius,* ſurnamed *Mamercinus* and *Privernas*; and the firſt of *Caius Plautius Decianus. Diodorus Siculus* omits theſe two Magiſtrates, and ſubſtitutes *C. Plautius Proculus,* and *Publius Cornelius Scapula,* the *Conſuls* for the next Year, in their room. The Family of this *Æmilius,* was a conſiderable *Patrician* Family in *Rome.* It ſpread into ſeveral Branches, the Memory of which has been preſerved on their Medals. The *Pauli,* the *Lepidi,* the *Scauri,* and the *Buca's,* are of this Number; and ancient Authors, and ſeveral precious Stones, have preſerved the Names of the *Mamercini,* the *Barbula's,* the *Papi,* and the *Regilli,* who deſcended from the ſame Stock.

tions,

Year of ROME CCCCXXIV. L. Æmilius, C. Plautius, Conſuls.

tions, which were pretty common, in thē Succeſſion of the *Conſuls*, ſome of which entred upon their Offices ſooner, ſome later, plainly ſhew how little ſtreſs is to be laid on the *Conſular* Years, with regard to an exact Computation of the Years of the World. The two new-elected Generals, drew Lots, which of the two Armies each was to command; and that which was to act againſt the *Gauls*, fell to the *Conſul Æmilius*; that of the Troops before *Privernum*, to his Colleague. We may judge of the Impreſſion the Fear of the *Gauls* made upon the *Romans*, by the unuſual Precautions they took to oppoſe them. The Levies were made in the City with the utmoſt Rigour. No Excuſe was allowed. The meaneſt Artificers, and thoſe, among the reſt, whoſe Occupations were ſedentary [46], were all put upon the military Roll. But this conſiderable Army marched no farther than *Veii*, and there encamped, expecting the coming of the *Gauls*. The *Conſul* thought it not adviſable to advance further, leſt the Enemy ſhould march a great way about, and come and fall ſuddenly upon the *Roman* Territory. The nearer he was to the City, the more he thought it in his power, to prevent the Enemy's Approaches to it. But all theſe Motions, and Uneaſineſſes, only ſhewed how much the very Shadow of the *Gauls* terrified *Rome*. The *Roman* General was not ſatisfied, till he received Information, that all was quiet among the Enemies he feared. Then, being diſengaged from a dubious War, *Æmilius* turned all the Forces of the Republick againſt *Privernum*, and joined his Collegue, who lay before it. The Town, already fatigued with a long Siege, did not hold out long againſt two *Conſular* Armies. Some ſay, it was taken by Aſſault; others, that it ſurrendered at Diſcretion, after having implored the Mercy of the *Conſuls*. The latter ſay, that the *Privernates* ſent Deputies, who came to the Generals, carrying the *Caduceus* [47] in their Hands, and begged Pardon. But be that as it will; it is at leaſt certain, that they delivered up the Rebel *Vitruvius*, to the Reſentment of the *Romans*. He was ſent to *Rome*, to be judged by the Senate; and the *Conſuls* returned thither, to receive the Honours of a Triumph. I know not whether it was



Brass.



Gold.



Gold



Gold.

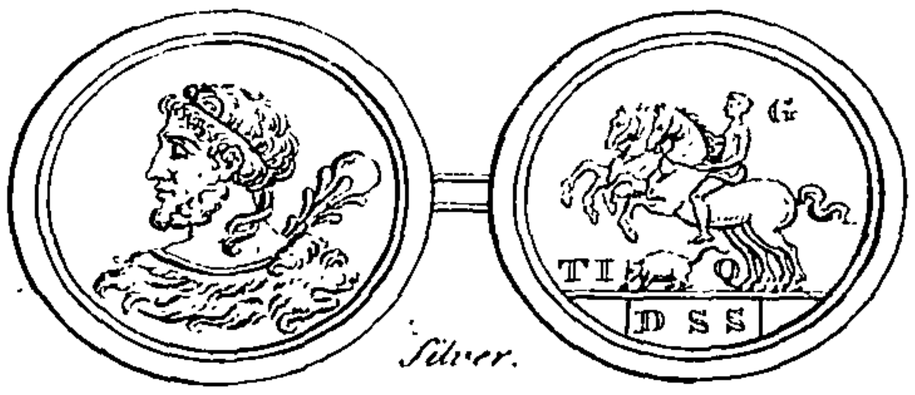
46 *Livy* gives theſe Tradeſmen the Name of *Sellularii*, becauſe they worked in Shops. *D. Hal.* ſays, theſe ſedentary Trades were thought unworthy of *Romans*, in the firſt Ages of *Rome*. They then employed themſelves wholly in War and Husbandry, in order to inure themſelves to Fatigue; and left ſervile and mercenary Arts, to Strangers and Slaves. But in length of time, this Cuſtom was changed. The *Plebeians*, who were deſtitute of any Support, were not aſhamed to become Artificers, to keep themſelves from Want.

47 The *Caduceus* was, among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, the Symbol of Peace. It was a Rod, with two Serpents twiſted about it ſeveral times. The Poets have feigned, that *Apollo* gave it to *Mercury*, in return for his ſeven-ſtringed Harp, which he gave *Apollo*: And they add, that *Mercury*, going into *Arcadia*, appeaſed two Serpents, which were fighting, by throwing this Rod between them. Agreeable to which fabulous Tradition, this God is repreſented on the Medals, and ancient Monuments, with a *Caduceus* in his Hand; as on this Medal of *Marcus Aurelius*, which was ſtruck at *Corinth*, as appears by the Inſcription, C. L. J. Cor. that is, *Colonia, Laus, Julia, Corinthus*. A Ram is generally placed with *Mercury*, becauſe he was thought the tutelary God of Shepherds, and their Flocks. Hence the *Caduceus* came to be uſed by ſeveral Nations, as an Emblem of Concord; and hence the Cuſtom of putting this Symbol in the Hands of the Deputies

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXIV.
L. Æmilius, C. Plautius, Conſuls.

was out of Forgetfulneſs or Partiality, that *Livy* here omits to make *Æmilius* triumph with his Collegue: but we are at leaſt ſure, that a Monument, more to be depended on than his Hiſtory, divides the Triumph between the two *Conſuls*. *Æmilius* ſeems to have gained the greateſt Advantages in this Conqueſt, ſince he ever after bore the Surname of *Privernas*, which was not given to *Plautius*. The *Romans* indeed are ſometimes reproached, with unjuſtly giving all the Glory of an Enterprize, to the laſt General concerned in it, who finiſhed it; and of giving none of the Honour of it to the former *Conſuls*, who had begun it, and who often had brought it to ſuch a Maturity, as to be paſt the Danger of a Miſcarriage. But it is not conſidered, that this Conduct is founded on wiſe Policy. By giving all the Honour of a War to him who ended it, they excited all their Generals to do their utmoſt, to finiſh the Conqueſt of the Enemies they were to ſubdue, and put a ſpeedy end to their Expeditions.

When *Æmilius* and *Plautius* had ſignalized their *Conſulſhip* by a triumphant Entry into *Rome*, on the firſt Day of *March*, the Senate began the Proſecution of the Rebel *Vitruvius*. He had been kept till this time in cloſe Priſon; and it was determined, that the *Conſuls*, his Conquerors, ſhould likewiſe be his Judges. When they were returned to *Rome*, after having diſmantled *Privernum*, and left a ſtrong Garriſon in it, to keep that turbulent People to their Duty; they, at the Head of the *Conſcript Fathers*, cited the Accuſed to appear. Tho' the Affair was of a criminal Nature, it was not properly cognizable by the People; becauſe an Enemy taken in War, was ſubject to the military Laws. The Proceſs was not long; the only Queſtion was, what Puniſhment to inflict on the Guilty: and he was condemned to be firſt ſcourged, and then beheaded by the *Lictors*. The Houſe which belonged to the Rebel on the Hill *Palatinus*, was razed, and his Effects [48] ſold, and confiſcated to the Uſe of a little Temple, dedicated to the God [49] *Semo Sancus*, or



Silver.

Deputies of a State, or Province, when they went to deſire Peace, and conclude Treaties of Alliance, with the Title of *Caduceatores*. For this reaſon, *Mercury* always carries it, as being ſtiled the Meſſenger, and Interpreter, of the Gods of Heaven and Hell. Κῆρυξ μιθίσε τῶν Ἄνω τὰ κ᾽ κάτω. *Æſchil. Coeph. v.* 563. *Pliny*, ſpeaking of the Conjunction of Serpents, who couple in Summer, ſays, that ſeveral Nations thought them a proper Symbol of Peace. *Hic complexus Anguium, & efferatorum Concordia, viſa videtur eſſe, quare exteræ Gentes Caduceum, Pacis argumentis circumdata effigie Anguium, ferint.* Conformably to this vulgar Opinion, *Peace* is drawn on ſeveral Medals with a *Caduceus* in her Hand. In that above, ſhe has a Serpent under feet; an alluſion to the Virtue aſcribed to the *Caduceus*, of quelling the Rage of War, which is repreſented by a Serpent. Nor is it without ſome Deſign, that the Goddeſs has Wings. Perhaps this was intended to ſignify, that Peace comes originally from Heaven, and is the Gift of the Gods. On the third Medal above, which is one of the Emperor *Veſpaſian*'s we have the Image of *Fortune*, with this diſtinguiſhing Mark, to ſhew that Peace brings Happineſs, and procures the Enjoyment of all good Things: And this is alſo the Meaning of the fourth Medal, on which is repreſented *Happineſs*, holding a *Caduceus* in one Hand, and a *Cornucopia* in the other. Some Authors have thought the *Caduceus* a Symbol of Eloquence, which ſoftens the hardeſt Hearts; and have underſtood the two Serpents to ſignify the Prudence which is neceſſary for an Orator, if he would captivate Mens Minds. The two little Wings with which the *Caduceus* is adorned, ſignify, according to them, either Diligence and Activity in the Execution of what we undertake, or the Sublimity and Rapidity of a Diſcourſe. Thus *Homer* ſays that Words have Wings. And laſtly, the Rod ſignified the Power which Princes or Republicks gave their Ambaſſadors, whom they entruſted with the Management of their Intereſts. Fable aſcribes wonderful Qualities to this Wand, which *Virgil*, ſpeaking of *Mercury*, deſcribes, *B.*

Tunc Virgam capit, hac animas ille evocat Orco;
Pallentes alias ſub triſtia Tartara mittit;
Dat ſomnos, adimitque, & lumina morte reſignat.

In the ſame Senſe, *Horace* ſays of the ſame God, *B.* 1. *Ode* 10.

Tu pias lætis animas reponis.
Sedibus, virgaque levem coerces
Aurea turbam.

48 The *Romans* called the Ground on which the Traitor's Houſe had ſtood, *Prata Vacci*, or *Vaccus*'s *Meadows*.

49 The Pagans called thoſe Gods *Semones*, who had obtained a Place among the Immortals, tho' inferior in Order to *The Great Gods*. Such were ſome Heroes, who raiſed themſelves above the Level of Mankind by ſome ſignal Actions, as *Hercules*, *Æneas*, *Romulus*; and of this Number were

Year of ROME CCCCXXIV. L. ÆMILIUS, C. PLAUTIUS, Conſuls.

or 50 *Sangus*; that is, as is generally believed, to *Hercules*, the Revenger of Breach of Faith in Treaties. The Money ariſing from the Sale, was laid out, in Globes of Braſs, which were hung up in the Arch of this Sanctuary, which ſtood over-againſt the Temple of *Quirinus*.

§. XI. WHAT now remained, was to puniſh the *Privernates*: and the Senators, whoſe Judgments were always equitable, made a difference between the Magiſtrates of *Privernum*, and the common Citizens of that rebellious City. Thoſe of their Senators, who had continued in the Place, after its Revolt, were condemned to the ſame Puniſhment, formerly inflicted on the Citizens 51 of *Velitræ*. They were removed from their own City, to the other Side the *Tyber*, under the Penalty of

thoſe alſo who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome ſingular Qualities. *Fulgentius* ſpeaks of the *Di Semones* in this Senſe, in his Treatiſe *Of Obſcure Words*. *Di Semones fuerunt dicti, quos nec cœlo adſcribebant ob meriti paupertatem, ſicut ſunt Priapus, Hippona, Vertumnus; nec terrenos eos deputare volebant, pro gratiæ veneratione; ſicut Varro in Myſtagogorum libro ait,* Semoneque *inferius derelicto, Deum depennato attollam orationis eloquio.* Some pretend, that the Word *Semones*, was ſynonimous to *Semi-homines*, and ſignifies, that the *Semones* were but *Demi-Gods*; which Interpretation is favoured by *Juſtus Lipſius*, *B.* 2. *Antiq. Lect. cap.* 8. He obſerves, on this Occaſion, that *Hemones* was uſed in old *Latin*, for *Homines*; and from hence, ſays he, comes the Word *Semones*, which ſignifies Gods of a lower Rank, or Men deified by the Superſtition of the People. Several have confounded them with the *Dii Patellarii*, (from the *Latin* Word *Patella*, *a deep Diſh*,) who were thoſe petty Gods, who were not honoured with the Sacrifices of Animals, but only with ſome Libations and Offerings, which were made them, in *a Diſh*. Under this Claſs were alſo comprehended the domeſtick Gods, the *Penates*, and the *Lares*. *Varro*, in *Nonnius*, ſpeaks of theſe leſſer Divinities, when he ſays, a good Citizen ought to obey the Laws, and ſet apart one Diſh at his Table, for the Gods. *Oportet bonum civem legibus parere, & Deos colere, in Patellam dare* μικρὸν κρέας. *Plautus* mentions the *Dii Patellarii*, *Ciſtel. Act.* 2. *Sc.* 1.

Dii me omnes Magni, minutique, & Patellarii.

50 We have already obſerved, that the God *Sancus*, who was firſt worſhiped by the *Sabines*, and afterwards by the *Romans*, was the ſame with the *Hercules* of the *Greeks*. This was the common Opinion, according to *Varro*. *Putabant hunc eſſe* Sanctum *a Sabina lingua*, Herculem *a Græca*. *Propertius* adopts this Opinion, *B.* 4. *Eleg.* 10.

Tunc quoniam manibus Purgatum SANXERAT *Orbem,*
Sic Sanctum *Tatii compoſuere Cures.*

Feſtus ſays, that thoſe who were going to take a Journey, ſacrificed to *Hercules*, or *Sancus*; which he ſays were two different Names for the ſame God. *Propter viam fit ſacrificium, quod eſt proficiſcendi gratia, Herculi, aut Sanco, qui ſcilicet idem Deus eſt.* In the Porch of the Temple dedicated to this God, there was a Place ſet apart for the Sacrifices which were offered him; as appears by the following Inſcription, recorded by *Gruter*. HERCULI SAXANO SACRAM SER. SULPICIUS TROPHINUS ÆDEM ZOTHECAM, CULINAM, PECUNIA SUA A SOLO RESTITUIT, IDEMQUE DEDICAVIT K. DECEM. L. TURPILIO DEXTRO, M. MÆCIO RUFO COSS. EUTUCHIUS SER. PEREGRINANTIBUS CURAVIT. Thoſe who were obliged to travel, came to this Place, and there made their Offerings to *Hercules*, whom they invoked as the tutelary God of Travellers. This was his peculiar Title, becauſe the Pagans thought he had made the Roads ſafe, by purging the Earth of the Monſters with which it was inveſted. There was this Particular in the Sacrifices offered up to him, as *Macrobius* obſerves, *Saturnal. B.* 2. *c.* 2. that after the Repaſt of thoſe who had joined in the Ceremony was over, the Meat which was left was gathered up, and thrown into the Fire. And this Cuſtom was, according to the ſame Author, what *Cato* alluded to, in his Jeſt on one *Quintus Albidius*, who had ſpent his Patrimony. He had nothing but one Houſe left, which was ſoon after burnt down: And this Fire made *Cato* ſay, That *Albidius* had ſacrificed, *propter viam*; and, That this Squanderer had burnt what he could not eat. *Hinc Catonis jocus eſt, nam Q. Albidium... Propter viam feciſſe dicebat, quod comeſſe non poterit, id combuſſiſſe.* In the ſame Senſe *Plautus*, in his Comedy called *Rudens*, ſays of thoſe who were reduced to Want by their Extravagance, that they had dined, *propter viam..... Ut mea eſt opinio propter viam illi ſunt vocati ad prandium.* The Inſcription gives *Hercules* the Epithet of *Saxanus*, either becauſe he ſo far levelled the Roads in his Expeditions, as to make himſelf a Paſſage thro' Rocks and Mountains; or becauſe his Statue was of Stone. The Reader may conſult the Mythologiſts, concerning the different Attributes given to this Demi-God, till ſuch time as we have Occaſion to enter into a Detail of them. In ſhort, that *Sancus* and *Hercules* were the ſame God, *Fulvius Urſinus* and *Charles Patin*, prove by a Medal, on the Face of which is the Head of *Hercules*; and on the Reverſe, a Man on horſeback, with theſe initial Letters, D. S. S. that is, according to theſe two Antiquaries, DEUS FIDIUS SEMO SANCTUS; or SANCTUS SANCUS. We have already obſerved, *Vol.* I. *p.* 8. *Note* 41. and *p.* 33. *Note* 120. that the Names of *Dius Fidius*, *Sancus*, *Semo Pater*, *Sangus*, *Sanctus*, and *Hercules*, all ſignify the ſame God. This *Ovid* ſhews, *Faſti*, *B.* 6.

Quærebam Nonas Sancto Fidione *referrem,*
An tibi Semo Pater; *tunc mihi* Sanctus *ait,*
Cuicunque ex iſtis dederis, ego munus habebo.
Nomina terna fero; ſic voluere Cures.

And on this Occaſion, it ought to be remembered, that, as we have obſerved, *Vol.* I. *p.* 33. the *Sabines* were originally a *Colony* of *Lacedæmonians*; who, according to *Plato*, *B.* 5. *de Legibus*, deſcended from a Colony of *Heraclidæ*. The *Sabines* and *Lacedæmonians* therefore acknowledged *Hercules* to be the Head of their Nations, and paid him the ſame Worſhip; the latter under the Name of *Hercules*, the former under that of *Sancus*, or *Sanctus*, a *Sanctendis fœderibus*; becauſe he was the Avenger of the Breach of Treaties. Hence the Inſcription, SANCTO SANCO, SEMONI DEO FIDIO. Some learned Men are of Opinion, that *Juſtin Martyr*, deceived by the Reſemblance of the Word *Semoni*, to the Name of *Simon Magus*, was miſtaken in believing that the *Romans* erected a Statue to this Impoſtor. While others are ſo far from allowing this to be a Fiction founded on a Miſtake, that they undertake to prove the Truth of the Fact aſſerted by him. But the Diſcuſſion of this Point being foreign to our Hiſtory, we refer the Reader to *Chap.* 9. of Dr. *Hammond's Latin* Treatiſe, *Of the Right of Biſhops*, againſt *Blondel*; and to *Spencer's* Notes on *The firſt Book of* Origen *againſt* Celſus.

51 See *B.* 16. *p.* 175. of this Volume.

a great Fine, if any of them ventured to paſs that River. As for thoſe of the *Privernates*, who had been taken in War, *Plautius*, who undertook to be their Protector, after his Triumph, thought fit to ſollicit the Senate to treat them with Clemency. The time ſeemed favourable. The Heat of the publick Reſentments was abated by the Puniſhment of *Vitruvius*, and the Baniſhment of the Senators of *Privernum*. *Plautius* led the Captives to the Senate, and ſpoke thus in their favour. *Have not the Gods, and your Equity*, Conſcript Fathers, *ſufficiently revenged us for the Revolt of the* Privernates? *Would you extend your Severity yet further, even to an innocent Multitude, who are not at all guilty of the Revolt of their Heads? I have indeed no Right by my Office, to prevent your Judgments. It only belongs to me to collect your Suffrages. But nevertheleſs, I will venture to put you in mind of one thing, which may be of ſervice to the Publick. You know the* Privernates *are Neighbours to the* Samnites; *and That the preſent Peace between the latter and us, is but uncertain. Is it not then our Intereſt, rather to gain their Affections by Clemency, than to drive them into Deſpair by our Rigour?* But *Plautius*'s Opinion did not want a Reply, nor did it paſs without Contradiction. Some inclined to Clemency, others to Severity, according to their private Diſpoſitions and Tempers. The Fate of the unfortunate *Privernates* was entirely in the Hands of their enraged Conquerors; and the only Recourſe they had left, was humble Supplications: but they were *Volſci*, that is, were of a Nation which was proud, and capable of at leaſt as generous Sentiments, as the *Romans* themſelves. One of them had like to have ruined his Countrymen, by an haughty Anſwer, which the *Romans*, as proud as the *Volſci*, took at laſt, in good part. Being asked by one of the Senators, who was for putting them all to death, what Puniſhment he and his Companions deſerved; *The Puniſhment*, replied the intrepid *Privernas, which is due to Men who are jealous of their Liberty, and think themſelves worthy of it.* This ſeemed to be renewing the Sedition, and exaſperated ſome Men, as much as if the *Privernates* had taken up Arms again. But *Plautius*, who ſaw the Rage which appeared in the Countenances of ſome of the Judges, totally appeaſed it, by a very appoſite Queſtion. *How would your Countrymen behave themſelves*, ſaid he to the Captives, *if* Rome *ſhould let them eſcape unpuniſhed? Our Conduct*, replied the generous *Privernas, will be regulated by yours. If your Promiſes are real, and laſting, depend on a conſtant Fidelity on our parts. If they are not, lay no ſtreſs upon our Adherence to you.* Theſe Words were differently taken by different Judges. Some thought them Threatnings, or a kind of Diſpoſition towards a new Revolt. But the wiſer Part, found there was Magnanimity in the *Privernas*'s Anſwer, and repreſented it to the Senate in the Light in which it ought to have been taken. *The Captive's Diſcourſe*, ſaid they, *highly worthy of a Man, who is free even in Chains, and intrepid at the Approach of Death. What People, who have theſe Sentiments, will continue long in forced Subjection! No Tranquillity is laſting, or Peace durable, which is not willingly accepted. Fidelity is never inviolable, when it is forcibly exacted.* Theſe Reflections had great Weight with the greateſt Number of the Senators; and *Plautius* backed them with all his Intereſt. The ableſt Men in the Aſſembly, and thoſe among the reſt, who had formerly been *Conſuls*, cried out, *That a Man, whoſe only Deſire was Liberty, and whoſe only Fear was that of loſing it, was worthy to become* Roman. So that the Decree paſſed in favour of the *Privernates*. Nay, the Senators did not only forgive them; they ordered a Petition to be offered to the People, that *Privernum* ſhould be made a *Municipium*, and enjoy the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip*. Thus the bold Sincerity of one Man, freed his Country, and gained it the Privileges of being incorporated with the *Roman* State.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXIV. L. Æmilius, C. Plautius, Conſuls.

§. XII. It was then the Policy of the *Romans*, either to grant the conquered Cities the Right of *Citizenſhip*, or to ſend *Roman Colonies* to repeople them. They had, to their Coſt, found the ill Conſequences, of the Independence which they had left the *Latins*, after they had ſubdued them; and were therefore no longer content barely with demanding an Alliance with the conquered Nations. *Anxur* had juſt now received three hundred *Roman Citizens* within her Walls, and to each of theſe were allotted two Acres of Land: and the new *Conſuls*,

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXV. C. Plautius Proculus, P. Cornelius Scapula, Conſuls.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXV.

C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS, P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA, Conſuls.

ſuls, C. Plautius 52 *Proculus,* and *P. Cornelius Scapula,* obſerved the ſame Conduct, and ſent another *Colony* of *Romans* to *Fregellæ.* This City was at firſt within the Juriſdiction of the *Sidicini.* Afterwards the *Volſci* poſſeſſed themſelves of it. And at laſt, it was taken by the *Samnites,* and was razed by this warlike People; who found it was too far from their Territory, for them to be able to defend it; and lay too conveniently for the *Romans,* who might have ſeized it, and made uſe of it, to carry on a War, even into *Samnium.*

AFTER the *Romans* had ſubdued the Country of the *Sidicini,* they thought they might take Poſſeſſion of *Fregellæ,* repair a City which ſtood in a Country, they had conquered, and ſend ſome *Romans* thither, to repeople, and defend it. But this Step provoked the *Samnites,* who had long waited for a Pretence to break with the Republick. The Rebuilding of *Fregellæ,* and the planting a *Roman Colony* there, who fortified themſelves in it, may be ſaid to have been the firſt Occaſion of the long and furious War, which we ſhall ſoon ſee break out between the *Romans,* and *Samnites.*

IN the mean time, the *Palæpolitans* took advantage of this new Diſcontent of the *Samnites* with the *Romans,* and committed Hoſtilities in the *Roman* Territories. This Name of *Palæpolitans* is enough of itſelf to ſhew, that the *Roman* State then extended to the Frontiers of *Great Greece*; and that, after the *Romans* had ſubdued the neighbouring Nations, which were originally *Italians,* and ſpoke *Latin,* they then began, for the firſt time, to look on the *Greek* Nations as their Enemies.

IT is well known, that almoſt all the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Italy,* at leaſt from *Tarentum* to 53 *Naples,* was called 54 *Great Greece.* It was called *Greece,* becauſe moſt of the Cities which lay along the Coaſt were *Greek Colonies,* and ſpoke only the *Greek* Tongue: and theſe *Greeks* gave it the Name of *Great Greece,* not becauſe it was bigger, or ſo big, as *Greece* properly ſo called; but merely out of Oſtentation: which embelliſhes the meaneſt Objects, and gives great Names to the leaſt things. This *Italic Greece,* did not reach beyond *Campania,* in the Parts where it penetrated fartheſt into the Continent, whatever ſome Authors may ſay of it; and *Naples* was one of the laſt Places under its Juriſdiction. Between *Naples*

52 *Diodorus Siculus,* contrary to the *Conſular Annals,* ſubſtitutes *Aulus Poſtumius* in the room of *Caius Plautius Proculus:* but *Caſſiodorus* calls him *Caius.* The *Greek Tables,* which give him only the Surname of *Venox,* make us believe, that the *Conſul* here ſpoken of, was the ſame *Caius Plautius,* who afterwards bore that Surname of *Venox,* in his *Cenſorſhip*; as ſhall be obſerved in due place. In theſe *Tables, Publius Cornelius* is ſurnamed *Scipio,* and not *Scapula*; which is manifeſtly the Miſtake of the Copyiſts. This *Scapula,* who enjoyed the *Conſulſhip* with *Plautius,* appears to have been the ſame Man, who, according to *Livy,* had been created *Pontifex Maximus,* five Years before he was promoted to the *Conſulſhip*; that is, in the Year of *Rome* 420; before he had paſſed through the *Curule* Offices. But there were very few Inſtances of ſuch Promotions.

53 *Pliny, B.* 3. *c.* 5. as well as moſt ancient Authors, makes *Naples* to have been one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Campania.* He calls it *Neapolis Chalcidenſium,* and *Parthenope*; which Name, he ſays, was taken from a Syren, who was buried near it. *Et ipſa Parthenope, a tumulo Sirenis dicta.* The *Abridger of Stephens,* ſpeaking of this City, calls it Φάληρον, becauſe built by *Phalerus,* Tyrant of *Sicily,* according to the frivolous Remark of *Iſaac Tretza,* who confounded this *Phalerus,* who never exiſted, with the Tyrant *Phaleris. Naples* was, according to this *Abridger,* built by the *Rhodians:* But *Marcion of Heraclea,* will have this City, as well as *Marſeilles,* to have been a Colony of thoſe *Phocæans* who came from *Aſiatick Greece,* to avoid the Incurſions of the *Perſians. Strabo* mentions this City, *B.* 5. and calls it *Neapolis Cumanorum*; and, as he goes on, a little Colony from *Chalcis,* the Capital of *Euboea,* together with ſome Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Pithecuſa,* and a Company of *Athenians,* afterwards ſettled in *Naples,* whence it was called *Neapolis Chalcidenſium.* According to *Plargirus,* on the fourth *Georgick, Lutatius,* an ancient Author ſays, that ſome of the Citizens of *Cuma,* who left their Fathers Houſes, built the City of *Parthenope,* which they afterwards demoliſhed, for fear the *Cumans,* tempted by the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, ſhould deſert *Cumæ,* to come and live at *Naples.* But being afterwards, continues this Author, afflicted with the Plague, they could no otherwiſe avoid this Scourge, than by rebuilding *Naples,* and paying Honours to the Tomb of the *Syren Parthenope,* as they were directed by the Oracle they had conſulted. This City, when rebuilt, was called *Neapolis.* And *Solinus* is therefore in the wrong, when he ſays, *c.* 8. that *Auguſtus* gave it this laſt Name. He ought to have conſidered, that *Polybius* call'd it by this Name above an hundred Years before. *Velleius, B.* 1. ſays that a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis,* Natives of *Attica,* landed in *Italy,* under the Command of *Hippocles* and *Anagaſthenes.* They were guided, continues he, by the Flight of a Dove, which flew before the Fleet; or, according to others, were drawn by the Noiſe of a Trumpet, which ſounded like thoſe uſed on the ſolemn Feſtivals, which were celebrated in honour of *Ceres.* To which *Velleius* adds, that theſe New-Comers laid the Foundation of the City of *Cuma*; and that the *Cumans,* a great while afterwards, built *Naples. Strabo* tells us, *B.* 5. that in his time *Naples* ſtill retained ſeveral Marks of its ancient Origin, in the different *Academies,* which it then had for teaching Youth bodily Exerciſes. The Ancients have given us pompous Accounts of the ſolemn *Games,* which were celebrated there, every five Years, for ſeveral Days together, in the Preſence of all the Nations

les and 55 *Herculanium*, there was another *Greek* City, called 56 *Palæpolis* by the people of the Country. It was about two Miles distant from *Naples*, and its Inabitants came from the same Place in *Old Greece*. Formerly, a *Colony* of 57 *Eubœans*, whose Capital was *Chalcis*, set out from that Island in a Fleet, possessed themselves of *Pythecusa* and 58 *Ænaria*, two Islands in the *Tyrrhenian* Sea; and here made themselves formidable to all the Coast of *Italy*, by their maritime Excursions. But these fugitive *Eubœans* soon disagreed about the Islands, on which they had made a Descent: and were forced to suffer such Accidents, as were common in the Place where they had settled. They were shaken with Earthquakes,

Year of ROME CCCCXXV. C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS, P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA, Consuls. *Liv. B.8. c.22.*



Brass.



Silver.

ations of *Great Greece*, who repaired thither to the Shews. Some contended for the Mastery in usick, others at Wrestling; and the Victors were owned, as at the *Olympick Games*. This Solemy is probably intended to be signified by the nged *Victory*, on the Medal above, holding a own in her Hand. The *Minotaur* denotes the Anuity of *Naples*, which carried up her Origin as h as to *Theseus*, who conquered that Monster. e Sweetness of the Climate, the Advantage of Situation, and the Beauty of the Fields, made *ples* a most delightful Habitation. So that the eat Men in *Rome*, who chose to live at Ease, d to retire thither. This is the Account *Ovid* s us of *Naples*, *Metamorph. B.* 15. *In otia nat Parthenopen*; and *Horace*, *Epod. B.* 5. *Otiosa didit Neapolis*. This City was formerly enosed between the River *Sebeth*, now called *Fiume a Magdalena*, and the Island of *Megaris*, on ich *The Castle of the Egg* has since been built. e Fruitfulness of the Soil, which abounds in eveing that can contribute to the Pleasure of Life, is ified by the *Cornucopia*, on the Medal above.

4 See our Dissertation on *Great Greece*, *p.* 119. his Volume, *B.* 15. *Note* 81.

5 *Herculanium* was one of the most ancient Ci- in *Campania*. Some ancient Writers say, *Her-s* founded it, and gave it his own Name. *Strabo*, it stood on a little Promontory, now called *re di Greco*.

6 *Palæpolis* was an ancient City of *Campania*. ne Geographers think it stood in the Place, where *gio Reale*, a little City in *Terra di Lavoro*, now ds. But others pretend, that the Place now ed *Torre della Giuparelli*, was included within The Author of *The Delights of Italy*, speaks of *epolis*, as a ruined City, the Ground of which is tained within the City of *Naples*. He guesses, *Palæpolis* was of a great Extent, since several ns are yet found, from the Archbishoprick, quite *St. Peter's at Mazella*, which the Antiquaries are the Remains of *Palæpolis*. Within the Terry of this ancient City, Travellers are shewn *il's Tomb*, at the Entrance of a Cave, called *Grotto of Naples*.

7 *Eubœa* is an Island in the *Archipelago*, or *Æ-* Sea. It formerly joined to the Continent of *tia*; but was torn from it, either by an Earthke, or the Violence of the Sea. And they are y divided by nothing but the *Euripus*, a little nal, which is so narrow, that a Bridge is built r it, which makes a Communication between two Provinces. The *Greeks*, say the Etymosts, gave this Island the Name of *Eubœa*, on acnt of its large and excellent Pastures. *Pliny*

says, it was formerly called *Macra*, or *Macris*; and he sometimes calls it *Abantias*, because it was inhabited by a *Colony* of the Inhabitants of *Aba*; and sometimes *Chalcis* and *Chalcodontis*, because this was thought to be the first Country that ever had Copper-Forges. *Strabo* speaks of it, under the Name of *Ellopia* and *Onche*, which was a high Mountain in this Island, now called *Negropont*, as well as the Capital City.

58 Over-against *The Promontory Misenus*, lies the Island formerly called *Ænaria*, now *Ischia*. *Pliny the Naturalist* says, *B.* 3. *c.* 6. that it is the same Island which *Homer* calls *Inarime*; and which the *Greeks* called *Pythecusa*; not, as he observes, on account of the great number of Apes found there, as some imagine; but because great Earthen Vessels were made there for holding Wine. *Homero Inarime dicta, Græcis Pythecusa, non a Similarum multitudine, ut aliqui existimavere, sed a Figlinis Doliariorum.* *Pythecusa* and *Ænaria*, were then the same Island, according to *Pliny*, and the most ancient Geographers. Nevertheless, *Ovid*, *Livy*, and *Mela*, seem to distinguish them from one another. But these three last Authors, by the Island of *Pythecusa*, mean the Island of *Prochyta*, which, according to *Strabo*, was a dismembered Part of the former, and was for that reason sometimes called by the same Name. The Island of *Ænaria*, or *Pythecusa*, was always subject to Earthquakes. *Strabo* says, *B.* 5. that Mount *Epopæus*, which is in the middle of it, vomited out Torrents of Fire, from time to time, which did great Mischief in the Neighbourhood. In the Year of *Christ* 1301, the greatest Part of the Islanders, and their Cattel, were consumed by the subterraneous Fires, which burst out with Impetuosity all over the Country, and laid the Lands desolate, for two Months together. This Island was long inhabited by *Greeks*. There are some Gold Mines in it; but it abounds most with great Quantities of Clay, fit for Earthen Pots. And it is to this day famous for the singular Virtues of its hot Mineral Waters, which the *Italians* call *Bagni Furnelli*, and *Bagni Gurgitelli*. They are thought a sovereign Remedy against the Stone and Gravel. So that great Numbers of sick People resort thither, from several Parts of *Italy*. The Island has several Grotto's, and subterraneous Caverns, from which arise hot Exhalations, which provoke Sweat, and cure several Distempers. It is about five Miles over, in the longest Place, and four Miles broad. The Channel which separates the Islands of *Ischia* and *Procida*, is so small, that a Frigate can scarce pass through it; so that they may well be both taken for one Island.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXV. C. Plautius Proculus, P. Cornelius Scapula, Conſuls.

terrified by ſubterraneous Fires, which appeared all on a ſudden, and incommode by an Inundation of hot and ſulphureous Waters; and therefore retired to th Continent, and built the City of *Cumæ*. From thence they ſpread farther, and *Colony* of *Cumans* built the City of *Naples*, in a Place ſaid to have been alread famous for the Tomb of a *Syren*, called *Parthenope*. The Inhabitants gave th City they had founded the Name of *Neapolis*, that is, in the *Greek* Tongue, Th *new City*. Then they poſſeſſed themſelves of a neighbouring Place, which the found already built, and therefore called it *Palæpolis*, or *Palaiopolis*, that is, Th *Old City*. The two Cities, properly ſpeaking, were but one; they were very nea one another, were governed by the ſame Laws, and both the *Neapolitans*, and Pa *læpolitans*, came originally from *Eubœa*. Theſe *Palæpolitans* were then the firſ of all the *Greeks* who ventured to attack the *Romans*. Their Confidence wa founded upon a Report ſpread abroad, That the Republick would ſoon be at wa with the *Samnites*, and That *Rome* was laid deſolate by a Plague. It was indeed highly probable, that a War would break out between the *Samnites* and *Romans*; but no Hiſtorian has told us, that *Rome* was then afflicted with the Peſtilence. However, the indiſcreet *Palæpolitans* fell upon the Lands of the *Romans* in Cam *pania*, and ravaged the Territory of *Falernum*.

§. XIII. This News was brought to the Senate, when Preparations were making for an Election of new Magiſtrates: and before the *Comitia by Centuries* were aſ ſembled, to appoint *Conſuls*, the *Comitia by Tribes* were convened to chuſe *Tribunes of the People*. Theſe caſt their Eyes upon a Man, whom, one would imagine, they ought always to have kept out of the Magiſtracy. *Q. Flavius* was a mean *Plebeian*, whoſe Reputation was not untainted. He had been, ſome time ſince, accuſed before the *Tribes*, of having offered Violence to a Lady, or at leaſt of having carried on an Intrigue with her, and debauched her. The *Curule Ædile* had begun a Proceſs againſt him, and had brought it before the Judges. *C. Valerius* his Accuſer, was a violent Enemy. Fourteen of the twenty nine *Tribes* then in *Rome*, had already voted him guilty, and his Danger was imminent. Upon this, the Accuſed cried out, with great Proteſtations, that he was innocent; and the Hatred of the *Ædile* his Adverſary, appeared ſo notoriouſly, at that very inſtant, that it immediately brought over fifteen *Tribes* to the Side of the Criminal. Whilſt *Flavius* was endeavouring to prevail on the reſt of his Judges to favour him, and calling Heaven and Earth to witneſs his Innocence, the *Ædile Valerius* cried out, with a ſtronger Voice than that of the Accuſed, *What is that to me whether thou art guilty or innocent, provided thou art deſtroyed?* At theſe Words every one trembled with Rage. The *Tribes* changed their Minds all on a ſudden, and *Flavius*, as guilty as he ſeemed to be, was acquitted, by a Majority of Suffrages. So that, the Enemy *Valerius* fancied he had entirely overthrown, recovered himſelf; and the Accuſer, by too eager a Purſuit of Victory, loſt it.

Val. Max. B. 8. *c.* 1. §. 7.

A few Months after *Flavius* had eſcaped this Danger, he had the Misfortune to loſe his Mother. It was then cuſtomary to offer Sacrifices in honour to the dead; and *Flavius*, in Gratitude for the Favour lately done him by the People, offered a great Number of Victims, and 59 diſtributed the Fleſh of them among his Benefactors. This Gratitude did him more Service than he expected. The People remembered him in the *Comitia*, and acknowledged his Bounties, by the unexpected Honour they conferred upon him. Tho' abſent, probably becauſe it was not lawful for him to appear in publick, while in Mourning, he was preferred to his Competitors, and nominated *Tribune of the People*, by a Majority of the *Tribes*.

Liv. B. 8. *c.* 22.

59 This Diſtribution was called by the *Romans*, *Viſceratio*. *Livy* gives it that Name; which was applied, 1. To the ſolemn Feaſts which were made of the Fleſh of ſacrificed Animals. Such was the Feaſt *Virgil* deſcribes, *Æneid.* 8.

Tum Lecti Juvenes certatim, Araque Sacerdos,
Viſcera toſta ferunt Taurorum .....
Veſcitur Æneas, ſimul & Trojana Juventus,
Perpetui Tergo Bovis, & Luſtralibus extis.

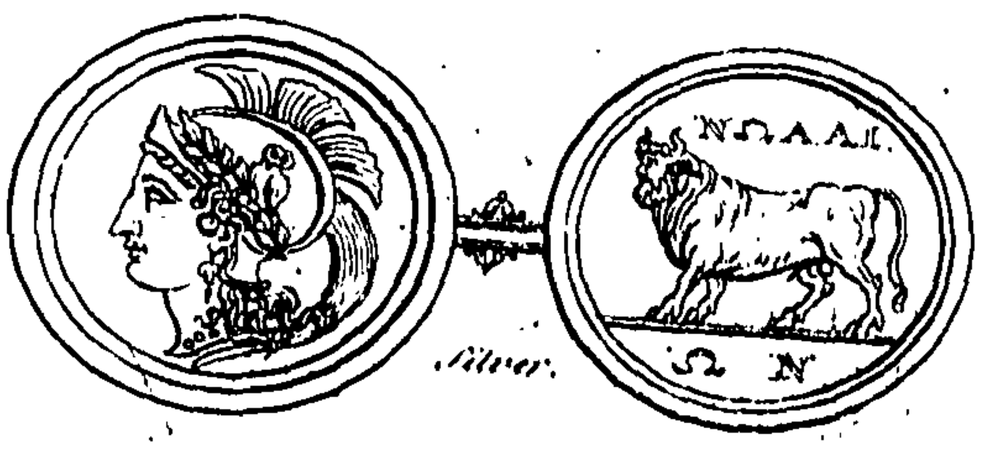
2. To thoſe remaining Parts of the ſolemn Sacrifices, which the Prieſts, who aſſiſted at the Ceremony appropriated to themſelves, and eat to the Sound of Flutes, accompanied with Singing and Dancing. 3. To that Part of a private Sacrifice, which the Perſon offering it, uſually reſerved, to diſtribute among his Friends. 4. To the Diſtribution, made on the *Feriæ Latinæ*, and publick Feſtivals. And 5. To thoſe Parts of the Sacrifices, which accompanied the Funeral Honours, paid to the *Manes* of the Dead, which were diſpoſed of, in the ſame manner. We have already ſpoken of them, and ſhall often have occaſion to give an account of other Practices, which the *Roman* Religion preſcribed with regard to the Dead.

§. XIV. Art

§. XIV. AFTER this, the great *Comitia* did not delay chuſing new *Conſuls*. *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius* [60] *Philo*, were choſen; the latter for the ſecond time. The Seeds of the War with the *Samnites* and *Palæpolitans*, were already ſown in *Rome*; every Body was inclined to undertake it. Indeed the *Romans*, to proceed with Equity, had ſent ſome *Feciales* to *Palæpolis*, to demand Reparation for the Injuries its Inhabitants had done them; and their Anſwer had ſeemed haughty to the *Romans*. But the latter afterwards found, that the *Greeks* were more daring in Words, than brave in Action. The People decreed that the War ſhould be carried into the Country of the *Greeks*: And on the other hand, the *Romans* were too jealous of the *Samnites*, to truſt to the Inaction they affected. The *Conſuls* therefore choſe their Provinces by Lot; and it was *Publilius*'s Lot to lead his Army againſt the *Greeks*; and that of *Cornelius*, to march to the Frontiers of *Samnium*, to learn the Diſpoſitions of the *Samnites*, and be a Check upon this Nation, which was jealous of the Progreſs of the *Romans*, and their ſecret Enemy, notwithſtanding the Alliance it had lately made with them. It was even privately whiſpered about, that as ſoon as the *Samnites* had entirely gained over the *Capuans*, and brought them into their Meaſures, they would march all their Forces into the Field. *Cornelius* therefore took up his Quarters in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*. He was not the Aggreſſor; but continued poſted on the *Roman* Lands, peaceably waiting for the firſt Hoſtilities of the *Samnites*, and obſerving their Motions. *Publilius*, on his part, informed the Senate, That 2000 Inhabitants of [61] *Nola*, a City of *Campania*, and 4000 *Samnites*, voluntarily offered themſelves to the *Palæpolitans*, to come to their Defence; and That they were entered into *Palæpolis*, rather by Force, than the Conſent of the Inhabitants. By this means, that City, aſſiſted by *Naples*, which was ſo very near it, and able to ſupply it continually with Men and Proviſions, was difficult to be taken. But the able *Conſul* acted a wiſe Part. After an unexpected March, he came and poſted himſelf in the little Tract of Ground, which divided *Naples* from *Palæpolis*, and cut off the Communication between them. And whilſt *Publilius* was maintaining his Troops in ſo advantageous a Poſt, and kept *Palæpolis* blocked up, his Collegue continued poſted round *Capua*. There he received undoubted Intelligence, That the *Samnites* openly ſollicited the *Roman Colonies* to revolt; That they had endeavoured to ſeduce the *Privernates*, and the Inhabitants of *Fundi* and *Formiæ*; and laſtly, That the whole Nation of the *Samnites* was inclined to War. Upon this, *Rome* thought it neceſſary to ſend an Embaſſy to *Samnium*, before ſhe ordered her *Conſul Cornelius* to enter upon Action. It is not ſaid, that theſe Ambaſſadors were *Feciales*; theſe ſeem to have been ſent only to Nations, with whom *Rome* never had had a War, and who were the firſt Aggreſſors. But be that as it will, the *Roman* Deputies met with a haughty Reception among the *Samnites*, who were determined to try their Strength once more with *Rome*. Their Senate complained to the Ambaſſadors, of the Proceedings of the Republick, and anſwered the Complaints of the *Romans* againſt them, in theſe Terms. *If ſome* Samnites, ſaid they, *have gone to aſſiſt* Palæpolis, *this Proceeding was neither commanded nor autho-*

Year of ROME CCCCXXVI.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 8. c. 22.



[60] So *Diodorus Siculus* makes one *Quintus Pompilius*, one of the *Conſuls* for this Year 426, in the room of *Quintus Publilius*. But it is a manifeſt Error. The Surname of *Lentulus*, alludes to the Love ſome of the *Cornelii* had for *Lentiles*.

[61] The City of *Nola* has now nothing to recommend it, but its Antiquity. Some will have it to have been built by a *Colony* of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*; but *Solinus* pretends, that the *Tyrians* founded it. Whereas it is more probable, that it was begun by the *Tyrrheni*, who ſpread themſelves all over the Coaſts of *Italy*. The Name of this City has been conveyed down to us on a Medal, on the Face of which is an Head of *Minerva*, with the Figure of an Owl, (the Bird dedicated to her) on her Helmet. On the Reverſe is a *Minotaur*, as on moſt of the Medals of *Great Greece*.

rized

Year of ROME CCCCXXVI.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, Consuls.

rized by any publick Act. Besides, the Samnites *are strong enough of themselves. Don't reproach us with attempting to seduce your Subjects. The Inhabitants of* Fundi *and* Formiæ *may continue faithful to you for us; we have not sollicited them to break their Faith with you. If you will have a War, our whole Dependence is on our own Forces. Besides, it is you, it is your Republick which obliges us to take up Arms.* Fregellæ *was a City under our Jurisdiction, ever since Victory made us Masters of it. We took it from the* Volsci, *and we destroyed it. By what Right then have you usurped it? What Title have you to rebuild it, place a* Roman Colony *in it, and give it its old Name of* Fregellæ? *This is a Wrong done to us, an Injury to the* Samnite *Nation, which we must not let escape unpunished. Either make Reparation for it, or expect all the Consequences of a War, and don't impute them to us.*

But these haughty Reproaches did not make the Embassadors lose their Temper, and their *Roman* Moderation. *The Injuries you complain of,* answered they, *require a great deal of time to be debated. As then we have common Allies and Friends, let us submit the Difference to their Arbitration. Arbitrators!* cry'd the *Samnites; we will have none but the Gods, and our Swords. Battels will determine our Pretensions better than Words and Judges.* Mars *shall put an end to our Disputes in the Plains of* Campania. *Go,* Romans, *tell your* Consuls, *we wait for them between* Capua *and* Sueſſula. *Our Courage and Bravery will there determine, which of the two Nations ought to give Law to the rest of* Italy. Then the Embassadors of *Rome* likewise assumed a stately Air, in their Turn. *We shall not take our Orders, with regard to the Field of Battel, from you,* replied they: *Our Generals will lead us where they think fit, and we shall follow them.* It is probable, the *Romans* suspected the Fidelity of the *Capuans;* and the *Samnites* gave them sufficient Grounds to understand, that they depended on the Defection of *Campania.*

This was the Situation of the Affairs of the *Romans* abroad, when their Thoughts were employed at home about new Elections. But the *Consuls,* to whom it belonged to preside in the *Comitia,* were usefully employed, the one round *Palæpolis,* the other near *Samnium.* The Republick therefore acted a wise Part; tho' as yet scarce authorized by Custom. She nominated a *Dictator,* only to preside in the *Comitia,* and left the two *Consuls* at the Head of their Armies, even when their *Consulship* should have expired. *Cornelius* nominated *M. Claudius Marcellus,* a *Plebeian* by Descent, to the *Dictatorship,* and *Sp. Posthumius Albinus,* was his General of Horse. But some restless Spirits thought fit to question the Validity of their Nomination; and their Doubts, when brought before the Tribunal of the *Augurs,* were judged reasonable. So that, the one being forced to abdicate his *Dictatorship,* the other his Command of the Horse, they did not hold the *Comitia:* And this Affront to *Claudius,* by the *Augurs,* excited the Murmurs of all the People against an ambitious College, which, under the Pretence of Religion, arbitrarily destroyed what the most venerable Assemblies had been doing. *How was it possible,* said they, *for the* Augurs, *at so great a distance, to know the Defect which might happen, in* Claudius's *Nomination?* Cornelius *declared the* Dictator, *in the most still Part of the Night, even at Midnight, and in his Camp. The* Consul *never mentioned this pretended Defect in his Nomination to any body, either in publick or private. There is no one Witness of the Invalidity of these* Auspices: *nor was it possible for the* Augurs *to discover it, so far off. All the Misfortune is, that* Claudius *is a* Plebeian. *It is the People who are attacked by these sacrilegious Artifices; and the Nobility wickedly make the Gods Parties in their Cause.* But these Complaints were ineffectual. An *Interregnum* followed the Deposition of the *Dictator,* and the Senator, whose Day it was to govern *Rome,* presided in the *Comitia by Centuries. L. Æmilius,* the fourteenth of those who governed *Rome* by Turns, was the Man who presided at the Election, wherein *C. Poetilius* [62] *Libo,* and *L. Papirius Mugillanus,* were promoted to the *Consulate.*

§. XV.

62. *Livy* does not here say, how often *Caius Poetelius Libo Visolus* was *Consul*; but it is nevertheless evident, that he was now raised to the *Consular* Dignity a second time, in this Year 427; tho *Cassiodorus* makes this the third time. He doubtless confounded the *Caius Poetelius* here spoken of, wit

§. XV. But tho' the former was now advanced to this Office a second time, neither he, nor his Collegue, enjoyed much of the Honours of their Employment. They did not, according to Custom, divide the two Armies the *Romans* then had in the Field, between them. They went together to command the Troops *Cornelius* had led into *Samnium:* whilst *Publilius* continued the Blockade of *Palæpolis*, with the Title of *Proconsul*. *Cornelius* seems to have given place to his two Successors in the *Consulship*; and they, after they had proclaimed War with the *Samnites*, began it happily enough. They had the Advantage of having their Army increased by unexpected Succours. The People of *Lucania*, and [63] *Apulia*, who had hitherto had no manner of relation to the *Romans*, came to offer them both their Friendship, and their Service. Tho' both these Countries were comprehended under the general Name of *Great Greece*, yet it was doubted whether either of them was first peopled by *Greeks*. *Lucania*, in particular, had been from the beginning, inhabited by People, who descended from a Detachment of *Samnites*, who had settled themselves upon the Sea-shore. And as for the *Apulians*, it is uncertain whether they were originally *Italians*, or came from *Arcadia*, under the Conduct of [64] *Japix* the Son of *Lycaon*. But however that be, these two Nations then joined themselves with the *Romans*, and the Republick

Year of ROME CCCCXXVII. C. Poetelius Libo, L. Papirius Mugillanus, Consuls.

with another, who had the same Name, *Prænomen*, and Surname. Whereas it is certain, from the *Fasti Capitolini*, that the former was the Son of the second, who triumphed over the *Gauls*, and the *Tirtini*, in the Year of *Rome* 393. In Proof of which we need only have Recourse to those *Fasti*. There there find, that the *Caius Poetelius* who was now *Consul*, and was created *Dictator*, in the Year 440, was the Son of one *Caius*, and the Grandson of another, *C. F. C. N.* Whereas the *Consul* for the year 393, is thus described, *C. F. Q. N.* that is, the Son of *Caius*, and the Grandson of *Quintus*. And some Annals have, according to *Livy*, made *Papirius Cursor*, and not *Papirius Mugillanus*, *Caius Poetelius*'s Collegue, one of the *Consuls* for this Year; this is only the Consequence of that Confusion, which the Resemblance of the following Names and Events has introduced into the Chronology of the *Consuls*. This is what we have already observed, with regard to the *Consular* Year 420, which is omitted in *Livy*; and with regard to the Fundation of *Alexandria*, which *Livy*, upon the Credit of some Annalists, places in this Year 427. *Idem anno Alexandriam in Ægypto proditum condi-*. It was easy to mistake one of the two *Con-* of the same Name, who were in Office in these different Years, for the other. *Marianus Sco-* to come as near as might be to other Writers, gines, without any Grounds, that *Alexandria* founded at two different times; first, about the ar of *Rome* 418, when *Marcus Valesius*, and *Mar- Attilius* were *Consuls*, and a second time, in the ar 427. But this is one of those arbitrary Supitions, which are the last Refuge of a perplexed thor. *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the *Consuls* this Year, gives *Caius Poetelius* the Name of *us Popilius*; which is a Mistake of the Author, the Copyist. The *Greek Tables* put *Papirius Cur-* in the room of *Papirius Mugillanus*. The Amity and Uncertainty of *Livy*, with respect to the *Sulships* of the Years 420, and 427, is what has duced these Variations in the ancient Annals.

3 The childish Etymology some Authors give the Name *Apulia*, is justly ridiculed; when they end to deduce it from *Apluvia*; a Word plainly their own coining, to shew, as they say, that it seldom rained in *Apulia*, agreably to *Horace*'s cription; *Siticulosa Apulia*; *Epod. Od.* 3. Others that a King, named *Apulus*, came into this untry, and gave it his own Name, several Years re the Destruction of *Troy*. But these Etymoes have no better Foundation, than the Imagion of the Poets, or the Conjectures of some mmentators, who, fond of searching to the bot- of things, err in their Enquiries, and take fabulous Traditions for certain Facts. But however that be, *Apulia* was certainly divided into two Cantons. The first called formerly *Apulia Daunia*, now *Puglia Piana*, Part of *Capatinata*, towards Mount *Garganus*, between the Rivers *Fortore* and *Cervaro*. The second, called *Apulia Peucetia*, comprehends at present a Part of *Capatinata*, between the Rivers *Cervaro*, and *Offanto*, the Territory of *Bari*, a Part of the *Basilicata*, and of the Territory of *Otranto*. So that the whole Country of *Apulia* was bounded, to the North, by the *Trento* or *Fortore*, and the *Adriatic* Sea, as far as *Brindisi*; to the South, by the *Isthmus* between *Brindisi* and *Tarentum*, from *Tarentum* to the *Bradano*, which separated this Province from *Lucania*; and to the West, by the Country of the *Hirpini*, from the Head of the River *Bradano*, to that of the *Fortore*. At present, it reaches Eastward, and Northward, to the Coast of *The Gulph of Venice*; Southward, to *The Gulph of Tarentum*; and Westward, it is bounded by a Part of the *Basilicata*, *The Hither*, and *Further Principalities*, the County of *Molisa*, and a Part of *The Further Abruzzo*. *La Poüille* has some pretty fruitful Plains, except only towards Mount *Garganus*, where the Country is dry and mountainous. We have spoken of *Lucania* already.

64 *Antonius Liberalis*, *Libr. de Transformat.* declares himself of Opinion, that one *Japix*, the Son of *Lycaon*, came with his two Brothers, *Daunius* and *Peucetius*, into *Italy*, in order to discover new Countries, at the Head of an Army of *Illyricans*, and *Messapians*, who conquered the Provinces which were afterwards called *Daunia* and *Messapia*. On which Occasion we may observe the Uncertainty and Disagreement of Writers, when they treat of the Origin of Nations. We have before seen, that *Oenotrus* came with *Peucetius* into *Italy*; but here *Oenotrus* is forgotten, and it is *Daunius*, who comes with *Peucetius*, and a third Brother named *Japix*. Nor is this all: *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *c.* 11. and *Solinus*, *c.* 8. say, that the last of the three Brothers was the Son of *Dædalus*, and not of *Lycaon*. So true is it, as we have elsewhere observed, that we no sooner enter into these dark Roads of Antiquity, but we meet with Contradictions and Fables which disguise the Truth! *Strabo*, *B.* 6. says that several People and among others, the *Greeks* gave the name of *Japygia*, only to *Messapia*, or *Calabria*, and the Territory of the *Salentini*. But he at the same time acknowledges, that the whole Country of *Japygia*, comprehended *Calabria*, the Country of the *Salentini*, and *Apulia Daunia*, and *Peucetia*; and we adhere to this last Division, which we think most natural, and most agreable to the ancient Geographers.

Year of ROME CCCCXXVII. C. POETELIUS LIBO, L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, Conſuls.

entered into an Alliance with them. With this Reinforcement, the *Conſuls* entred *Samnium*, and ſeized three Cities. One was [65] *Allifæ*, in the Territory of the *Samnites*; the other two [66] *Callifæ*, and [67] *Rufrium*, in [68] *Hirpinia*. The *Conſular* Army carried their Ravages far into the Enemy's Country; but their Conqueſts did not equal that of *Palæpolis*, which *Publilius* the *Proconſul* obliged to ſurrender, without ſhedding of Blood. The *Romans* had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the chief Poſts; they had already cut off the Communication between *Palæpolis* and *Naples*; the City was already ſtreightned for Want of Proviſions. But all theſe Evils fell far ſhort of the Calamities the *Palæpolitans* ſuffered, by the ill Treatment of their Defenders. The *Samnites* and *Nolan* Soldiers, who had introduced themſelves into the inveſted City, under pretence of ſtrengthning its Garriſon, kept the old Inhabitants in a cruel State of Slavery. They treated them like Slaves taken in War, and extended their extravagant Debaucheries, even to the abuſing the Wives, and Sons, of theſe unhappy Citizens. All this the latter ſuffered with Patience at firſt, in hopes that the *Tarentini* would come to their Relief. The *Tarentini* were *Greeks*, as well as the *Palæpolitans*. So that the latter flattered themſelves, that when they ſhould become ſuperior in Number to theſe Strangers, they ſhould put a ſtop to their Diſorders, and ſuppreſs their Inſolence. But their Expectations were fruſtrated. The *Tarentini* were not in haſte to come to their Succour. The *Palæpolitans* had therefore no Remedy left, but to ſurrender to *Publilius*, and have recourſe even to their Enemies, in order to deliver themſelves from the Oppreſſion of their Defenders. Two Magiſtrates then governed *Palæpolis*; in this, the *Greek* City imitated the *Roman* Government. One of theſe two *Conſuls* was named *Nymphius*, the other *Charilaüs*. They conferred together, about the Deſign they both had formed, of ſurrendring up the City to the *Romans*. It is eaſy to obſerve here, that the *Greeks* of this *Colony*, brought their Cunning with them into *Italy*. *Nymphius* and *Charilaüs* divided the Execution of the Enterprize between them; each undertook to act a different Part. *Charilaüs* fled from the City as a Deſerter, and came to *Publilius* the *Proconſul*. *It is in order to promote the Intereſts of* Rome, ſaid he, *that I put myſelf into your Hands; and it is out of Love to my Country, that I come to make an Offer of it to you. Determine, by your Conduct, whether my Fellow-Citizens ſhall look on me as a Traitor, or as their Benefactor. Your Fidelity may ſecure me from the Scandal of having ſacrificed my Country to you; or your Tyranny may cover me with eternal Confuſion. I will not pretend to make a private Treaty with you, or attempt to turn the Happineſs, I pretend to procure my Country, to my own Advantage. My Deſire of promoting the Publick Good is my only Motive, to reconcile* Palæpolis to Rome. *Put our Friendſhip to the Trial,* Romans, *and be aſſured you ſhall not find us as conſtant in it, after we have ſought yours with ſo much Danger, as we were formerly raſh in deſpiſing it.* The *Proconſul* approved of *Charilaüs*'s Propoſal; he commended the Generoſity and Diſintereſtedneſs of the *Palæpolitan* Magiſtrate, and turned his Thoughts wholly to bring the Deſign to bear. *Nymphius*, by Agreement with his Collegue, had continued in *Palæpolis*, and tried all other Means, to deliver it, from the Strangers, which oppreſſed it. He continually weighed againſt the Deſertion of *Charilaüs*, tho' fully reſolved to act the ſame Part himſelf. As they kept up a Correſpondence, they mutually informed each other of the Steps they took. The *Proconſul* put *Charilaüs* at the Head of 3000 *Romans* with Orders to attack the Town, in the Place where the *Samnites* defended. *L. Quintius*, a *Legionary Tribune*, was commanded to ſuſtain him. And in the mean time *Nymphius* contrived another Stratagem. He applied to the Commander of the *Samnites*, and gave him to underſtand, that it was very proper to draw the *Roman* Armies into other Places, and oblige them to quit *Samnium* and the Neighbourhood of *Palæpolis*. *We ought*, ſays he to him, *to find Employment for theſe Conquerors in the* Roman *Territory, and keep them upon the*

Liv. B. 8. c. 15.

65 *Allifæ* ſtill retains its ancient Name, with ſome little Variation, and is now called *Alifi*. It ſtands on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*.

66 *Callifæ* is but a little City, now called *Cariſe*.

67 *Rufrium*, now *Ruvo*, ſtands beyond the *Apennines*, and is an Epiſcopal City.

68 *Hirpinia* was anciently a Part of *Samnium*; it is the Country now called *The Further Principality*. *Strabo*, *B.* 5. derives the Name of the *Hirpini*, from one of their Heads, named *Lupus*, becauſe *Hirpus*, in the *Samnite* Tongue, ſignified the ſame as *Lupus* in the *Latin*.

Year of ROME CCCCXXVII.
C. POETELIUS LIBO, L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, Conſuls.

fenſive in their own Lands, by a ſpeedy Diverſion. Let us equip the Fleet we have in the Port, put our Soldiers on board it, and go and make a Deſcent in the Territory of Rome. *I will undertake the Expedition myſelf, and be anſwerable for the Execution of it.* This ſeemed wiſe Counſel, and all things were got ready to haſten the Departure of the Fleet. The Ships were laid up on the Shore; and *Nymphius* marched out a great Part of the Garriſon to launch them. He took particular care to employ as many *Samnites* as he could, in this laborious Work. By this means, he left that Part of the Wall, which *Charilaüs* was to attack, without Men. *Nymphius* ordered the Preparations for his Departure to be made in the Night, under Pretence of concealing it from the Enemy: and made uſe of a thouſand Artifices to retard the Equipment of the Fleet. While time was thus loſt in the Port, and the Men employed there to no purpoſe; *Charilaüs*, and his Company, came to attack the City. He had his Friends there, who helped to let him in; and *Charilaüs* entered the Place with the *Legionaries*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Upper-City. The Inhabitants of *Palæpolis* being reſtrained by their Officers, who were in the Secret, did not ſtir, at the Shouts of the *Romans*; and by their Inaction, the Strangers perceived that they were betrayed. The *Nolan* Soldiers therefore inſtantly opened the Gate, where they were upon Guard, and fled in Diſorder towards their own Country. The *Samnites*, who had been led out of the City, to work upon the Shore, were diſmiſſed there, and not ſuffered to return into it. Their Rout was the more grievous, as they ſaw they had been ſhamefully tricked. They fled with Precipitation, for fear of falling into the Hands of the *Roman* Soldiers. In ſhort, they arrived in their own Country, without either Arms or Baggage, and were thereby expoſed to the Ridicule of all their Neighbours and Countrymen, who continually reproached them with the fooliſh Project of *Palæpolis*.

INDEED, ſome Hiſtorians give a different Account of the Surrender of this City. They pretend, the *Samnites* betrayed thoſe they came to defend. But the moſt credible Authors relate this Adventure as we have done. Beſides, *Naples*, then the principal City of *Great Greece*, entred into a ſtrict Alliance with *Rome* at this time: which is a ſure Proof, that the *Greeks* ſurrendred voluntarily, and that no foreign Force had compelled them to become *Roman*. *Liv. B.8. c.23.*

WITH the Submiſſion of *Palæpolis* to the Republick, this firſt War with the *Greeks* ſeemed to be ended; and all that now ſeemed to be wanting, was to grant *Publilius* the Honours of a Triumph: but great Difficulties were ſtarted againſt completing the Glory of the Conqueror. He was but a [69] *Proconſul*, and no Triumph [70] had yet been granted to any Subaltern. Beſides, *Publilius* was a *Plebeian*, and the Idol of the People. It was contrary to Cuſtom, and merely out of Favour to the People, that he had been continued General of the Army, which was beſieging *Palæpolis*, with the Title of *Proconſul*. There had been other *Proconſuls* at *Rome*, who had been named by the Senate, but none had ever been appointed by the Suffrages of the People, before [71] *Publilius*. Nevertheleſs, his Protectors pro-

69 See what we have ſaid of the *Proconſulate*, *Vol.* I. *p.* 352. *Note* 33. and *p.* 386. *Note* 8.

70 The *Roman* Laws, in their ſtrict Rigour, would not permit the Honours of a Triumph to be granted to any but *Conſuls*, *Dictators*, *Military Tribunes*, and in a word, Magiſtrates of the firſt Rank, in whom the ſupreme Power in *Rome* was lodged. So that the *Pro-Conſuls*, and *Pro-Prætors*, who were Governours of Provinces, or Commanders of Armies, in extraordinary Caſes, had no Right to it. They were thought Subalterns; and notwithſtanding the Succeſs they had had in the Expedition they were entruſted with, yet they were ſtill deemed to act under the *Auſpices* of the *Conſuls*, who were the firſt Magiſtrates in the Republick. For this Reaſon, *Publius Scipio* was not permitted to enter *Rome* in a triumphant manner, tho' he had, after a long Courſe of Victories, deſtroyed the Power of the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*, which they were forced to give up to the Conquerors. And the *Roman* Story furniſhes us with ſeveral Inſtances of this kind. Such was the Rigour and Vigilance of the *Romans*, not to ſuffer the ancient Laws to be infringed, under any Pretence whatſoever. But we ſhall hereafter ſee *Rome* abate of this Rigour, in favour of the Great *Pompey*, *&c.*

71 The *Proconſular* Dignity was conferred on *Publilius Philo*, according to *Livy*, *B.* 8. at the Requeſt of the *Tribunes of the People*; whence it's evident, that the *Pro-Conſuls* began then to be elected in the *Comitia by Tribes*. That Hiſtorian gives us ſeveral Inſtances, which all confirm this Cuſtom, except that of *Publius Scipio*, who was honoured with the *Proconſulate*, by the People aſſembled *by Centuries*. It is true, the Republick then receded from its uſual Cuſtom: But it ought to be remembered, that conſidering the critical Circumſtances *Rome* was then in, ſhe could not be too cautious in the Choice of a General, who was alone to be entruſted with the Management of the moſt important Intereſts of the State.

Year of ROME CCCCXXVII. C. POETELIUS LIBO, L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, Consuls. *Fast. Capit.*

cured him likewise the Honours of a [72] Triumph, tho' contrary to Custom, he being neither *Consul*, nor *Dictator*. His Procession was made on the first Day of *May*, in sight of the *Consuls* of the Year, who did not triumph, tho' they had been victorious in *Samnium*. This double Honour, which the People procured *Publilius*, was an ample Revenge, for the Affront they had received the last Year, when, through the Injustice of the *Augurs*, a *Plebeian Dictator* was obliged to lay down his Office. So true is it, that the Power of the two Parties were at that time perfectly equal in *Rome*; and that the Advantages of the one, were immediately compensated by the Superiority assumed by the other!

Liv. B. 8. c. 24.

§. XVI. THE taking of *Palæpolis* stirred up new Enemies against the *Romans* in *Great Greece*. The *Tarentini* began to grow jealous of the Success which attended *Rome*, in all her Undertakings. They had promised to send Succours to the *Palæpolitans*; but had only raised their Expectations of them, and not sent them. Nevertheless, the bare Hopes they had given the Besieged of them, kept up their Courage for a time; and the Despair of receiving them, had obliged *Palæpolis* to surrender. As soon then as this City became subject to the *Romans*, the *Tarentini* awaked out of their Lethargy, and their Interest made them more impatient. They inveighed against the *Palæpolitans* for a Misfortune, which their own Dilatorineſs had brought upon them. And what gave them yet more Uneasiness, was the Revolt of the *Lucani* and *Apulians*, who had voluntarily gone over to the *Romans*, and declared for them, against the *Samnites*. *What will become of us?* said these *Greeks*, who had more Eloquence and Cunning than Bravery; *Must we either bear the Yoke of the* Romans, *or have them our Enemies? The imperious Republick makes great Advances towards us; and every new Conquest threatens* Tarentum. Samnium *is the only Barrier between them and us. But what can the* Samnites *do, without the Assistance of the* Lucani? *Is it not then possible to bring them back to the common Interest of* Greece; *at least by some Contrivance which may give them a Distaste to the Party which they have embraced?* The *Greeks* were always very ready at Artifices and Tricks. The *Tarentini* invented one whereby they deceived the *Lucani*, and brought them off from the *Romans*. They hired a Company of young *Lucani*, of noble Families in their own Country, but Men of very little true Honour, who, at their Persuasion, tore the Skins off their Backs with Whips, and then shewed themselves openly to the People, with their Shoulders bare. *Let the Sight*, said they, *of the ill Usage we have met with among the* Romans, *make due Impressions on you. Curiosity led us to their Camp, where we were carried before the* Consuls, *and have experienced their Cruelty. By their Orders, we were whipped, till covered with Blood; and narrowly escaped losing our Heads by the Axes of their* Lictors. The Imposture was a gross one, and nothing was more easy, than to have discovered the Cheat; but the *Lucani* were a stupid People, and the *Greeks* thought this Trick sufficiently covered, to deceive them. In short, these good-natured Men were more struck with the supposed Injury, than the real Lye. They were enraged at the one, and neglected to examine into the other. At last all, with great Outcries, demanded to have their National Senate assembled. The People, who surrounded the Magistrates, cried out, *A War, A War; Let War be declared with the* Romans! Others, who were dispersed about the Country, filled all People with an Indignation against *Rome*; and even the most sensible Men suffered themselves to be carried away by this popular Error. The *Lucanian* Senate therefore made a Decree, commanding that the ancient Alliances with the *Samnites* should be renewed, and an Embassy sent to them, for that Purpose. And this precipitate Resolution was yet more rashly put in Practice. The *Samnites* could scarce be brought to believe the Deputation real. They deliberated, whether it were proper to trust to a Determination so hasty, and founded upon so improbable an Event. And therefore they took Securities of these *Lucani*, before they would believe the Embassadors. They demanded Hostages of them, and insisted on their receiving *Samnite* Garrisons into

72 The *Fasti Capitolini* sufficiently shew, that the granting a Triumph to a *Pro-Consul* was a new thing, never done before. They record the *Triumph* of *Publilius* in this manner. P. PUBLILIUS. Q. F. Q. N. PHILO. II. CDXXVII PRIMUS PROCONSUL DE SAMNITIBUS ET PALÆPOLITANIS. That is, *Quintus Publilius*, the Son of *Quintus*, and Grandson of *Quintus*, was the first *Pro-Consul* who triumphed over the *Samnites* and *Palæpolitans*.

Year of ROME CCCCXXVII. C. POETELIUS LIBO, L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, Conſuls.

he Towns in *Lucania.* At length, a greater Light diſcovered the Error; but it did not cure the Madneſs of the *Lucani.* They all plainly ſaw they had been deceived, as ſoon as they ſaw the Authors of the Calumny all retire to *Tarentum,* o eſcape the Puniſhment due to their Impoſture. But what was to be done? hey were gone too far, to be able to return; and it was not in their Power to break through the Engagements they had entred into with the *Samnites.* The *Lucani* were no longer Maſters of their own Towns: nothing remained, but a ruitleſs Repentance for a raſh Proceeding, and mad Credulity.

§. XVII. IN the mean time, *Tarentum,* with all its Cunning, wanted Prudence, nd brought upon itſelf fatal Quarrels with *Rome.* That *Greek* City had very lately oſt its main Support, in the Perſon of *Alexander,* King of *Epirus.* This Prince, who gave way to the Deſires of Conqueſt, had often croſſed the Sea, under Pretence of ſuccouring the *Tarentini,* and had taken ſeveral Cities from the *Lucani* nd the *Bruttii,* then their Enemies. Till at length he loſt his Life in *Italy,* where e hoped to have enlarged his Conqueſts. The Memory of this Event, blended ith Fables as it is, is perpetuated by the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians. Before *A xander* left *Epirus,* ſay they, he conſulted the Oracle of [73] *Dodona,* to know hat good or ill Succeſs would attend him, in the remaining Part of his Life: And e was told, [74] *That the Waters of* Acheron *would prove fatal to him*; and the od admoniſhed him, *to avoid the City of* Pandoſia, *where he would finiſh his ays.* [75] *Acheron* was a River of *Epirus,* and [76] *Pandoſia* a City in the ſame ountry. The Oracle therefore obliged the King of *Epirus* to quit his Kingom immediately, ſince his Reſidence in it might prove fatal to him. He came d made War in *Italy. Alexander* did not then know, that in the Country of e *Bruttii,* in *Great Greece,* there was [77] another River called *Acheron,* and another

D. Sic. B. 17. Liv. B. 8. c. 24.

[73] *Dodona* was a City of *Epirus,* and ſtood in Country of the *Moloſſi.* The Poets and fabuſs Writers derive its Name from a Sea-Nymph, a Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa.* In the Neighrhood of this City, there ſtood a celebrated Temdedicated to *Jupiter,* and a Foreſt of Oaks, ich was famous for Oracles. *Homer* ſpeaks of *Odyſſ. B.* 4. *Herodotus,* in his ſecond Book cal*Euterpe,* gives us a large Deſcription of the Oe of *Dodona. The Prieſts of the Place,* ſays he, *rt, upon the Credit of an ancient Tradition, That black Pigeons flew, one to* Lybia, *and the other* Dodona; *That the latter, after it had perched upn Oak, ſpoke, and declared that it was* Jupiter's *l, that a Temple ſhould be built to him in that ce; and, That the other Pigeon declared in like ner, the Neceſſity of erecting the Temple which afterwards called the Temple of* Jupiter Hammon. for the Tales that *Herodotus,* and others after have invented, in order to find ſome Founda in Hiſtory for this Fable, we ſhall not trouble Reader with them. Such Trifles are foreign to *Roman* Hiſtory, and ought to be left to the Myogiſts. *Pliny, B.* 2. boaſts much of the Quali of a Spring, near *Dodona.* He ſays its Waters, means of the ſulphurous Vapours which were led from them, had the Quality of lighting mbeaux newly put out, and of putting out thoſe were lighted; as has been ſince ſaid of the ing Fountain in *Dauphiny.* We refer the Reader im, as to this Particular, as well as that of the s of the Temple of *Dodona,* the Sound of h laſted a long Space of Time; and from nce came the Proverb of *Æs Dodoneum,* to ſig a great Speaker. There are now no Footſteps *odona* remaining.

[74] *Strabo* relates the Anſwer of the Oracle in diff t Terms, in this ſingle Verſe,

Παυδοσίη Τρικόλωνι πολυν ποτε λαὸν ὀλέσσεις.

t is, *Pandoſia* ſhall be the Ruin of a numerous ple. *Alexander,* ſays *Strabo,* interpreting the amous Anſwer of the Oracle in his own Favour, uaded himſelf that *Epirus,* meant as he ſuppoby the City of *Pandoſia,* in the Country of the *Moloſſi,* ſhould exterminate the Nations he intended to conquer.

[75] This is the *Acheron,* which has given Riſe to ſo many poetical Fictions, and which the Geographers call *Fanar,* or *Verlichi. Pliny* makes it riſe in the Marſhes of *Acheruſa*; and ſays it empties itſelf (after having been increaſed by ſeveral Rivers) into *The Gulph of Ambracia,* now *The Gulph of Larta*; or rather, according to *Livy,* into *The Gulph of Theſprotia,* now *The Gulph of Butrinto.* Near the Lake of *Acheruſa,* there was a Cavern, which the Poets fictitiouſly repreſented as the Mouth of Hell, from whence they ſuppoſed the *Acheron* tumbled down into the Region of the Dead, where it finiſhed its Courſe. Another *Lake of Acheruſa,* near *Heliopolis* in *Egypt,* gave Riſe to that monſtrous Jumble of Fables, which conſiſted of many ridiculous Tales, the Abſurdity of which was viſible even to Children, and the common People; as *Juvenal* obſerves, *Sat.* 6. Near this Lake, the *Ægyptians,* according to *Diodorus Siculus,* carried the Bodies of their Dead, and placed them in a Bark belonging to a Waterman, whoſe Name, in their Language, was *Charon*; who carried them over to the other Shore, which was the Burial-Place appointed for them. And he adds, that *Orpheus* brought into *Greece,* from *Egypt,* the fabulous Stories of *Charon* the Pilot, and of the Empire of *Pluto.* Near *Cumæ* there is a third Lake, which was alſo called *Palus Acheruſia.* This Marſh is made by the Overflowings of the Sea. Some Authors have confounded it with the Lake *Lucrinus,* and the Lake *Avernus.* It is now called *Lago di Cullucia. Strabo, B.* 8. ſpeaks of a River *Acheron,* which waters *Elis,* a maritime Country of *Peloponneſus,* and runs into the River *Alpheus.* On the Banks of this River, the *Greeks* erected three Temples, one to *Ceres,* another to *Pluto,* and a third to *Proſerpine.*

[76] The ancient Geographers place *Pandoſia,* a City of *Epirus,* in the Country of the *Moloſſi.*

[77] The River *Acheron* here ſpoken of, was in the Country of the *Bruttii.* It is thought to be the preſent *Sanuto,* or *Campaniano,* which diſcharges itſelf into *The Gulph of St. Euphemia,* formerly called *Sinus Terinæus,* or *Sinus Hiponiates,* on account of its

Year of ROME CCCCXXVII. C. POETELIUS, LIBO, L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, Conſuls.

ther 78 City called *Pandoſia*. Being therefore fully perſuaded his Life would be i no Danger there, he hazarded his Perſon in Battels, beſieged Cities, and made hi ſelf Maſter of 79 *Heraclea*, 80 *Coſentia*, 81 *Sipontum*, and 82 *Terina*, Cities part belonging to the *Bruttii*, and partly in *Lucania*. In order to ſecure the Fidelity the Conquered, he had already ſent 300 Hoſtages to *Epirus*, all choſen out of t

its being near the Cities of *Terina*, and *Hypponium*. The *Acheron* roſe in a Hill, juſt by the City of *Pandoſia*. *Pliny* and *Strabo* call the Nations who lived near this River *Populi Acherontini*. *Procopius* ſpeaks of the Fort *Acherontis*, in the ſame Canton; it was probably the Remains of the City of *Acherontia*, which was watered by the *Acheron*, according to *Pliny*, *B*. 3. *c*. 5. Add to this, that the *Acherontia* here ſpoken of, was a different Place from a City of the ſame Name, which belonged to *Apulia*, and ſtood on the Frontiers of *Calabria*. *Horace* tells us, *Carm*. *B*. 3. that this laſt City ſtood on an Eminence.

Tenent quicumque celſæ nidum Acherontiæ.

Some modern Geographers think this the ſame City which is now called *Circenza*, an Archiepiſcopal City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſituated on the Banks of the *Bradano*, and the Capital of the *Baſilicata*. The two Medals in the adjoining Plate, which have this Inſcription, AXEPΩNTAN, relate to one of theſe two Cities. On the Face of the firſt, is the Head of a *Jupiter*; and on the Reverſe, an Horſeman who beats down his Adverſary. On the ſecond is a Goat, which the *Romans* conſecrated to *Juno Soſpita*. This Animal uſed to be ſacrificed to *Minerva*, as being an Enemy to Olive-trees, of which ſhe was the Protectreſs; and the Coiner perhaps intended to repreſent one of theſe two Divinities, by the Head on the ſecond Medal. The *Acherontini* might perhaps intend to allude, by the Emblem of the Goat, to the melancholy Fate of *Alexander* King of *Epirus*. This Prince was deſcended from *Caranus*, the firſt King of *Macedon*; who, according to *Juſtin*, put himſelf at the Head of a Multitude of *Greeks* who ſought for new Habitations, and following a Company of Goats, as the Oracle directed him, came and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Ædeſſa*. This City was afterwards called *Ægea*, from the Goats, which had been *Caranus*'s Guides in his Journey.

78 The City of *Pandoſia* was, according to *Scylax*, a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Platæa*. It bordered upon the Country of the *Bruttii* and *Lucani*, as we learn from *Livy*, who ſays, that *Alexander* periſhed in ſight of this City. *Haud procul Pandoſia, Urbe imminente Lucanis ac Bruttiis Finibus*. *Strabo* ſays, *Pandoſia* was a Caſtle placed on a Hill which had three Summits. Some think, there are yet ſome Ruins of it remaining near *Caſtel Franco*, in *The Hither Calabria*; or, according to *Holſtenius*, near *Mendocino*. We find ſome Footſteps of this City on two * Medals. The radiated Head of *Apollo*, and the *Tripos*, on the firſt, perhaps point out the particular Worſhip which the *Pandoſians* paid this God. And the warlike Genius of the Inhabitants, and the Strength of the City, are ſuppoſed to be repreſented, one by the Head of the God *Mars*, and the other by the Head crowned with Towers, on the ſecond Medal.

*See *Plate* 15. *No*. 3, 4.

79 *Heraclea* was a City of *Lucania*, which was thought to have been built by the *Tarentini*; it ſtood between the Rivers *Siris* and *Aciris*, now the *Seno* and the *Agri*, three Miles from the Sea. *Strabo* ſays, *B*. 6. that the *Trojans* had built a City at the Mouth of the *Siris*, which they called by the Name of that River; and that afterwards the *Tarentini* founded a City ſome Miles from thence, which they called *Heraclea*, and in which the Inhabitants of *Siris* ſettled. From which time, adds he, the old City has ſerved for a Port to the new. The ancient Geographers give the latter the ſeveral Names of *Lauternia*, *Plinum*, *Polieum*, and *Siginum*. See *Cluver*. *Ital*. *Antiq*. *p*. 1273. *Siris* is ſuppo to have ſtood in the Place where *Torre San B filio* now ſtands; and *Heraclea* is thought to h been ſituated near *Policaro*.

80 *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Livy*, place *Coſentia* in t Country of the *Bruttii*, near the *Adriatic* Sea. is now the Capital of *The Hither Calabria*, and called *Coſenza*. It ſtands near the River *Crati*, f merly the *Cratis*, ten or twelve Miles from t Sea.

81 *Sipontum*, a City of *Apulia*, was, accord to *Strabo*, built by *Diomedes*. It has ſuffered much by the Incurſions of the *Saracens*, as by Ea quakes. The Ruins of it are yet to be ſeen, a M from *Manfredonia*. We think ourſelves obliged obſerve here, that *Livy* places both *Coſentia* and *pontum*, in *Lucania*: And yet he himſelf ackno ledges, *B*. 29 and 30, that the former ſtood in t Country of the *Bruttii*: and all Geographers agre that the latter belonged to *Apulia*. Did not therefore intend to ſignify, that *Sipontum* had b come ſubject to the *Lucani*, by Right of Conqueſt But, beſides that this City was a pretty way fro *Lucania*, we have no account in Story, that *Lu nia* and *Apulia* had been at War. *Cluverius* the fore removes the Difficulty, by a Correction makes in the Text of *Livy*; and thinks that, ſtead of *Sipontum*, we ought to read *Metapontu* which was indeed in the Country of the *Luca* But by thus avoiding one Difficulty, we fall i another. *Juſtin* tells us, *B*. 2. that *Alexander* Ki of *Epirus*, made an Alliance with the *Metapontin* and it is not therefore probable, that this Prince ſhou make himſelf Maſter of their City, contrary to t Treaties; unleſs it be ſaid, that he only put a Gr riſon in *Metapontum*, to ſecure the Fidelity of t Inhabitants. The Reader is to chuſe which Opini he pleaſes. As to *Coſentia*, theſe Paſſages of *L* may be reconciled, by ſaying, that *Lucania* th reached as far as to *Coſentia*; or that the Hiſtor comprehended the *Bruttii* under the general Na of *Lucani*; either becauſe the *Bruttii* deſcended fro the *Lucani*, as we have already obſerved; or b cauſe their common Intereſt had ſo united the t Nations, that they were become one People. So think we ought to read *Potentiam* (now *Potenz* a City of *Lucania*) inſtead of *Coſentiam*.

82 *Pliny*, on the Credit of *Phlegon*, ſays, t *Terina* was built by the City of *Crotona*, on t Coaſts of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, a little way from t River *Ocinarus*, now the *Savato*, near *The Gu of Terina*, which the Natives now call *The Gu of St. Euphemia*. *Gabriel Bari* believes, that this C ſtood near *Nuceria*. There are three Medals in t 15th Plate, *No*. 5, 6, 7, which have perpetuated t Name of *Terina*. On the Reverſes of them all, a winged Victory ſitting. *Sicily* is repreſented on fixth Medal, by its uſual Symbol of three Th joined together, which denote its three Promon ries. Perhaps the *Terinates* had formerly been ject to the *Sicilians*; or had made an Alliance w them. In ſeveral Editions of *Livy*, we read *B tiorum Coloniam Acerinam*, inſtead of *Bruttia Terinam*, as the Text is now corrected by *Gr vius*. Finding it impoſſible to diſcover any Ci mong the *Bruttii*, called *Acerina*, he cuts off Word *Coloniam*, upon the Authority of ſome M and follows *Glarean* and *Sigonius*, who have *Terinam* in its room. But *Cluverius* thinks ought to read *Coloniam Acerinam*; tho' he does pretend to fix the Situation of this *Colony*, wh the Ancients don't ſo much as mention.



Medals of the cities of Acherontia, Pandosia, *and* Terina.

Year of ROME CCCCXXVII. C. POETELIUS LIBO, L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, Conſuls.

moſt noble Families of the Country he had conquered. He likewiſe prepared to make his Advantage of theſe happy Beginnings, and had divided his Army into three Bodies, which he poſted on three Hills, divided by deep Valleys. The *Acheron* of *Italy* ran in one of theſe Valleys, and the little City of *Pandoſia* ſtood on the Banks of it. The King of *Epirus*'s Guard conſiſted of 200 *Lucani*, who, angry with their Country, from which they had been driven, had fled to him for Refuge. Whilſt he continued in this Camp, from whence he ſent out Parties to ravage the neighbouring Country, ſudden Rains fell, which overflowed the Valleys. This broke off the Communication between the three Bodies of the King's Troops; and their Enemies took hold of this favourable Opportunity, to attack ſeparately the two Poſts, where the King was not, and which the Inundation hindered him from aſſiſting. Theſe two Diviſions of *Alexander*'s Army were eaſily beaten, and put to Flight. Then the whole *Lucanian* and *Bruttian* Army loſt no time in ſurrounding the Hill, on which the King himſelf was poſted. And there the unhappy Prince experienced, how dangerous it is to truſt one's Life in the Hands of Deſerters, who are always ready to reconcile themſelves to their Countrymen. The *Lucani* of *Alexander*'s Guard, wrote to the Generals of their Nation, promiſing, that if they might be received into Favour, they would deliver up the King of *Epirus* alive or dead. The Propoſal was accepted, and the Traitors only waited for a favourable Opportunity, to put their Treachery in Execution. *Alexander* was brave: He broke his Way through his Enemies, who beſieged his Camp, and killed one of their Generals with his own Hands. After this bold Action, he forced his Paſſage through all that oppoſed his Retreat; and eſcaping out of the Wood, took his Way towards the River, the Name of which he knew not. The Bridge he was to go over, in order to get to the oppoſite Bank, was broken down by the Violence of the Inundation: but he perſuaded himſelf, that the River was fordable, by the Help of the Ruins which were fallen into it. Then one of the *Epirote* Soldiers, when he ſaw the King in Danger, in a Paſſage not eaſy to be got over, cried out, *Accurſed* Acheron, *thou art juſtly called* [83] *a fatal Name!* At which Words, *Alexander* remembered the Anſwers of the Oracle, and feared his Fate approached. He heſitated a little, demurring whether he ſhould go quite croſs the River, or not, when one of his Attendants called out to him, *Haſten, my Lord, to the oppoſite Bank. The* Lucani, *your Guard, ſeek to deſtroy you.* At this, the King inſtantly turned about, and ſeeing the Company of the Conſpirators coming to fall upon him, drew his Sword, and made what haſte he could to croſs the River, which was not broad. And he had already reached the Land, when one of the treacherous *Lucani* threw a Dart at him from a great diſtance, and killed him with it. Thus periſhed this [84] imaginary Conqueror, who had promiſed himſelf, as glorious a Career, as that of *Alexander the Great*. The latter was then at the height of his Victories, and little expected, that he ſhould ſoon meet with as melancholy a Fate, as this of his Uncle, the King of *Epirus*. Thus [85] the *Lucani* were delivered from a foreign Enemy; but by their Attachment to the *Samnites*, they had brought upon themſelves a more formidable one. The *Romans* will, ſooner or later, make them ſeverely repent of their Revolt.

83 The *Greek* Word *Acheron*, taken in a literal Senſe, was indeed an inauſpicious Term, and was much as to ſay, *A River*, or *Torrent of Grief*.

84 *Alexander of Epirus* died in the Year of the World 3658, the third Year of the 113th *Olympiad*, about fourteen Years after his firſt Expedition into *Italy*, and two Years before the Death of *Alexander the Great*, who died in the firſt Year of the 114th *Olympiad*, and the 3660th Year of the World, according to *Petavius*'s Calculations.

85 According to *Livy*, the River in which the King of *Epirus* expired, of the Wound he had received by the Dart thrown at him, carried his Body towards the Enemy's Camp, who immediately ſeized it. After they had horribly defaced it, they uſed it with all the Indignity that Rage and Revenge could ſuggeſt. They cut it in two Parts, one of which they ſent to *Coſentia*. The Soldiers made Sport with the other, and ſet up half the mangled Body of this unfortunate Prince, for a Mark to throw Darts and Stones at. Till at length, a Woman, who was accidentally a Spectatreſs of this cruel Sight, and whoſe Husband and Children had been taken by *Alexander*'s Troops, came with Tears in her Eyes, and entreated theſe Barbarians to deſiſt from theſe Outrages, and give her the ſcattered Remains of this Prince. She repreſented to them, that ſhe ſhould eaſily purchaſe the Redemption of her Husband and Children with them; and the Soldiers granted her Requeſt, and gave her that Part of the Body they had in their Poſſeſſion. By the Care of this Woman, all the diſperſed Parts of it, that could be found, were gathered up, and buried at *Coſentia*. The Bones were carried to *Metapontum*, and from thence removed to *Epirus*, where they were put into the Hands of *Cleopatra*, and *Olympias*, one the Wife, the other the Siſter, of the late King.

§. XVIII.

Year of ROME CCCCXXVII. C. POETELIUS LIBO, L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, Consuls.

§. XVIII. WHILST the Affairs of the Republick were thus prosperous abroad, the poor Citizens had the good Fortune, to shake off the only Yoke, which now lay heavy upon them. By one of the Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, Creditors were empowered to seize their insolvent Debtors, and keep them in Irons. These Debtors, tho' Freemen, were detained at their Creditors Houses, in a kind of Slavery; which was to continue, till by their Services or Labour, they had discharged the Sums they owed. These poor Citizens were in all respects Slaves, but in Name. The latter were called *Servi*, and the former *Nexi*, i. e. *Bound*; because their Liberty was, as it were, *bound* up by the Chains put on them by their Creditors; and the Use of it suspended, tho' but for a time. A young *Plebeian*, of extraordinary Beauty, and of a good Family, if we may judge of it by his Name, which was *Publilius*, had voluntarily made himself a Slave to *L. Papirius*, in order to pay his Father's Debts. *Papirius* [86] conceived a detestable Passion for the young *Roman*, and used all possible Means to get the better of his Virtue. The Beauty and Ingenuity of the Slave, should at least have excited the Compassion of his Master: but they only stirred up in him unlawful Desires. From Caresses he proceeded to Threatnings, and from Threatnings to ill Usage. The infamous *Papirius* looked on the Accomplishment of his Desires, as an additional Debt, which was to be paid him, besides the Money demanded; and pretended, that he would always treat him with the Rigour of a severe Creditor, till *Publilius* should make himself an Accomplice in his Crime. But nevertheless, neither Solicitations, nor Fear, could shake the Constancy of the young *Roman*. The Master therefore vented all his Rage upon his Slave, and caused him to be whipped, till he had torn his Body all over. This cruel Treatment made *Publilius* reflect, more than ever, both on his Birth, and his Education. He escaped out of his Creditor's House, all over bloody, complained openly of the base Usage he had met with, and published his Master's Crime to the World. The People crowded round the young *Publilius*, who bore the Marks of the Rage of a passionate Master, in his Face and bloody Body; and were moved with Compassion towards the young *Roman*. Every one considered how far his own Interest, and the Honour of the Publick, were concerned in the Case; and to what Danger the Virtue of the Citizens was exposed by the Law. The unfortunate *Publilius* was first brought into the *Forum Romanum*, and from thence led to the Door of the Temple, in which the Senate used to assemble. It seems to have been the Fate of *Rome*, to have great Revolutions brought about in her, by the Incontinence of private Persons. The *Regal* Power, and the *Decemvirate*, had already been abolished; the one, on Occasion of the Violence offered to *Lucretia*; the other, of the Attempts *Claudius* made on *Virginia*'s Honour. So ardent a Love had the *Roman* People for Chastity! And now the Affair of *Publilius* caused a Law to be abolished, which the Commons had long thought intolerable; tho' at first enacted with an Appearance of Justice. The tumultuous Populace were so clamorous, that they forced the *Consuls* to assemble the Senators. As soon as they came, the Citizens fell down at their Feet, held them by the Knees, demanded Justice, and shewed them the Wounds in *Publilius*'s Back: And the Senate had regard to the Cries of the People. They indeed decreed nothing against *Papirius*, whose Attempts on the Person of the young Slave, were not perhaps sufficiently proved: But they passed a Decree, which was readily accepted, and confirmed by the People assembled in *Comitia*. It enacted, *That for the future, no Person should be put in Irons, and provisionally corrected, at the Will of his Master, till the Fault was fully proved; and That Creditors should only have a Right to attach the Goods, and not to seize the Bodies of their Creditors.* If the Republick, by this means, weakned in some measure the Force of Contracts, it at least preserved the People from a very burdensome kind of Slavery. So that the Commons looked on the Repeal of this severe Law, as a Renewal of Liberty.

and *Suidas* on the Word *Vacas*.

86 It is uncertain, who this *Lucius Papirius* was, whose Incontinence made him the Curse of the *Romans*. The Historian has not given us his Surname. It is not probable, that the *Consul* of this Name, who was now in his Office in this Year 427, should have been guilty of so monstrous a Crime. Besides, had he been the Man, *Livy* would doubtless have said so.

§. XIX. In

Year of ROME CCCCXXVIII. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, P. JUNIUS BRUTUS, Conſuls.

§. XIX. In the mean time, *Rome* was embarraſſed with the great Number of Enemies ſhe had to contend with. Beſides the *Lucani*, who had joined the *Samnites* the laſt Year, the *Veſtini* likewiſe had taken Part with the Enemies of the Republick. The [87] *Veſtini* were indeed but a ſmall Nation, having only five Cities under their Juriſdiction; but they were brave, and originally *Sabines*; and their Territory, which was watered with two Rivers, lay along the Coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea. They were ſurrounded by the *Marſi*, the *Peligni*, and the [88] *Marrucini*, all originally deſcended from the *Sabines*, as well as themſelves; and were more formidable on account of their Neighbours, than of themſelves. As ſoon as the new *Conſuls*, *L. Furius* [89] *Camillus*, now choſen a ſecond time, and *P. Junius Brutus*, entered upon their Office; they made it their firſt Concern to conſult the Senate, whether *Rome* ſhould declare War with the *Veſtini*. It was an Affair that required to be ſeriouſly deliberated, tho' it ſeemed to be of little Importance. It was equally dangerous to march Troops into the Diſtrict of the *Veſtini*, or to let them eſcape unpuniſhed. Should the *Romans* enter their Country Sword in hand, it was natural enough for their Neighbours to take up Arms in their Defence: In which Caſe, the united *Marſi*, *Peligni*, and *Marrucini*, would bring a Body of Forces againſt the *Romans*, equal at leaſt, both in Strength and Courage, to the *Samnites*. On the other hand, it was not conſiſtent with the Honour and Dignity of the *Roman* People, to ſuffer a Confederacy to be formed againſt the Republick with Impunity. And at length, Pride prevailed over Precaution. The Event was what one could juſtify the Boldneſs of the *Romans*; and Fortune made it proſperous. Two Armies were ordered to be raiſed, one to act againſt the *Veſtini*, the other againſt the *Samnites*. The Generals choſe their Commands by Lot, and the War with the *Veſtini* fell to *Brutus*, that with the *Samnites* to *Camillus*. The whole Succeſs of the Campaign depended on the Care the *Conſuls* ſhould take, to hinder the *Veſtini* and *Samnites* from joining: And this *Brutus* took upon himſelf. He came and encamped on the Frontiers, between the two Nations, while *Camillus* entered *Samnium*. Then *Brutus* made the *Veſtini* repent of their Attachment to the Enemies of *Rome*. He had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with them, and always with Succeſs. The Conſequence of theſe firſt Advantages, was the Ravage of the Enemy's Country. All that the Soldiers could not carry away, was burnt. Neither Men, Houſes, nor Corn, were ſpared. At laſt, the Ruin of their Country forced the *Veſtini* to hazard a Battel. This raſh People experienced, in the open Field, the Valour of thoſe invincible *Legions*, which was as yet unknown to them. The *Veſtini* indeed long diſputed the Victory, and made it coſt their Enemies a great Deal of Blood. But at laſt they were overcome, put to Flight, and retired into their Camp. Then they ſoon ſaw that they were not in a Condition to keep the Field, and marching out of their Entrenchments, they had no Refuge left but the Walls of their Cities. And the brave *Brutus* would not let them long enjoy that Security. The gaining of this Battel was followed by Sieges. The *Roman* Troops firſt attempted to take [90] *Cutina* by Aſſault; and perhaps never *Conſul* found more Ardour in his Men, than *Brutus* did, when they were to begin the Storm. Moſt of them were yet ſore with the Wounds they had received in the late Battel; and the hopes of Revenge increaſed their Valour. In ſhort, the Place was taken by Aſ-

[87] *Strabo* ſpeaks of the *Veſtini*, as of a Branch of the *Samnites*; and conſequently the former, as well as the latter, muſt have come originally from *Sabina*. Whilſt others think they were originally deſcended from the People of *Illyricum*. *Suidas* calls them Βιτίνους; and ſays, this Name agreed perfectly well with this ſavage and barbarous Nation. They poſſeſſed that Part of *The Further Abruzzo*, which is bounded towards the North by the River *Matrinus*, now *Piompa*. It was bounded to the South-Weſt by the *Alternus*, or *Paſcara*; and to the Eaſt, by the *Adriatic* Sea.

[88] The *Marrucini* were a Part of the *Marſi*, (who were themſelves a Branch of the *Sabines*) and poſſeſſed the Territory of *Chieti* in *The Hither Abruzzo*. We have ſpoken of the *Marſi* and *Peligni* already.

[89] The *Furian* Family was divided into two Branches, one of which was *Plebeian*, according to *Livy*. He ſpeaks of one *Lucius Furius*, *B.* 9. who was *a Tribune of the People*; a Dignity which is well known to have been appropriated to *Plebeians*. The other Branch of the *Furii* was *Patrician*; and comprehended The *Camilli*, The *Phili*, The *Craſſipedes*, and *The Purpureo's*. Whether the *Brochi*, whom we find mentioned on Medals, were *Plebeians*, or *Patricians*, is uncertain. Add to this, that the *Lucius Furius* here ſpoken of, was the Grandſon of the great *Camillus*, who drove the *Gauls* out of *Rome*.

[90] *Livy* is the only Author who ſpeaks of *Cutina*. We find no Footſteps of it in the ancient Geographers. *Cluverius* ſuppoſes, that an Error is crept into the Text, by the Miſtake of the Copyiſts; who might eaſily read *Cutina*, inſtead of *Aufina*, a City in the Country of the *Veſtini*, which is now called *Oſena*, or *Oſeno*.

 ſault;

Year of ROME CCCCXXVIII. L. Furius Camillus, P. Junius Brutus, Conſuls.

fault: And the *Romans* ſhewed the ſame Spirit before 91 *Cingilia*, a City which underwent the ſame Fate with *Cutina*. They were both plundered, and all the Booty given as a Reward for the Valour of the Soldiers, whom neither Walls, nor the Reſiſtance of a formidable Enemy, could diſcourage. After ſo glorious a Campaign, it ſeems natural for *Brutus* to have triumphed. But we find no Traces of any Triumph he enjoyed, either in Hiſtory, or on the *Capitoline Marbles*. Perhaps this War was conſidered only as an Appendix to that with the *Samnites*. The Senate might probably not think the Conqueſt of the *Veſtini* completed, as long as their Allies were in a Condition to defend them.

Year of ROME CCCCXXVIII. L. Papirius Cursor, Dictator.

§. XX. The *Conſul Camillus* made it his conſtant Buſineſs to keep the *Samnites* upon the defenſive, in their own Country. But a violent Fit of Sickneſs obliged him to quit both the Camp and the Command of the Troops. The Senate likewiſe forced him to nominate a *Dictator*, to take his Place in the Army, and carry on the important Enterprize committed to his Conduct. In this free Choice which *Camillus* had of a Succeſſor, he did not regard thoſe Suggeſtions of Jealouſy, which a vain Love of Glory ſometimes raiſes, in the Hearts of military Men. All the Paſſions of the *Romans* ſeemed at that time to be wholly ſubject to that ſingle one of Love for their Country. Among the many Generals, which had then diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Arms, *Camillus* choſe out the moſt brave, able, and ſteady *Roman*, to raiſe him to the *Dictatorſhip*. This Great Man was *L. Papirius*, ſurnamed *Curſor*; that is, *Racer*, becauſe he excelled in *running*. The Vigour of his Mind, and Intrepidity of his Heart, were equal to the Strength of his Body. Tho' ſevere in puniſhing Breaches of Diſcipline, he knew how to moderate the Exceſſes of an extravagant Vigour, as there was Occaſion. *Papirius* was of a ſweet and affable Temper, loved Mirth and Gaiety, and often promoted it even to Pleaſantry and Jocoſeneſs. It is ſaid of him, that when he was firſt *Conſul*, he cauſed the *Prætor* of *Præneſte* to be brought before him, againſt whom *Rome* had ſome Complaints. The Place where he received this Magiſtrate, was full of Roots of Trees, which made it uneaſy to walk there. Here *Papirius* put on the Air of an angry Man, and after a bitter Invective againſt the *Prætor*, whom the *Conſul*'s Diſcourſe had much frightened, he cried out in a feigned Start of Paſſion, *Lictors, prepare your Hatchets!* At theſe Words, the Magiſtrate thought himſelf loſt; and *Papirius*, leaving him a Moment in his Fright, added with a Sneer, Lictors, *cut up theſe Roots, which incommode us.* Such was the General whom *Camillus* choſe to ſucceed him in his Command. Then *Papirius* choſe another Hero to ſecond his Deſigns, as General of Horſe. This was, *Quintus Fabius Rullianus*, who was the firſt of the *Fabian* Family who merited the Surname of *Maximus*, which he tranſmitted to his Poſterity. Tho' yet in the Flower of his Age, he was a good Officer. If the Love of Glory, or of his Country, made him once tranſgreſs the Rules of military Obedience, he made amends for this ſlight Fault, by his Valour, by his Frugality, by deſerving the Eſteem of his Soldiers, and by his Refuſal of the Honours which were offered him, contrary to Rule.

Aurel. Victor. de Vir. Illuſt.

The Army appointed to engage the *Samnites* could not be in better hands. *Papirius* the *Dictator*, and *Q. Fabius*, his General of Horſe, went to take Poſſeſſion of it: But there was ſomething obſcure and uncertain in the *Auſpices* they conſulted before they ſet out: And this Scruple lay more heavily upon the *Dictator*, when he was in the Camp. He was, probably, troubled at it when he came to enter upon Action. In order therefore to remove his Uneaſineſs, he 92 returned to *Rome* to renew the *Auſpices*: But before he returned, he committed the Command of the

91 *Cingilia* is no better known than *Cutina*.

92 The Report of the Perſon who was to take care of the ſacred Chickens, was not a favourable one; or at leaſt was thought equivocal by *Papirius*; and in order therefore to remove his Uneaſineſs, the *Dictator* returned to *Rome*, to conſult the *Augurs*. Such was the Superſtition of the *Romans*. They undertook no military Expedition, unleſs encouraged by *Auguries*. But in After-times, they neglected theſe ſuperſtitious Precautions, either becauſe they diſcovered the Vanity of them, or becauſe leſs attached to the ancient Practices of Religion, than their Anceſtors. *Cicero de Divin. B.* 2. confeſſes, that in his time, this Cuſtom had been laid aſide for many Years. *Bellicam rem adminiſtrent Majores noſtri, niſi Auſpicato, noluerunt. multi Anni ſunt, cum Bella a Proconſulibus, & Pr pretoribus adminiſtrantur, qui Auſpicia non habe Itaque nec omnes tranſeunt Auſpicato, nec Tripu auſpicantur.* The Reaſon he gives for this, is, th the Republick often placed *Proconſuls*, and *Propr tors*, at the Head of her Armies; and theſe bei deemed only Subalterns and Vicegerents of the Ge ſuls, had conſequently no Power to conſult th *Auguries*.

Troops to *Fabius*, and forbad him coming to a Battel with the Enemy. 'Tis not uncommon for Subalterns to give a bad Turn to the Orders of their Generals, eſpecially when they reſtrain their prevailing Paſſions. *Fabius* perſuaded himſelf that Jealouſy was the *Dictator*'s only Motive to tie up his Hands, during his Abſence. He therefore ſought for an Opportunity of making Conqueſts, without ſharing the Honour of the Victory with his General. Youth, and the Love of Glory, made him blind both with regard to the eſtabliſhed Ceremonies of Religion, which he neglected, and the Rules of Diſcipline, which he broke. *Fabius* cauſed the Diſpoſition of the Enemy to be enquired into; found they lived in great Security, ſince the Departure of the *Dictator:* and notwithſtanding the Uncertainty of the *Auſpices*, and the Prohibition of his General, thought himſelf obliged to take hold of the Opportunity which Fortune offered him. His martial Ardour ſupplied the room of *Auſpices*, and of Orders: And as the *Roman* Army had an Affection for him, they made no Oppoſition to the Reſolutions of their new Commander. The Cavalry eſpecially, whoſe commanding Officer he was by his Commiſſion, were much attached to him before the Engagement, and ſhewed him great Marks of their Zeal, in the Battel. The inconſiderate *Fabius* therefore, went to attack the Enemy, whom he found in leſs Diſorder than he had expected: and the Succeſs of the Battel had very like to have been as unfortunate for him, as the Attempt was raſh. The Victory already inclined to the *Samnites*, the *Roman* Army was already upon the Point of being broken, when the *Roman* Cavalry acted [93] a Part, of which there had been ſeveral Inſtances given, under former Generals. Theſe brave Horſemen gave their Horſes the Reins, and, like Men who had devoted themſelves to Death, fell with an unexpected Impetuoſity on the Enemy's Battalions. This revived the Courage of the *Romans*, and put the *Samnites* into Diſorder: And then the young Commander puſhed his good Fortune as far as it was poſſible. Every thing gave way to his Valour; the *Dictator* himſelf could not have fought with more Courage, or more Succeſs. It is ſaid, the Enemy left 30000 Men dead upon the Field of Battel. But however that be, the Circumſtances of this Action are differently related by the Hiſtorians. Some ſay, that *Fabius* fought two Battels in the Abſence of *Papirius*. And this at leaſt is certain, that the General of Horſe gained a very great Advantage over the Enemies of the Republick. Such was the Succeſs of the Battel of [94] *Imbrinium*, ſo called from a Place, which is at preſent utterly unknown. *Liv. B.8. c.30.*

Year of ROME CCCCXXVIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

§. XXI. AFTER this Victory, the young Conqueror even grew inſolent upon it. It was cuſtomary for the *Roman* Armies, to lay up the Spoils of the Enemy, after a Defeat, and lodge them in the *Military Quæſtors* Hands, to be by them ſold for the Advantage of the Publick. But *Fabius* did otherwiſe. He cauſed the heap of Arms taken from the *Samnites*, to be burnt; doubtleſs, under Pretence of ſome Vow he had made of dedicating them to ſome God. But in reality, it was only to hinder the *Dictator* from having the Advantage of them, ſetting his Name to them, and cauſing them to be carried with Pomp, in his triumphal Proceſſion. At leaſt, this was the Interpretation *Papirius* put upon it. Beſides, he had not ſend the Meſſenger who carried the News of his Victory to the *Dictator*, but to the Senate. This was being wanting in reſpect to the General, under whoſe *Auſpices* he had fought. This ſeemed to ſhew, he was unwilling the *Dictator* ſhould have any Share of his Glory. Theſe Proceedings highly incenſed *Papirius*; and while all *Rome* rung with Joy and Acclamations, he alone burnt with Rage. According to the Cuſtoms, and military Diſcipline, of the *Romans*, *Papirius* had a ſure Means of revenging himſelf upon the preſumptuous Youth. He was a *Dictator*, that is, the Sovereign of the Republick; and there lay no Appeal from his Decrees, eſpecially in relation to Crimes committed in War. The Laws were expreſs againſt *Fabius*; his Diſobedience was inconteſtable; and there was ſomething irreligious, in his Contempt of the *Auſpices*. Theſe Circumſtances ta-

93 *Livy* adds, that this Reſolution was taken, at the Perſuaſion of *Cominius*, one of the *Legionary Tribunes*.

94 *Juſtus Lipſius* is miſtaken, when he ſays, in his *Commentary* on the 11th Book of *Tacitus*, that we ought to read *Simbrivium*, and not *Imbrinium*; if this Battel was fought, near a Lake, which *Tacitus* and *Celſius*, *B.4. ch.5.* call *Simbrivius Lacus*. He did not conſider that this Lake was in *Latium*, near the *Anio*, and the City formerly called *Sublaqueum*, now *Sublaco*, or *Subiaco*; which Situation can only agree with that of the City of *Imbrinium*, which *Livy* places in the Country of the *Samnites*.

ken

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXVIII.

L. Papirius Cursor, Dictator.

ken all together, were enough to ruin the Offender, notwithſtanding his Victory. The Example of a Father, who had ordered his own Diſobedient Son to be cut off by the *Axes* of the *Lictors*, was a ſufficient Precedent, to authorize a Rival, to condemn his Competitor to Death, in the midſt of his Glory. And *Papirius* ſet out from *Rome*, in order to return to his Camp, with full Reſolutions to execute Juſtice with Rigour upon *Fabius*: or at leaſt, if he only deſigned to frighten him, as he formerly did the *Prætor* of *Præneſte*, he diſſembled his Intentions with a great deal of Art. He every where openly declared, that the Honour of the *Dictatorſhip*, and the military Diſcipline, had ſuffered more by this raſh Action of *Fabius*, than the *Samnite* Army. Nevertheleſs, the young Conqueror had a great Party, both in the City and Army. What Care ſoever the *Dictator* took to get to the Camp before his Departure from *Rome* was known, he could not prevent the Advices which were ſent to *Fabius* of it. Expreſſes came to him, to inform him, That *Papirius* was coming in great Wrath; That he talked of nothing but *Manlius*, and his Sons; and That he was to expect the moſt ſevere Treatment. This News made *Fabius* take another Step, which was yet more criminal. Before *Papirius*'s Arrival, he aſſembled the Troops, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner. *The* Dictator *is juſt ready to arrive here. His Paſſions ſhew themſelves openly, and ſeem to carry him beſide himſelf. Jealouſy tranſports him; and the Courage you have ſhewn in Battel, under another's Command, puts him into a kind of Madneſs. My Crime, and yours, is that of having beaten the* Samnites *in his Abſence; and if he was to purſue the Dictates of his preſent Paſſion, he would willingly tranſfer the Victory to the Enemy you have overcome. He accuſes us of having deſpiſed his Orders; as if thoſe very Orders had not proceeded from the ſame Spirit of Jealouſy, which makes him now envy your Victory. We have ſeen through his Deſigns. He only forbad us taking Arms, out of Fear of ſeeing us victorious. Brave as you are, you ſhould have been, by his Conſent, without Courage and Valour, during his Abſence; and* Fabius, *his General of Horſe, ſhould have been no better, than one of* Papirius's Lictors. *He threatens me with* Death: *and could he have inflicted a ſeverer Puniſhment, if I had happened to have been beaten by the Enemy? Is a Man criminal, for having ſerved the Republick, under other* Auſpices *than thoſe of* Papirius! *And this he deſigns to do to his own* General *of Horſe. Nay, he would willingly reach the* Military Tribunes, *the* Centurions, *and every private Soldier: He would deſtroy you all, if he could. But Jealouſy is like a Flame, which always flies upwards. The envious* Papirius *will vent his Rage on the Chief of the Enterprize; on me. It is my Life which he at preſent aims at. But when he ſhall have puniſhed the Author of the Victory, he will then ſhew his Reſentment againſt thoſe who helped to gain it. It is therefore the Intereſt of the whole Army, to ſtand up in Defence of our common Liberty. There is no Way of diſarming the Revenger, who draws near to us, but by being as unanimous in defending the Victory you have gained, as you were in endeavouring to obtain it. If you all unite in favour of me, you will all preſerve yourſelves, and force the* Dictator *to incline to Clemency. To you alone I commit the Defence of my Life and Fortune.*

Liv. B. 8. c. 31.

Thus ſpake the ſeditious *Fabius*; and his Diſcourſe was applauded by the *Legions*, who heard it. They all promiſed him their Aſſiſtance, and proteſted, that nothing but Death ſhould make them neglect his Intereſt. During theſe Tranſactions, the *Dictator* arrived; and made it his firſt Buſineſs to aſſemble the Troops. The Trumpet gave the Soldiers the Signal, and they came to the open Space before the *Prætorium*, that is, before the General's Tent. When the *Dictator* was ſeated on his Tribunal, an Officer ſummoned *Q. Fabius*, General of Horſe, to appear. Way was made for him to draw near to the Tribunal: and when Silence was proclaimed, *Papirius* interrogated him, in this manner. *Anſwer me,* Fabius. *Are you ignorant, that a* Dictator *has a ſovereign Power in the Republick; That the* Conſuls, *who ſucceeded the* Kings *in their Authority, are ſubject to him; and That the* Prætors, *tho' conſecrated by* Auſpices, *owe him Obedience? Could you then imagine, that I would ſuffer a General of Horſe, who has his Commiſſion from me, and without* Auſpices, *to diſobey the Orders of his* Dictator, *with Impunity? Anſwer me. Was it lawful for you to hazard the Welfare of your Country, by giving Battel, without being aſſured of the Will of the Gods; and at a*

Year of ROME CCCCXXVIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

time, when a well-grounded religious Scruple obliged me to return to Rome! *Could those* Auſpices, *which the* Dictator *thought dubious, be depended on by a Subaltern? But what need have I to bring Religion into the Queſtion! Let the Cauſe of my Abſence be what it would, and ſuppoſing that I had left the Camp, without leaving any Orders; would it not have been your Duty, to have tied up your own Hands, and not to have ſtirred, till you had known my Pleaſure? But confeſs honeſtly, did I not, at parting, give you an expreſs Prohibition, not to attempt any thing in my Abſence; and above all things, not to give Battel? By whoſe Orders then have you dared to fight, in contempt of the Gods, and their* Auſpices; *in defiance of military Diſcipline; and contrary to the expreſs Prohibition of your General? To theſe Interrogatories you muſt anſwer, without Evaſions, or Digreſſions. In the mean time,* Lictors, *ſurround him.*

FABIUS had a bad Cauſe to defend: and his Anſwers were dark and confuſed. He was often put into Diſorder; and by endeavouring to excuſe his Crime, allowed it. Theſe rambling Exclamations were often heard to drop from him. *Yes;* Papirius *ſhall ſooner take away my Life, than the Glory of the noble Action, which is all my Crime!* But all theſe Clamours were uſeleſs. The *Dictator* was both his Accuſer and Judge. The *Lictors* inſtantly ſtripped off his Clothes, by *Papirius*'s Order; and his naked Body appeared covered with the Wounds which he had received in the laſt Battel; and which, before they were quite healed, were going to be made bleed afreſh, with Scourges made of knotted Cords. Then the Criminal begged the Aſſiſtance of the Soldiers with a loud Voice; and either by Chance, or the Help of thoſe about him, found an Opportunity to eſcape out of the Executioner's Hands. *Fabius* ſaved himſelf among the *Triarii*, thoſe invincible Soldiers, whoſe Affection for ſo brave a Man, began to move them. I am of Opinion, that in theſe military Aſſemblies, the ſame Order was obſerved, as in a Battel, in which the *Triarii* were near the General. But however that be, great Shouts were heard from the Place where *Fabius* fled for Refuge, and they ſpread throughout the whole Army. The Soldiers all favoured *Fabius*, but expreſſed their Sentiments in different manners. Some broke out into Threatnings againſt the *Dictator*; others asked Pardon for the Offender. Thoſe nearеſt the Tribunal, who could be heard by *Papirius*, deſired him to ſpare the Life of his General of Horſe, and not condemn all the Troops in him. Thoſe at the greateſt diſtance, and eſpecially thoſe round *Fabius*, were enraged at the Severity of the *Dictator*. The Uproar reached even to the Tribunal itſelf. The Lieutenant-Generals of the Army, who ſurrounded the *Dictator*, intreated him to put off the Execution till the next Day, to give the Soldiers time to cool, and take ſome time himſelf to calm his Mind. *The Imprudence of a young Man,* ſaid they to him, *has been already very ſufficiently puniſhed, by the Indignities he has received. The Pride of the Conqueror has been ſufficiently humbled, by the ſhameful and mortifying Condition to which you have reduced him. Remit the reſt of the Puniſhment, in favour to a young Soldier of great hopes; out of regard to* [95] *Father, who has ſo often done himſelf Honour, by his Services to the Publick, and been ſo often honoured with great Poſts; and laſtly, in reſpect to a Family, which is had in ſo much Honour at* Rome. In the mean time, the Sedition increaſed; and the *Dictator* continued inflexible. It was in vain to repreſent to him, That Anger and Rage appeared in every Face; That it neither became his Age, nor his Wiſdom, to blow up the Fire of a riſing Revolt; That he would, by his Rigour, bring on himſelf the Odium of a Proſecution, which ſhould turn only on *Fabius*'s Shame; and laſtly, That, if he was afraid of ſeeming to betray the Intereſts of the State, by pardoning the Offender, thoſe about him were ready to juſtify to the Republick, that it was by no means proper to puniſh him. But theſe diſcourſes were ſo far from appeaſing *Papirius*, that they only enraged him the more. He, with an angry Tone, commanded his Lieutenant-Generals to leave the Tribunal. This increaſed the Outcries, and the Sedition grew more furious. The *Dictator* in vain endeavoured to make himſelf heard; and his Officers tried to make Silence with as little Succeſs. The Soldiers were ready to offer Violence to

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 7.

Liv. B. 8.

Eutrop. B. 2.

[95] His Father was *Marcus Fabius Ambuſtus*, who was *Prince of the Senate*. He had been three times *Conſul*, and once *Dictator* and *Cenſor*.

Year of ROME CCCCXXVIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

their General, and to maſſacre him; when the Night coming on, it diſperſed the Aſſembly, and put an end to the Mutiny.

THE Soldiers were indeed perſuaded, that the Diſturbances would revive with the next Day; and ſaid, that the Night, inſtead of pacifying, would ſowre the *Dictator* the more, his Rage having been only increaſed by Oppoſition. And they were not miſtaken. *Papirius* loſt nothing of his Zeal for ſupporting the military Laws, or his Obſtinacy to revenge his own perſonal Injuries. But *Fabius* wiſely avoided a ſecond Trial; for he ſecretly eſcaped out of the Camp in the Night, and went for *Rome*, to preſent himſelf before leſs paſſionate Judges. As ſoon as the Offender arrived in the City, his Father, who had been thrice *Conſul*, and once *Dictator*, thought it neceſſary to get the Senators to aſſemble without delay, and obtain a favourable Decree from them, before the Return of the *Dictator*. The *Conſcript Fathers* were aſſembled; the young *Fabius* had already worked them up to a Paſſion, and made them think *Papirius* both unjuſt and barbarous: The Remembrance of his Victory, the Regard they had for his Family, and for his Father in particular, had already begun to ſtagger the Judges; when a great Noiſe was heard at the Door of the Temple, where the Senate was aſſembled. This was *Papirius* himſelf, who, attended by his *Lictors*, was diſperſing the Crowd of People, who were gathered together at the Entrance into the Sanctuary. As ſoon as he had heard, that the Criminal had eſcaped out of the Camp, he followed him full ſpeed, and came in Perſon to maintain his Cauſe; in which, he pretended his Country was as much concerned as himſelf.

UPON his entering into the Temple, the Scene changed. Great Reverence was paid to his Dignity, and his Preſence cooled the Ardour of the *Fabii*. When he had taken his Place, he firſt ordered his *Lictors* to ſeize young *Fabius*; and he was immediately obeyed. The oldeſt and moſt venerable of the Senators in vain intreated the rigid *Dictator*, to moderate the Severity of his Decree; nothing could move him. So that the Father of the Criminal had but one Refuge left, to ſave his Son's Life, which was to appeal to the *Tribunes of the People*, and get his Cauſe heard in the *Comitia*. He therefore addreſſed himſelf to *Papirius*, and ſignified his Appeal to him, in theſe Words. *Since neither the Authority of the Senate, nor any Regard for my Age, my Perſon, and my Family, nor the miſerable Condition to which you are going to reduce me, nor the Victory and Merit of my Son can have any Effect upon you, I appeal from you to the People, and claim the Protection of their* Tribunes. *Tho' you have deſpiſed the Judgment both of the Army and Senate, you will ſhew ſome Reſpect to the Tribunal of the* Comitia, *whoſe Authority is ſuperior to yours. We ſhall ſee whether, tho' you are a* Dictator, *you will reject my Appeal, and carry the Power of a tranſient Commiſſion further than King* Tullus Hoſtilius *formerly carried the Rights of the Regal Power. He referred the Caſe of young* Horatius *to the People, at his Father's Requeſt; and the Puniſhment of that Conqueror was mitigated thereby.* It muſt be granted, that there had never yet been any Inſtance in the Republick, of an [96] Appeal from the Sentence of a *Dictator*. But nevertheleſs, *Papirius* did not think fit to purſue his Obſtinacy ſo far, as abſolutely to diſallow the ſuperior Authority of the *Roman People*. So that *Fabius*'s Cauſe was brought before the *Comitia*, which were aſſembled in the *Forum*. Thither the *Dictator* came, with few Attendants; but the *Fabii* were guarded by all the People of Diſtinction in *Rome*. Firſt young *Fabius* and his Father aſcended *The Tribune of Harangues*, with the *Dictator*. The Son had a Right to harangue the People from thence, as General of Horſe. But the Father

96 The *Dictators* had hitherto had an abſolute Authority, and there lay no Appeal from them; and this abſolute, and almoſt unlimited Authority, was founded on what the Ancients, particularly *Cicero*, in his *Oration againſt the Agrarian Law*, and *Feſtus*, call LEX OPTIMA. Theſe Magiſtrates were ſaid to have been created LEGE OPTIMA, when their Decrees were deemed irrevocable, and had the Force of a Law; and no Appeal lay from their Tribunal, to the *Comitia of the People*. This is the Senſe of theſe Words in *Feſtus*, OPTIMA LEX..... *In magiſtro populi faciendo, qui vulgo Dictator appellatur, quam pleniſſimum poſſet, ſuis eſſe ſignificabatur..... Poſtquam vero provocatio, ab eo magiſtratu ad pop[ulum] data eſt, quæ antea non erat, deſitum eſt dici* OPTIMA LEGE, *utpote imminuto jure priorum Ma[gi]ſtratuum*. This Paſſage, tho' not entire, ſhews what was the Power of the *Dictator*, who was to be created OPTIMA LEGE. *Tully* expreſſes himſelf much in the ſame manner, in his *Oration* a[gainſt] *Rullus*. By eſtabliſhing *Decemviri*, ſays he to h[im] whoſe Authority, as to the Diſtribution of Lan[ds] ſhall be equal to that of thoſe Magiſtrates who [were] created OPTIMA LEGE, you give us *Kings*, and [not] *Decemviri*. *Reges conſtituuntur non Decemviri*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXVIII.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

who was then in no Office, had no Right to ſpeak to the People from this Eminence, it being the Privilege of Magiſtrates only to appear there. *Papirius* therefore ſternly commanded both, immediately to deſcend; the Son, as a Criminal; the Father, as not being in Office. The *Fabii* obeyed; and the Father placing himſelf at the Bottom of the *Tribune*, ſaid, *We may at leaſt make our juſt Defence from hence.* The Cauſe was carried on at firſt, not by formal Harangues, but by way of Queſtion and Anſwer. But at length, old *Fabius* exalted his Voice, and the whole Aſſembly was very ſilent, whilſt he burſt out into vehement Invectives againſt the Barbarity of *Papirius*: *I have been* Dictator, *as well as you,* ſaid he to him; *but what* Plebeian *in the City, or Soldier in the Army, can complain of my Severity? whilſt you,* Papirius, *perſecute one of our Generals with as much Inveteracy, as if he was an Enemy; and would triumph over him, as over a* Samnite. *How different was the Conduct of our Forefathers from yours!* Cincinnatus, *when* Dictator, *no otherwiſe puniſhed the* Conſul Minucius, *who had ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by the* Volſci, *than by reducing him to be Lieutenant-General of his Army, after he had delivered him out of his Danger. The Great* Camillus *was ſo far from puniſhing* L. Furius, *who gave Battle, contrary to his Advice, and loſt it, that he made him his Aſſociate, preferably to others, in the Command of the Troops which he led to Victory. The* Roman People *themſelves, whoſe Authority has no Bounds, never condemned their negligent or ill-adviſed Generals, to any other Puniſhment than pecuniary Fines. The Loſs of a Battel was never made a capital Crime. But you,* Papirius, *reward Conquerors with Scourges, Axes, and Death, inſtead of Triumphs. What worſe Treatment could you have given my Son, if he had been beaten, and put to Flight, and loſt both the* Roman *Army and Camp? O ye immortal Gods! ſhall he, whom you have proſpered in Battel; who ought to make your Altars ſmoke with his Victims, in Thankſgiving to you; for whoſe ſake all your Temples ought to be opened, and your Sanctuaries frequented; ſhall he be beaten with Rods, in the Sight of the* Romans, *and with his Face turned towards the* Capitol? *How will the Army, which was victorious under the Command of my Son, take the Indignity, which is going to be offered him! What Dejection will this cauſe in the* Roman *Camp! What Matter of Triumph will it be for our Enemies, whom he has conquered!* Theſe Words of the unfortunate old Man, were followed by Reproaches on the *Dictator,* bitter Complaints againſt his inflexibility, affecting Prayers to the Gods, and Supplications to the *Roman People.* He ſometimes threw himſelf on his Son's Neck, held him faſt in his Arms, and bedewed him with his Tears. A Sight very capable of mollifying the Aſſembly; but *Papirius* had on his Side the military Laws, the Rules of Diſcipline which were deemed inviolable, the Dignity of his Office, which had been treated with Contempt, and the Immutability of the Decrees of a *Dictator.* The Remembrance of *Manlius,* who had been courageous enough to condemn his own Son to Death, for a more pardonable Act of Diſobedience, and the Example of *Brutus,* who had ſhed the Blood of his own Children, for the ſake of the Publick Good, were freſh in all Minds. The *Dictator,* on his Part, maintained the Rights of his Office, and the Intereſt of the Republick with Dignity. *The time,* ſaid he, *is now more, when a Love for the Publick Good had the Aſcendant over Paternal Affection. Fathers are now become more pliable, and more compaſſionate. But what am I ſaying? Perhaps the very Man, who out of Oſtentation, would revenge to the utmoſt, even upon his own Blood, the Breach of his own Orders; is unaffected with Diſobedience to the Orders of another. It is a mere Trifle, a little Fault,* Liv. B. 8. c. 34. *very pardonable in Youth. But for my part,* Romans, *I reſolutely adhere to my firſt Sentence. I will never remit any of the Puniſhment I have decreed againſt a raſh Man; who, notwithſtanding the Dubiouſneſs of the* Auſpices, *and the expreſs Prohibition of his General, gave Battel, contrary to all Law and Rule. I don't flatter myſelf ſo far, as to expect to be able to preſerve our Laws always inviolate, and perpetuate military Diſcipline among us; but this I reſolve, that as long as I continue in Office, I will puniſh thoſe who tranſgreſs them. No;* Papirius *will never ſuffer the Strictneſs of Diſcipline to be relaxed, or the Rights of the* Dictatorſhip *to be invaded, during his Government. As I don't pretend to leſſen the Dignity of the* Roman People, *or the Authority of their* Tribunes; *ſo neither will I ſuffer the* Dictatorſhip *to be debaſed, or its ſovereign Power diminiſhed. If that*

Year of ROME CCCCXXVIII.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

must be the Conſequence, I appeal to Poſterity to acquit me of ſo weak an Indulgence; and to charge the unjuſt Uſurpation, on the People and the Tribunes. *And indeed, if* Dictators *are deprived of their ſovereign Authority in their Armies, how will the Soldiers be kept in a due Subordination? The private Men will no longer depend on the* Centurion; *the* Centurion, *on the* Tribune; *the* Tribune, *on the Lieutenant-General; the Lieutenant-General, on the General of Horſe; or the General of Horſe, on the* Dictator. *Then Battels will be raſhly fought, contrary to the Rules of Prudence, and without any religious regard to* Auſpices. *Then Licentiouſneſs will prevail among the Troops, who will deſert when they pleaſe; and Ravages in the Territories of our Friends, will be as unpuniſhed, as if committed in thoſe of an Enemy. The Soldiers will leave their Colours, without Fear; and neglect to return to them, upon Command, Who will then concern himſelf, in caſe of a Battel, whether it be given by, or without the Conſent of the General; by Day, or by Night; on a ſafe, or a diſadvantageous Spot of Ground? Our Armies will then be no better than Gangs of Robbers, guided by Humour, and governed by Fury. Theſe,* Tribunes, *are the Conſequences of permitting Generals to appeal to your Tribunal. Have you foreſeen, and conſidered them? Dare you charge yourſelves with them, and take upon you the Odium of them, with Poſterity? And yet theſe will be the neceſſary Effects of the Indulgence you ſeem inclined to ſhew young* Fabius. *Will you anſwer the Conſequences of an illegal Pardon, with your Heads?*

THESE Words threw both *Tribunes* and People into great Trouble and Perplexity. They compaſſionated the *Fabii*; but could not condemn the Severity of *Papirius*. By accepting of Appeals from the Sentence of a *Dictator*, they would indeed increaſe the Power of the *Plebeians*; but they were afraid of the Conſequences of ſo dangerous an Encroachment on a ſovereign Authority. At laſt, the People took a Method, which freed all Parties from their Perplexities. Inſtead of taking upon them to judge in the Affair, which they might have done, they were content with becoming Interceſſors. The Aſſembly preſſed the *Dictator*, in the moſt earneſt manner, to pardon his General of Horſe. The *Tribunes of the People* joined their Intreaties to thoſe of the *Comitia*. They laid great ſtreſs, upon a violent Thirſt for Glory, which ſo naturally dazzles the Eyes of young Noblemen, and tempts them to ſacrifice even their Duty to it. They added, that after all, *Fabius*'s Crime would not be altogether unpuniſhed, if now forgiven; ſince he had already, in ſome meaſure, expiated it, by having been given up to the Rods of the *Lictors*. The *Fabii* themſelves fell proſtrate at the *Dictator*'s Feet, and changed their Haughtineſs into the moſt humble Supplications. Then the *Dictator* cauſed Silence to be made, and from *The Tribune*, ſpake theſe Words. *It is enough; both military Diſcipline, and the Authority of Generals, are preſerved inviolate. The Proceedings of* Fabius *expoſed both to great Dangers. But he has not been judged innocent; only Pardon is asked for him. This I readily grant in Deference to the* Roman People, *and the Interceſſion of their* Tribunes. *They have not pronounced him guiltleſs, as Judges; but interceded for him as Friends. I give you your Life, my dear* Fabius; *and you have gained more Glory, by having ſeen all Orders in the Republick concur, in endeavouring to ſave it, than by your Victory. Your Crime was ſuch, that if your Father himſelf had been in my Place, he would have expiated it with your Blood. As for me, you ſhall ſoon be reconciled to me, if you pleaſe; and you can never expreſs your Gratitude to the* Roman People *better, than by being continually, and implicitly, obedient to the Commands of your Generals. Go; You are at liberty.*

THESE Words were followed by univerſal Acclamations. Every Body left the Place of Aſſembly, ſome following the *Fabii*, to congratulate them; others with *Papirius*, to expreſs their Gratitude to him; and thus attended they were conducted back to their Houſes. The *Romans* acknowledged, to the *Dictator*'s Honour, that his inflexible Steadineſs in bringing *Fabius* to the Brink of the Precipice, without ſuffering him to fall down it, was as conducive to the Support of military Diſcipline, as the Death of young *Manlius*, who was condemned to die by his own Father. And it may be obſerved, that *Papirius*, by ſaving the Life of young *Fabius*, reſtored *Rome* an Hero, who will hereafter equal in Virtue the Great Man who preſerved him from Deſtruction. The many Triumphs with which we ſhall ſee him honoured, will prove him worthy of the Zeal which *Rome* had ſhewn for his Deliverance.

Year of ROME CCCCXXVIII.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

§. XXII. BUT whilſt *Papirius* was ſupporting the ſovereign Authority of the *Dictatorſhip* in *Rome*, and labouring to keep up the Rigour of the Diſcipline among the Troops, the *Samnites* thought to have taken Advantage of his ſecond Abſence. They fully expected, that the *Romans* would not ſtir out of their Camp, to engage them, for fear of meeting with the ſame Fate as young *Fabius*. And indeed, *M. Valerius*, one of the Lieutenant-Generals of the *Roman* Army, commanded it in chief; and nothing could induce him to oppoſe the Hoſtilities of the Enemy. It happened, that as ſome *Romans* were conducting a Convoy of Proviſions, they were ſurrounded by a Detachment of *Samnites*. *Valerius* could eaſily have reſcued the Guard; but he dreaded the Severity of the *Dictator* ſo much, that he choſe rather to let his Men ſuffer in a narrow Paſs, than march out of his Camp to relieve them. And this Accident of loſing a Convoy, and having its Guard beaten, did not a little contribute to increaſe the Hatred of the Soldiers to their General. *Theſe*, ſaid they, *are the Conſequences of this inflexible Severity againſt the brave* Fabius. What likewiſe helped to exaſperate the Troops the more, was the *Dictator*'s having refuſed to grant the General of Horſe his Life, at their Requeſt; tho' he himſelf afterwards gave it him, at the Deſire of the *Roman People* and their *Tribunes*. In the mean time, *Papirius* had left *Rome*, in order to return to the Camp. He had nominated one *L. Papirius*, his Relation, to command the Horſe, in the room of *Fabius*, whom he had depoſed, and ſtrictly forbidden to exerciſe any Part of his former Office, in *Rome*. Which ſhews, that the Generalſhip of Horſe was truly a magiſterial Office; though not in the Choice of the People, but abſolutely dependent on the *Dictators*, who nominated whom they pleaſed to it.

WHEN *Papirius* arrived in the Camp, he found all his Men ſo ill-affected towards him, that he was not at firſt in a Condition to make any great Progreſs. And the *Samnites*, doubtleſs informed of the ill Diſpoſition of the *Roman* Army towards their General, came and offered him Battel, very near his own Entrenchments. The *Dictator* did not think it for his Honour to decline fighting; and at the ſame time knew how little inclined his Troops were to follow him to the Engagement. But what cannot ſo able an Officer as *Papirius* do? He thought himſelf obliged to ſupply the Want of Affection in his Soldiers, by his Skill in War: And he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, and drew up his Troops with ſo much Dexterity, that it was not poſſible for them to be entirely defeated. They indeed fought but faintly, during the Action, for fear of increaſing the Glory of their General, by the entire Defeat of the Enemy. But after all, they did as much as was neceſſary, to prevent loſing their Lives and the Battel together; which was enough. The *Romans* had more wounded than the *Samnites*; but the *Samnites* had more killed than the *Romans*. And all that can be inferred from the Battel is this, that the latter might have gained a complete Victory, if they would have taken but little Pains to purſue the wiſe Meaſures, and imitate the Valour, of their General.

IT is very difficult to diſcover the true Motives of Great Mens Actions. Who can ſay, whether the ſudden Change in *Papirius*'s Behaviour towards his Soldiers, proceeded from a Love for his Country, or a Deſire of increaſing his own Glory? He was naturally of ſuch a Temper, that he could give way and comply, whenever it was proper. And now, he did not diſcover the leaſt Remains of his former Severity. Not an Officer or Soldier who had behaved himſelf negligently in the Fight, was ſo much as reprimanded. He took the ſame Care of the wounded, that a Father could have done. He laid aſide all the Severity of a *Dictator*, and even the Diſtance of a General. That Pride and Haughtineſs with which he had been reproached, was changed all on a ſudden into Familiarity. He often kept Company with his Lieutenant-Generals, and went to the Tents to viſit the Sick. He came to the Sides of their Beds, enquired how they did, and ordered the *Tribunes* and *Præfects* of the Army to take Care of them. By this means, he wrought a greater Cure upon the Minds, than the Bodies of his Soldiers. They had been exaſperated againſt him, but their Rage was ſoon appeaſed; and as they had always had a great Eſteem for *Papirius*, this ſoon grew up into the moſt tender Affection for him. But what is moſt wonderful, *Papirius*'s Prudence was ſo extraordinary, that he did not diſcover the leaſt Affectation, in this ſudden Change.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXIX.

L. Papirius Cursor, Dictator.

§. XXIII. The People in the City were informed of the Alteration made in the Diſpoſitions of the Soldiers, with reſpect to their General; and when the ſix Months of *Papirius*'s *Dictatorſhip* were very near expiring, they thought fit to continue him in his Employment. Moſt learned Men who have written upon the Chronology of the *Roman Hiſtory*, agree, that *Papirius* 97 continued in his Office all the remaining Part of the Year; and that no *Conſuls* were choſen in the Year of *Rome* 429, in order to leave the Government of the Republick entirely in the hands of this *Dictator*. I am not therefore at Liberty to contradict an Opinion ſo univerſally receiv'd; nay, I would chuſe to conform myſelf to it, if it were only to preſerve a little Order in the *Conſular* Years. But after all, as this common Opinion is founded on no very certain Proof, drawn from Antiquity, I cannot deny Criticks the Liberty of thinking otherwiſe. It is poſſible, That *Papirius*'s *Dictatorſhip* may not have taken up the whole Year; That *Conſuls* may have been choſen before it ended; and That, (as there was then no Time fixed for entering upon the *Conſulſhip*) the ſucceeding *Conſuls* may have entered upon their Office before the *Dictator* had ſpent a whole Year in his. Nor can it be juſtly objected to this, that it would confound the Chronology. I am fully ſatisfied, there cannot be a more erroneous Way of reckoning the Years of the World, than that of computing them by the *Conſular* Years. But to return to *Papirius*.

Liv. B.8. c.36. Author. de Viris Illuſtr. Eutropius, Val.Max. &c.

This Great Man was yet to anſwer the Expectations the Republick had from him by his Exploits: And as he had now regained the Affections of his Soldiers, he thought himſelf in a Condition to undertake any thing. His Army likewiſe had had time to refreſh itſelf; and he therefore marched to meet the Enemy. The Hiſtorians have not given us the Circumſtances of the great Victory he gained; but only tell us, that he reduced the *Samnites* ſo low, as not to be able to make head againſt him any longer. After the Defeat of the Enemy, the *Roman* Army marched wherever the Hopes of Booty led it. It over-run *Samnium*, without finding any Oppoſition in its March, or ſo much as any Troops lodged in Ambuſh to diſpute the Paſſage of the Defiles. The Ardour of the *Roman* Soldiers was the greater, in that the *Dictator* gave them all the Spoils in the Country: And theſe many Calamities together, forced the *Samnites* to deſire a Peace of the Conqueror. This the *Dictator* conſented to; but inſiſted on theſe three Preliminaries. 1*ſt*. That the *Samnites* ſhould cloath all his Soldiers. 2*dly*. That they ſhould give his Army a Year's Pay. And, 3*dly*. That they ſhould go and get the Treaty he made with them confirmed by the Senate. All this the *Samnites* conſented to, and referred it to the *Dictator* to take care of their Intereſts. The *Roman* Army therefore left *Samnium:* And as no Conqueror had ever yet more juſtly deſerved the Honours of a Triumph, *Papirius* received them, on *The third of the Nones of March*. Immediately after his Triumph, the *Dictator* had Thoughts of laying down his Office; but the Senate deſired him to preſide in the *Comitia by Centuries*, wherein the new *Conſuls* were to be choſen. The Choice fell upon *C. Sulpicius Longus*, now made *Conſul* a ſecond time, and *Q. Aulius* 98 *Cerretanus*. After

Faſt. Capit. Liv. B.8. c.37.

97 *Livy* confines *Lucius Papirius*'s *Dictatorſhip* to the foregoing Year 428, and places the Events of this Year 429, in that. So that he makes *Papirius*'s two *Dictatorſhips* to have been but one. But nevertheleſs, it appears that *Papirius* was continued in his Office, and created *Dictator* a ſecond time. We have a convincing Proof of it, in the *Faſti Capitolini*. They ſay that *Lucius Papirius* triumphed over the *Samnites*, in the Year of *Rome* 429, on *The third of the Nones of March*; that is, on the fifth Day of that Month. This makes us believe, that *Papirius*'s *Dictatorſhip* was prolonged to the Year 430; and *Livy*'s Silence confirms us in this Opinion. Indeed he makes no Mention of any *Conſuls* for the Year 429, which is omitted in the *Conſular Annals:* Which made *Glarean* and *Haloander* conclude, that *Papirius*'s *Dictatorſhip* held this whole Year.

98 In moſt Editions of *Livy*, *C. Sulpicius*'s Colleague, is called *Quintus Æmilius Cerretanus*; but we believe this *Conſul*'s Name was *Aulius* for two Reaſons. Firſt, becauſe one of the two *Conſuls* was at that time generally a *Plebeian*. Whereas, the *Æmilian* Family was originally *Patrician*, as well as the *Sulpician* Family, as has been already obſerved; but the *Aulian* Family was *Plebeian*. Secondly, becauſe no one of the *Æmilii* ever bore the Name of *Cerretanus*. At leaſt we find no Account of any, either in Hiſtory, or the ancient Monuments. Beſides, ſome of the Editors of *Livy* honeſtly confeſs, that ſome Annals have the Name of *Aulius*, inſtead of that of *Æmilius*; and ſo have ſeveral authentick Manuſcripts. And laſtly, *Livy* himſelf ſays, *B*. 9. that *Quintus Aulius Cerretanus* was created *Conſul* a ſecond time, in the Year of *Rome* 434; and conſequently, he had been promoted to this Dignity already, in the Year 430: for we cannot place his firſt *Conſulate* in any other Year. *Cuſpinian*, on the Authorities of ſome imperfect Copies of *Caſſiodorus*, and of *Diodorus Siculus*, has changed the Name of *Aulius* into that of *Ælius*.

which

which, the *Dictator* laid down his Employment, crowned with Glory, and equally beloved by the Citizens and the Soldiers.

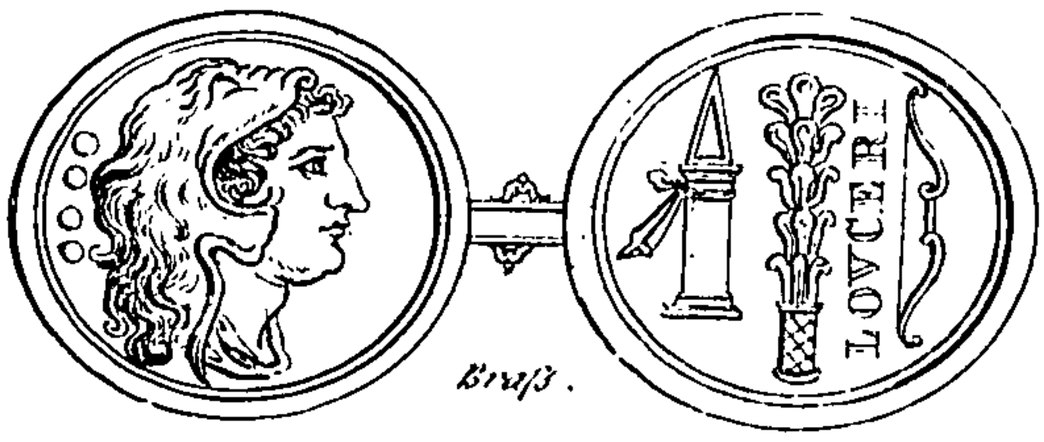
Year of *ROME* CCCCXXX. C. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Aulius Cerretanus, Conſuls.

§. XXIV. It is probable, that under the new *Conſuls*, there was a *Cenſus* taken of the People, which ended with the twenty fourth *Luſtrum*, ſince their Inſtitution. Hiſtorians indeed ſay nothing of it, neither are there any Traces of it to be found on the *Capitoline Marbles*. But ſince we find ſome Footſteps of a twenty fifth *Luſtrum*, in the Year of *Rome* 435, it may be ſuppoſed that the twenty fourth was in the Year 430.

At the ſame time, a *Roman Colony* was ſent to 99 *Luceria*, a City of *Apulia*, but pretty far up in the Country, and near the *Hirpini*. As *Luceria* and the *Apulians* had ſubmitted to the Republick ſome Years ſince, ſome *Romans* were tranſplanted thither to ſecure their Fidelity. But theſe Affairs were of little Importance; that of concluding with the Senate the Peace *Papirius* had begun to treat of with the *Samnites*, was of more Conſequence. The *Conſcript Fathers* did not like the Terms they offered in order to gain it; and therefore only granted a Truce for one Year; which was ſoon broken, by the Faithleſſneſs of that warlike People. In ſhort, as ſoon as the *Samnites* ſaw they no longer had the formidable *Papirius* to deal with, they took Courage again, and their former Ardour for the War revived. A new Enemy likewiſe roſe up againſt *Rome*; the *Apulians*, who had heretofore voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Romans*, now revolted to their Enemies. So that they obliged the *Romans*, who otherwiſe would have had only the *Samnites* to contend with, to divide their Troops. The two Wars employed the two *Conſuls*; it fell to *Sulpicius*'s Lot to command the Army which was to enter *Samnium*, whilſt the *Conſul Aulius* commanded that which was to puniſh the *Apulians*.

Val. Paterculus, B. 1. *Liv. B.* 8. *c.* 37.

The two *Conſuls* marched to their different Provinces, but found not a very plentiful Harveſt of Glory. Both the *Apulians* and *Samnites* kept themſelves in fortified Places, and did not appear in the Field, So that the whole Fruit of the Campaign, was no more, than taking a little Booty, and doing a great deal of Miſchief. In the mean time, the *Romans* who were in the City, were ſtruck with one of thoſe Pannicks, which unforeſeen Accidents often occaſion, without Reaſon. In the midſt of the Night, a Report ran through *Rome*, that ſome armed Men had ſeized the Walls, the Gates, and the Citadel. Upon this, the whole City took the Alarm; every one ran out of his Houſe, crying, *To Arms, To Arms*;



99 Authors diſagree very much about the Name of this City. Moſt call it *Luceria*, ſome *Nuceria*; and of late Years, it has borne the Name of *Nocera*. The ancient Geographers place it below *Teanum*, towards the South, at a little diſtance from the *Cerbalus*, now the *Cervaro*. The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, gives it the Surname of *Apula*.... *Luceria Apula:* and it is ſo called in the ancient Itineraries. It is the ſame Place which has ſince been called *Nuceria Saracenorum*; becauſe the *Saracens* raiſed it out of its Ruins, and inhabited it, till the time of *Charles the Second*, King of *Sicily*. Hence it had the Names of *Nocera delli Saraceni*, and *Lucera delli Pagani*, to diſtinguiſh it from three other Cities of the ſame Name: one of which was in *Campania*, a ſecond in *Umbria*, and the third in *Gallia Ciſpadana*. According to *Strabo*, *Luceria* was one of the moſt conſiderable Cities, for its Antiquity, of any in *Italy*. He ſays, *B.* 6. that in his time, there yet remained ſome ſure Marks of the Arrival of *Diomedes*, and the Conqueſts he made in this Country. There were in *Lucania*, eſpecially in the Temple of *Minerva*, ſome ancient Monuments, which proved, that this City had been in being, ſeveral Centuries. But *Strabo* tells us, that under the Empire of *Auguſtus*, it had already loſt much of its former Luſtre. There are yet ſome Remains of it to be ſeen in *Apulia Daunia*, or *The Capatinata*, a Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*. We find the Name of this City on a Medal, the Face of which is the Head of *Hercules*; and the Reverſe, a Quiver, a Club, and a Bow, with this Inſcription, Louceri. As a great Number of Cities in *Italy* boaſted of being founded by *Hercules*, they paid a particular Worſhip to this God; and took care to engrave his Name, Figure, and Symbols, on Marble and Braſs. Thus *D. Hal.* tells us, *B.* 1. That Temples, or Altars, were erected in Honour to *Hercules*, in moſt of the Roads in *Italy*; and That his Memory was in great Eſteem among the different Nations in this Country.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXX. C. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Aulius Cerretanus, Conſuls.

and the Fright was not over, till Day appeared. And then, upon the ſtricteſt Enquiry, neither the Author, nor Cauſe, of the Report could be diſcovered. Thus, even the wiſeſt of Men are often deluded and cheated, by their Fears and Precautions.

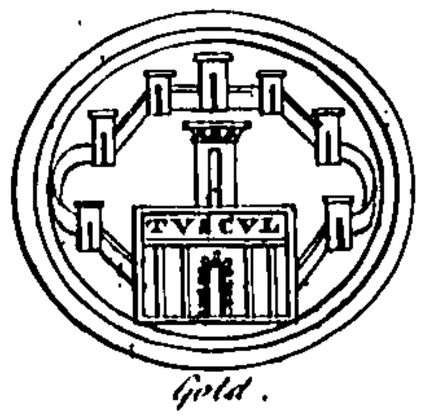
Another Accident ſowed the Seeds of an eternal Quarrel between two of the *Roman Tribes*. One of the *Tribunes of the People* thought fit, tho' a little too late, to accuſe the *Tuſculani* of having formerly betrayed the Intereſts of *Rome*; and he brought an Accuſation againſt them before the People, for having been the Authors of the old Revolt of the *Veliterni* and *Privernates*, againſt the Republick. At the Requeſt of the *Tribune*, the *Tuſculani* were cited to appear; and they came to *Rome*, with their Wives and Children, and preſented themſelves before their Judges. All the *Tribes*, by whoſe Suffrages the Affair was to be determined, were aſſembled in *Comitia*; and the unfortunate *Tuſculani* appeared in Mourning, and threw themſelves at their Feet, imploring their Aſſiſtance, and endeavouring to ſoften them. The City of *Tuſculum* [100] itſelf was comprehended within the *Tribes*, as having been incorporated into the [101] *Papirian*; and this was a Reaſon, why the other *Tribes* ſhould eſpouſe its Intereſts: But it was really guilty; and there was no Way of ſcreening it from the Puniſhment it had deſerved, but by an Act of Grace. And when the *Tribes* came to vote, the *Pollian* [102] *Tribe* alone, was for treating the Accuſed with Rigour; and declared for puniſhing all the *Tuſculani*, who had arrived at the Age of *Puberty*, with Death; and for making Slaves of all their Wives and Children. So ſevere a Judgment therefore, raiſed ſuch Animoſities between the *Pollian* and *Papirian Tribes*, as laſted as long as the Republick itſelf. From that time, no Candidate of the *Pollian Tribe* could ever obtain any Dignity, by the Conſent and Suffrages of the *Papirian*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXI. Q. Fabius, L. Fulvius Curvus, Conſuls.

§. XXV. But theſe Broils at home did not make the *Romans* forget their Enemies abroad. They changed their *Conſuls*, and choſe two of approved Valour, to oppoſe the *Samnites* and *Apulians*. Theſe Heroes were *Q. Fabius*, who had lately ſignalized himſelf by a Victory, which he had gained, by acting contrary to the Orders of his *Dictator*; and *L. Fulvius*, ſurnamed *Curvus*. I know not from what Memoirs *Livy* took his Account of their *Conſulate*; ſince he inclines, to deprive them of the Glory of a Campaign, in which they entirely ſubdued the Enemies of *Rome*; and to refuſe them the Honours of a Triumph, with which they were rewarded. But we ſhall, upon the Credit of better Monuments, relate the Part they bore in the Succeſs of this proſperous Year; and not aſcribe it to a *Dictator*, whom we ſhall ſee ſo far from engaging in Battels, as to continue in utter Inaction.

Faſt. Capit. Auth. de Vir. Illuſt.

The *Samnites* and *Apulians* perſiſted in their Obſtinacy; the one, in breaking the Truce they had made; the other, in making War on the Republick, whoſe Yoke they had ſhaken off. Theſe Enemies to *Rome* had aſſembled together all the



Gold.

100 *Tuſculum*, already ſpoken of *Vol.* 1. *p.* 208. *Note* 51. was a City of *Old Latium*, thirteen Miles Eaſt of *Rome*, as we have already obſerved. This City, which ſtood upon the Declivity of a Hill, had been built, according to ancient Authors, by *Telegonus* the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*; it received the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip* in the Year of *Rome* 373, (ſee above, *p.* 55. of this Volume) and was then one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of the *Roman* State. We find ſome Footſteps, and the Repreſentation or Plan, of this City, on the Medal above, which we take from *Charles Patin*, who has placed it among the Medals of the *Sulpician* Family.

101 The Papirian Tribe took its Name from the Family of the *Papirii*, who were of it. We have elſewhere obſerved, that ſeveral *Roman Tribes* changed their firſt Names, which they had taken from the Places where they were ſituated, for others taken from the illuſtrious Families, which were enrolled in them.

102 We have already ſpoken of the *Pollian Tribe*, as well as of the *Papirian*, *p.* 36. of this Volume, *Note* 97.

Nations

Nations in their Neighbourhood, and raiſed a formidable Army. And the *Conſular* Troops were likewiſe more numerous than uſual. *Fabius* and *Fulvius* marched together, without dividing their Army into two Bodies, and entered *Samnium*, reſerving the War with the *Apulians*, till they had overcome the *Samnites*. They pitched their firſt Camp in a Place not very advantageous; becauſe they thought the Enemy far enough off to give them time to fortify it at Leiſure. But they inſtantly found themſelves ſurrounded with all the *Samnite* Army; whoſe Boldneſs was ſuch, that they ventured to march up quite to the advanced Guards of the *Romans*, and with Stakes in their Hands began to fortify themſelves, cloſe to the *Conſul*'s Camp. Their Numbers increaſed their Confidence; ſo that the *Romans* expected a Battel the next Day; for Night came on ſoon, and, for the preſent, ſuſpended Hoſtilities on both Sides.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXI.
Q. Fabius, L. Fulvius Curvus, Conſuls.

But as the *Conſuls* were not yet ready to give Battel, and as their Poſt ſeemed neither well enough choſen for their Army to find Subſiſtence there, nor well enough fortified for them to be able to maintain it in caſe of an Attack, they reſolved to decamp before Day. They therefore lighted Fires in ſeveral Parts of their Camp, to deceive the Enemy, and by the help of the Darkneſs retired out of it. But as ſilent as the *Romans* were in their March, the *Samnites* watched them too narrowly to ſuffer them to eſcape their Vigilance: The *Samnite* Cavalry followed cloſe in the Rear of the *Romans*, without beginning any Attack in the Night, but with full Reſolution to fall upon them as ſoon as it was Day. But the *Samnite* Infantry was not drawn out into the Plain till Break of Day. At length, the Light appeared, and the Enemy's Cavalry immediately entered upon Action, and fell upon the Rear-Guard of the *Romans*. It harraſſed them chiefly in the narrow Paſſes, retarded their March, and by continually following and fatiguing them, gave the *Samnite* Infantry time to come up and join it. Then the *Romans* were preſs'd hard by the Enemy's whole Army; and it being dangerous for them to advance, for fear of expoſing their Rear-Guard too much, the *Conſuls* choſe to halt in the Place in which they then happened to be. They had already marked out the Lines for forming a Camp; but the *Samnite* Cavalry, which was hovering about them, would not ſuffer the *Roman* Soldiers to come at the Wood to cut Palliſades. There was therefore no Remedy left, but to hazard a Battel. With this View, the *Conſuls* began their Preparations with ſeparating their Baggage from the Body of their Army, and ordering it to be placed at a Diſtance, without any Guard to defend it. This was a Bait for the *Samnites*. Then the Troops on both Sides were drawn up in Battalia, and the *Conſuls* placed their *Legions* in the uſual Order. The *Haſtati* fought in the firſt Line, the *Principes* in the ſecond, and the *Triarii* in the third: And Spaces were left between each of theſe Bodies, and between the *Manipuli* of which they conſiſted, to ſerve for Paſſes, in caſe of a Retreat. On the other hand, the *Samnites* drew up their Troops, according to their Way of fighting. Their Army was at leaſt equal in Number to that of the *Romans*; and the Advantage they thought they had gained over them, in forcing them to decamp, fluſhed them. *They are Fugitives*, ſaid they, *who are ſeized with Fear, and who would not fight, if Neceſſity did not compel them to it.* The Prepoſſeſſions of Soldiers are of great Weight in the Deciſion of Battels; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that the Victory wavered ſo long between the two Parties. Beſides, the *Samnites* had too often engaged the *Romans*, to be terrified at the great Shouts they made, when they gave the firſt Onſet.

The Battel was ſo furious from nine in the Morning till two in the Afternoon, that the *Romans* had not time, all that while, to renew their Shouts, which they uſually did, when they renewed the Attack, after a little Ceſſation. The obſtinate fury of both Armies continued without Interruption. Both *Romans* and *Samnites* continued the Fight, without giving themſelves time to breathe, or look behind them. But it is ſurprizing, that during the whole time that this firſt long Attack laſted, the firſt Line of the *Romans* never changed its Poſt, its *Manipuli* ſtood their Ground without falling back into the Spaces in the ſecond Line; and all its Colours continued fixed in their Places. The Animoſity and the Reſiſtance on both Sides were equal. In all Appearance, nothing but Fatigue, or the Night, could abate the Vivacity of theſe brave Men, who were ſo deſperately bent upon fighting.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXI. Q. FABIUS, L. FULVIUS CURVUS, Conſuls.

THE Deſire of Victory kept both Generals in Suſpence between Hope and Fear. After having exerted themſelves to the uttermoſt, they ſaw that their Troops would loſe their Strength before they loſt their Courage, and that their Arms would be blunted, before they left off fighting. But at length, a falſe Step taken by the *Samnite* Horſe, determined the Fate of the Battel, and gave the *Romans* the Victory.

ONE of the Enemy's Squadrons was advanced beyond the two Armies, and had diſcovered the Place, where the *Roman* Baggage was laid up, as it were, for Safety and Secrecy, during the Battel: and this was enough to rouze the Paſſion Soldiers generally have for Plunder. One *Samnite* Squadron drew on another, and they all haſted to get their Share of the Booty, which lay in their Way. One of the *Roman* Generals was informed of this, and foreſaw, that it muſt in the end turn to his Advantage; and ſaid to him, who brought him the News, *Let them go on.* In the mean time, the *Romans* took the Alarm; every one was afraid of being left deſtitute of his Proviſions and Utenſils, in an Enemy's Country. But the *Conſul*, being under no Concern himſelf, encouraged them. He ſent for the General [103] of the *Roman* Horſe, and ſaid to him; *You ſee the* Samnite *Army is deſerted by its Cavalry: Go you, and fall upon it with Yours. You will find it ſcattered about in Diſorder, as is always the Caſe in a Plunder. Watch the Opportunity, when the Horſes are loaded with Spoil, and the Pillagers have laid aſide their Arms; and then attack them. Share the Glory of the Day, with the* Conſuls. *We will be anſwerable for the Infantry: Do you take care of the Cavalry.* Then the *Roman* Squadrons, which were well armed, came and fell inſtantly upon the Enemy's Horſe, which were out of their Ranks, and their Riders diſmounted, and wholly intent upon pillaging. Being diſperſed among the Bundles with which they were loading their Horſes, they were not in a Condition to make any long Reſiſtance. They were likewiſe as little able to fly as fight; and were therefore partly cut in pieces by the *Romans*, and partly trodden under foot by their own Horſes, and thoſe of the Enemy. In ſhort, there was a terrible Slaughter made of the *Samnite* Cavalry: inſomuch, that it may be ſaid to have been then ſo entirely deſtroyed, as to have been never able to recover itſelf.

BUT this did not ſatisfy the *Roman* Cavalry. They, by Order of their General, marched a great way round about, after this happy Expedition, and came and fell on the Rear of the *Samnite* Infantry, which was yet fighting with great Bravery. Then the Shouts, which the firſt Lines of the Enemy's Army heard from behind their laſt Line, terrified them. The *Samnites* plainly perceived, that they were attacked in the Rear; and the *Conſuls* ſuſpected it. They ſaw the Line facing them, retire by little and little, loſe Ground, and remove their Colours from Place to Place; which made the *Romans* wholly intent on preſſing the Enemy with the more Vigour. The *Conſuls* marched between the Ranks, encouraged the *Tribunes* and inferior Officers, and engaged them to renew the Fight. They made a great Shout, as a Signal of Joy, returned upon the *Samnites*, beat them down, broke into them; and the farther they came, the greater Conſternation they found among them. And at length, the *Conſuls* diſcovered the Cauſe of it. They ſaw their own Cavalry, mixed among the Enemy's Battalions, which it had broken through. This they diſcovered by their Standards, which they ſaw diſplayed, and made their Troops take notice of it. Upon which, the *Romans* depended on the entire Defeat of the Enemy: And indeed, it was no longer a Fight, but a Slaughter. The *Roman* Soldiers forgot their Wounds, and the Fatigue of a Battel, which had laſted almoſt the whole Day; and flew upon the Enemy with as much Vigour, as if they had but juſt marched freſh out of their Camp.

THEN the *Samnites*, being ſhut in on both Sides by the *Roman* Cavalry and Infantry, diſperſed. Thoſe who continued about their Colours, were cruelly ſlaughtered by the Infantry; and the reſt, which were diſperſed and fled, were cut

[103] According to *Livy*, neither of the *Conſuls* was concerned in this important Action. The Stratagem here mentioned, was invented by the *Dictator*, *Aulus Cornelius Coſſus Arvina*. And he adds, that *Marcus Fabius Ambuſtus* was entruſted with the Execution of it, at the Head of the Cavalry, who had all the Glory of the Succeſs. But he ſpeaks agreably to the Prejudices he had imbibed from faulty Memoirs, as we obſerve a little lower.

in pieces by the Cavalry, which purſued them. The *Samnite* General himſelf was found among the Dead. Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXI.

AFTER ſo terrible a Defeat, one would imagine that the *Samnite* Nation muſt have been brought into perpetual Subjection; but it nevertheleſs found a Remedy in its greateſt Misfortunes: and we ſhall ſee it recover its Loſſes, and riſe again, as it were, out of its Aſhes. This Blow indeed ſtaggered its Leaders, and made them reflect ſeriouſly on their Violation of their Oaths, and their having committed Hoſtilities, before the Truce expired. In all their Diets, the Deputies declared, that it was not at all ſurprizing, that their Affairs declined, ſince they had, by their Want of Fidelity, drawn upon themſelves the Anger of the Gods. *Our ill Succeſs*, ſaid they, *is not ſo much the Effect of the Valour of the* Romans, *as the Work of Heaven. The immortal Gods are only to be appeaſed with Blood. And it is therefore better to ſhed that of a few Criminals, than to expoſe a whole Nation to Slaughter, in unſucceſsful Battels.* Then the Authors of the Breach of the Treaty were enquired after; and *Brutulus Papius* was immediately thought on, and his Name was almoſt in every Mouth. *Brutulus* was a Man of great Diſtinction in his Country, but of a turbulent Spirit; and he had been the chief Inſtrument of violating the Truce, before it ended. The principal Magiſtrates of the *Samnites* were therefore forced, by the great Clamours that were made againſt him, to execute the Revenge of the Publick upon him, and pronounce a Decree againſt him, which was afterwards put in Execution. This Decree was, *That* Brutulus *ſhould be delivered up to the* Romans; *and That the Effects and Captives taken during the Truce, and in ſhort, whatever their* Feciales *had demanded, ſhould be reſtored them.*

Q. FABIUS, L. FULVIUS CURVUS, Conſuls.

THE unfortunate *Brutulus* was immediately put into the Hands of ſome *Samnite* Ambaſſadors, who were deputed to carry him to *Rome*, and with him, all the Spoils taken from the *Romans*, in the laſt War. But the Priſoner would neither venture to try the Revenge, or experience the Clemency of the Senate, which was to judge him; for he killed himſelf before he came to *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, the Ambaſſadors of *Samnium* continued their Journey, and delivered up to the *Romans*, the dead Body of the Criminal, whom they could not ſurrender alive. As for the Spoil, *Rome* accepted of only a Part of it, received the Captives, and cauſed Reſtitution to be made to every private Perſon, of all that he could know to have been his own. The reſt, the *Romans* rejected, tho' offered by way of Reſtitution; and it is ſurprizing, that the *Samnites* could not obtain a Peace, by ſo ſignal an Act of perfect Juſtice. It is probable, they ſtill continued obſtinate, in refuſing to comply with certain Terms which the *Romans* required of them. However, ſo compleat a Victory well deſerved a Triumph for the two *Conſuls* who had gained it: but *Q. Fabius* was engaged elſewhere. At leaſt, it's certain, *Faſt. Capit.* that he went alone to reduce the *Apulians* to their Duty, and gained ſuch Advantages over them, as afterwards gave him a double Title to a Triumph. And whilſt he was winning Battels, *Fulvius*, his Collegue, returned to the City, which he entred in Triumph, on the ſeventeenth Day of 104 *February*, the Feſtival 105 of *Quirinus*. *Fabius* puniſhed the *Apulians*, took a great deal of Booty from them, and returned

104 *The thirteenth of the Calends of March* was, indeed, the Day appointed for the Feſtival celebrated in Honour to *Quirinus*. Some Compilers of the old *Roman* Calendar, are miſtaken, in placing the *Quirinalia*, on *The 12th of the Calends of March*, that is, the 18th of *February*. Of this we need no other Proof, than the following Lines of *Ovid*'s *Faſti*. After ſpeaking of the *Lupercalia*, he adds,

Proxima Lux vacua eſt, at tertia dicta Quirino;
Qui tenet hoc Nomen, Romulus ante fuit.

It is plain, that *Ovid* here puts but one Day between the *Lupercalia*, and the *Quirinalia*. Now the former was fixed to *The 15th of the Calends of March*, or to the 15th of *February*, which is the ſame thing. The *Quirinalia* muſt therefore fall on the 17th Day of that Month. It is fixed to this Day in an ancient Marble, on which we find ſome Footſteps of the *Old Calendar*. Beſides, it is plain, from the *Faſti Capitolini*, which have conveyed down to us the Knowledge of the double Triumph of the two *Conſuls*, *Lucius Fulvius Curvus*, and *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, that the Day appointed for the *Quirinalia*, was the Day before *The 12th of the Calends of March*, which was the 18th Day of *February*. The Inſcription is this. L. FULVIUS, L. F. L. N. CURVUS Cos. ANN. CDXXXI. DE SAMNITIBUS QUIRINALIBUS Q. FABIUS M. F. N. N. MAXIMUS RULLIANUS ANN. C.D.XXXI. Cos. DE SAMNITIBUS, ET APULEIS XII. K. MART. That is, L. Fulvius, *the Son of* Lucius, *and Grandſon of* Lucius, *ſurnamed* Curvus, *triumphed over the* Samnites, *in the Year of* Rome 431, *on the Day of the* Quirinalia; Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus, *the Son of* Marcus, *and Grandſon of* Numerius, *triumphed over the* Samnites, *and* Apulians, *in the Year of* Rome 431, *on* The 12th of the Calends of March.

105 We have already ſpoken of the Inſtitution of the

Year of ROME CCCCXXXI. Q. Fabius, L. Fulvius Curvus, Conſuls.

returned to *Rome*, which he entred in a Triumphal Chariot, and with a particular Mark of Diſtinction. In the Monuments erected to the Glory of theſe triumphant Victors, it was ſaid, that *Fulvius* had ſubdued the *Samnites*; but that *Fabius* had conquered both the *Samnites* and *Apulians*.

It is true, one *A. Cornelius* was choſen *Dictator* in this very Year, and *Fabius Ambuſtus* nominated by him to be his General of Horſe; and hence comes the Miſtake of ſome Memoirs which *Livy* followed. He had found in them, That the *Dictator* had the Government in his Hands, at the time of the Defeat of the *Samnites*; and That to him was aſcribed all the Honour of this fine Action. But the *Faſti Capitolini* have informed us better; and upon their Authority, we have corrected the Relation of the *Latin* Hiſtorian. *Cornelius* was choſen *Dictator*, only to preſide at the [106] *Games*, in the Abſence of the *Conſuls*, and during the Sickneſs of the *Prætor* for the Year. He gave the [107] Signal for the Chariots to ſtart at the Race; and all he had to do, were things of a trivial nature. Thus have we cleared up an hiſtorical Fact, which embaraſſed *Livy* himſelf. He aſcribes the Obſcurity of the Hiſtory of ancient Times, to Funeral Harangues. It was then cuſtomary, as it ſtill is, for every Family to magnify its Heroes, not only by aſſerting ſuch things of them as were falſe; but ſuch likewiſe as robbed others of the Glory, which they had deſerved. What more fatal to Hiſtory, than thoſe Panegyricks, which abound more with Flattery, than Truth!

the Feſtival of the *Quirinalia*, which was celebrated at *Rome*, in Honour to *Romulus*, who was ſurnamed *Quirinus*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 51. *Note* 169; to which we here add, that the *Romans* commonly called this Feſtival, *The Feſtival of Fools*, *Feriæ Stultorum*. This was the Name given to thoſe of the People, who had not ſolemnized the *Fornacalia*, a Feſtival inſtituted by *Numa*, in Honour to the Goddeſs *Fornax*, a Divinity of his own Invention: agreably to theſe Lines of *Ovid Faſti*, *B.* 2.

Tacita Dea eſt Fornax; læti Fornace Coloni
Orant ut Fruges temperet illa ſuas.

She preſided over Ovens. Her Offerings were uſually parched Corn, and a kind of Cakes; the reaſon of which, *Pliny* gives us, *B.* 18. on the Authority of *Hemina*, an ancient Author. *Numa inſtituit Deos fruge colere, & mola ſalſa ſupplicare, atque far torrere, quoniam toſtum cibus ſalubrior eſſet; id uno modo conſecutum, ſtatuendo non eſſe purum ad rem divinam niſi toſtum; & Fornacalia inſtituit, farris torrendis Ferias.* As this Feſtival was fixed to no Day in the Year, it was one of thoſe which were called *Indictivæ Feriæ*, and *Imperativæ Feriæ*. The chief *Curio* uſed to fix it for each *Curia*, on any Day the *Conſul* or *Prætor* pleaſed. Thoſe of the People, who knew not when the Feſtival-day was, or had neglected to ſolemnize it, transferred the Ceremony of the *Fornacalia*, to the *Quirinalia*; which was therefore called *Feriæ Stultorum*. *Ovid* ſays as much, *Faſti*, *B.* 2.

Curio legitimis tunc Fornacalia verbis
Maximus indicit, nec ſtata ſacra facit....
Stultaque pars populi, quæ ſit ſua Curia neſcit,
Sed facit extrema ſacra relicta die.

Add to this, that the *Fornacalia* was one of thoſe publick Feſtivals, which all the People were obliged to obſerve. *Popularia ſacra ſunt*, ſays *Feſtus*, *quæ omnes Cives faciunt, nec certis familiis attributa ſunt, Fornacalia, Palilia, Lararia, &c.*

[106] As long as the Republick ſubſiſted, the *Conſuls*, and in their Abſence, the *Prætor of Rome*, preſided at the *Games*, and gave the Signal for beginning the Shews. This *Ennius* declares in *Tully*'s firſt Book, *De Divinatione*.

.....Veluti Conſul cum mittere ſignum
Vult, omnes avidi expectant ad carceris oras.

In default of theſe Magiſtrates, a *Dictator* was created in their room, to exerciſe the Office of Preſident; as *Livy* tells us, in ſeveral Places. In the firſt Ages of the Empire, this Prerogative belonged to the *Prætor*, according to *Martial*, *B.* 12.

Cretatam Prætor cum vellet mittere mappam
Prætori mappam ſubripit Hermogenes.

Sometimes the Emperors performed this Office, or honoured ſome of their *Freed-Men* with it.

[107] This Signal was different, at different times. *Quintilian* ſays, it was a Napkin, or Piece of Stuff, which the Hiſtorians call *Mappa*. The Magiſtrate uſed to throw it up to the top of the Amphitheatre. *Caſſiodorus*, *Cedrenus*, *Tertullian*, and *Suetonius*, ſpeak of this Cuſtom. Some pretend, that before Nero's time, a lighted Torch was the uſual Signal for the *Games*; as it was among the *Greeks*. But however that be, the beginning of the Shews was always proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet.

Inde ubi clara dedit ſonitum Tuba, finibus omnis
Haud mora proſiluere ſuis. Virg. Æneid. 5.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XVIII.

§. I. IT was now time for *Rome* to experience ſome little Change of Fortune, in her Turn. An uninterrupted Proſperity would have lulled her into a Security. The *Romans* had indeed been always haughty and imperious; but they had purſued one very ſenſible Maxim; which was to pardon the Nations which ſubmitted, and to treat none with Rigour, but the proud and the untractable. But they were now grown a little neglectful of this noble Rule of Conduct. Repeated Exploits, and too conſtant a Succeſs, had juſt blinded them. The laſt Year, the proud Republick had ſeen the *Samnites* at her Feet, begging Pardon, and reſtoring what they had taken from her. The Senate had accepted of the greateſt Part of what they offered; and yet had rejected their Petition. So that the *Samnite* Nation was reduced to Deſpair. Being therefore too proud to ſubmit abſolutely to the *Romans*, and too weak to reſiſt them by Force, they reſolved to make War, but with Caution; and to try what Cunning could do againſt an Enemy ſo formidable in Battel.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXII. T. VETURIUS CALVINUS, SP. POSTUMIUS, Conſuls.

WHILST the *Romans* were chuſing *Titus* [1] *Veturius*, ſurnamed *Calvinus*, and *Sp. Poſtumius*, *Conſuls*, in their *Comitia*; the *Samnites*, in their Aſſembly, placed an able General at the Head of their Troops. His Name was *Pontius*: and as skilful as he was in the Art of War, his Father *Herminius* ſurpaſſed him in Wiſdom. He had commanded the Armies of his Country in his younger Days, but now led a private Life; and without aſſiſting at publick Councils, he only ſent them prudent Advice; being ambitious of no other Glory but that of ſupporting his Republick, when attacked, by his Wiſdom. The Diet of the *Samnites* was then aſſembled; and the Ambaſſadors made their Report to it, after their Return from *Rome*; and as ſoon as it was known what an haughty Reception the Envoys had met with at *Rome*, *Pontius* harangued the Deputies, and exhorted them not to fear Succeſs, in a War which Neceſſity alone obliged the Nation to carry on, with an inexorable People, who refuſed them a Peace. *By no means imagine*, ſaid he, *that our Embaſſy to* Rome *has been wholly without Effect. By this equitable Proceeding, we have averted far from* Samnium, *all thoſe Calamities which the Anger of Heaven had in Reſerve for us. The having nothing more to fear from the Gods, is a great Step towards Succeſs in Arms. The immortal Gods are now no longer our Enemies. As many Misfortunes as the Injuſtice of breaking a Treaty contrary to the Law of Nations, has brought upon us, ſo many Calamities will the Inhumanity of the* Romans, *who received our Reſtitution with Haughtineſs, draw upon them. What could have been done to appeaſe the Gods, or pacify Men, which we have not performed? We have reſtored the Spoils which were unjuſtly taken away. We have delivered up the Author of the Injuſtice dead, ſince we could not ſurrender him*

[1] Neither *Livy*, nor *Caſſiodorus*, nor the *Greek Tables*, tell us how many times either of theſe *Conſuls* had been raiſed to the *Conſulate*. But it is nevertheleſs certain, that this happened the firſt time in the Year of *Rome* 419; ſo that this Year 432, was their ſecond *Conſulſhip*. *Tully* confirms this, *De Offic.* B. 3. where he ſays theſe Magiſtrates were *Conſuls* a ſecond time, when the *Romans* were overcome near *Caudium*. *T. Veturius & Sp. Poſtumius, cum iterum Conſules eſſent, &c.* *Zonaras* has given *Veturius* the falſe *Prænomen* of *Tiberius*; nor is the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men* leſs miſtaken, in giving him that of *Caius*. So if their Names are any Proof of it, both theſe *Conſuls* ſeem to have been *Patricians*, contrary to the Cuſtom of that Time, which was, equally to divide the Honours of the *Conſulate* between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXII. T. VETURIUS CALVINUS, SP. POSTUMIUS, Conſuls.

alive; and what could Rome *deſire more? Let all the Nations of* Italy *be our Judges. Or if our paſt Misfortunes, and the Credit of the* Romans, *ſhould incline our Neighbours to condemn us, I would appeal from them, to the Tribunal of the Gods, whoſe Judgment is not to be corrupted. What Puniſhment will they not think due to an inſatiable People, whom our moſt humble Acknowledgments and Reparations could not ſatisfy? Is it neceſſary that we ſhould ſubmit to have our very Bowels torn out, to glut their Rage? The War we are going to undertake is therefore juſt, becauſe neceſſary; and will be ſucceſsful, becauſe juſt. I am not at all ſurprized at our ill Succeſs in the preceding Campaigns. The Gods would not countenance Enterprizes which were contrary to the Law of Nations. But now, that Juſtice accompanies our Arms, and Heaven conducts them, what Succeſs have we not Reaſon to expect!*

THE *Samnite* General, doubtleſs directed by his Father, reaſoned upon ſound Principles; and his Predictions proved but too true, as the *Romans* unhappily experienced. *Pontius* took the Field with his Troops without Delay; and thought the Country about [2] *Caudium* a proper Place to be the Seat of the War. This was a little City of *Samnium*, encompaſſed with a weak Wall: But the Ground about it was judged very convenient for laying Ambuſhes. The City was ſurrounded with Mountains, environed with Woods, and the Marſhes, with which the Valleys about it were filled, made it difficult of Acceſs. The *Samnite* Army therefore hid itſelf behind the Mountains, and lay in Ambuſh in the Woods, till the *Romans* arrived.

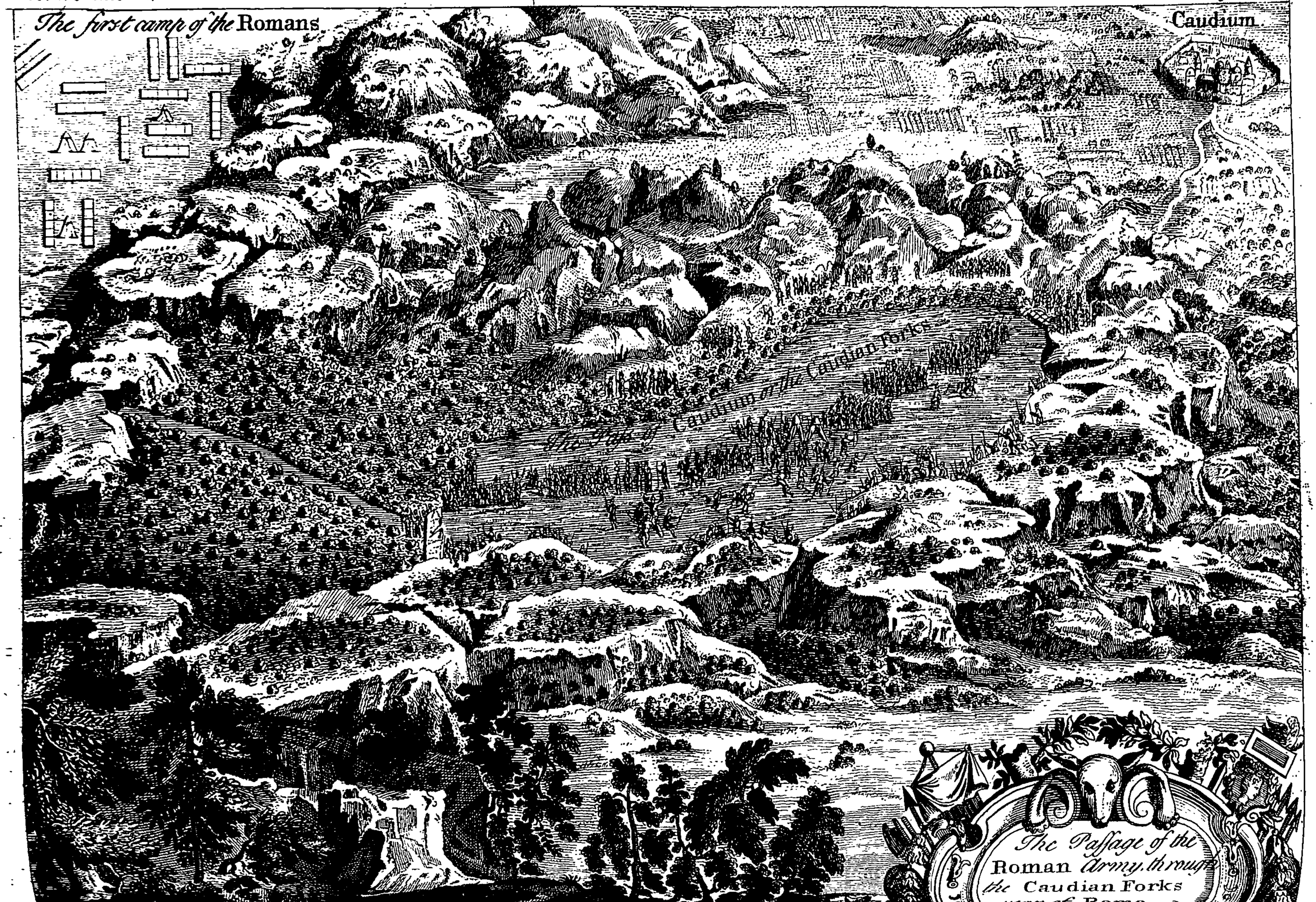
Frontinus de Coloniis.

As ſoon as *Pontius* underſtood, that the *Conſuls* had brought their *Legions* to *Calatia*, a City of *Campania*, which was little more than a large League diſtant from *Caudium*, he gave the *Romans* time to encamp, before he appeared in the Plain. He did not propoſe to ſubdue them by Force; but hoped by Addreſs, and his Knowledge of the Country, to ſurprize them. He let them loiter away ſome time in their Entrenchments, and tire themſelves with Inaction; and then privately ſpread about a Report, that the *Samnite* Army was at a great Diſtance from *Caudium*, and buſy in laying Siege to *Luceria*, in *Apulia*. The *Roman* Generals muſt ſurely have been at little Expence in Spies, ſince they did not know the Enemy was ſo near, but thought them employed in a Siege, in another Place. *Pontius* indeed uſed Artifice to deceive the *Conſuls*: He diſperſed ten of his Soldiers, Men of Spirit and Reſolution, between *Caudium* and *Calatia*, who dreſſed themſelves like Shepherds, and led ſeveral Flocks into the Plain. Theſe were often taken by the *Romans*, and brought before the *Conſuls*, and they all agreed in one Account, that *Pontius* had marched his *Samnites* towards *Luceria*, and beſieged that City. Upon the Teſtimony of theſe ſuborned Men, the Council of War thought it proper to march the *Legions* to the Defence of this beſieged and faithful Town. It was not a Queſtion whether they ſhould march to meet the Enemy; the only Difficulty was, what Rout they ſhould take. Some, and thoſe the wiſeſt, were for marching the fartheſt Way about, for paſſing the *Apennines*, coaſting for ſome time along the *Adriatick* Sea, and falling down upon *Luceria* that Way. Others, and thoſe the greater Number, preferred the ſhorteſt Way to the ſafeſt. So that the latter Opinion prevailed; and the *Romans* were ſo little apprehenſive of any Interruption in their March, that they ventured to lead their Troops into terrible Paſſes, and to climb up Rocks which ſeemed unpaſſable. The Paſſes ſeemed at firſt to be open, till they came near *Caudium*. But there the Enemy waited for them in the Woods, and kept a

Liv. B. 9. c. 2. Eutropius, Florus, Zonaras, Oroſius, &c.

2 *Caudium*, which Authors incorrectly call *Claudium*, was a City belonging to the *Hirpini*, according to *Pliny the Naturaliſt*; or to the Territory of the *Samnites*, according to *Ptolomy*. *Cluverius* ſuppoſes it ſtood in the Place now called *Airola*; and near it, he places *The Caudian Forks*, in a very ſtrait Paſſage, at a little Diſtance from the City of *St. Agatha*. A little River, called by the ancient Geographers *Iſclerus Amnis*, now the *Iſclero*, runs thro' the middle of this Strait, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Valturnus*. *Holſtenius* is of Opinion, that *Caudium* ſtood on the Ground where the Town of *Arpaia*, formerly *Harpadium Hirpinum*, now ſtands, in *The Further Principality*, on the Confines of *Terra di Lavoro*. In Proof of this, he quotes *Erchembert's Hiſtory of Lombardy*, *Leo of Oſtia's Chronicon*, and ſeveral ancient Inſcriptions which have been dug up there. As for *The Caudian Forks*, he finds them in a very narrow Paſſage, which leads from *Arpaia* to *Argentium*, or *Arienzo*. This Paſs is near a Village which the Natives call *Le Furchie* to this Day; and ſome Ruins of *The Appian Way* are to be ſeen in it. But others think *The Caudian Forks* are two very narrow Paſſes of the *Val de Gardano*, in *The Further Principality*.

3 *Cluverius* takes old *Calatia* to have been the ſame City which is now called *Caiaſſo*, or *Gaiaſſo*, in the *Terra di Lavoro*. *Holſtenius* mentions two *Calatia's*; one between *Capua* and *Beneventum* vulgarly called *Galazze*; the other a Fortreſs below *Caſerta*. *Appian* tells us, that *Julius Cæſar* planted a *Roman Colony* in the City of *Calatia*.


The first camp of the Romans
Caudium
The Plain of Caudium & the Caudian Forks
The Passage of the Roman Army through the Caudian Forks

Year of ROME CCCCXXXII. T. VETURIUS, CALVINUS, SP. POSTUMIUS, Conſuls.

profound Silence. At length, the *Roman* Army came to the fatal Place, which has been known to Poſterity by the Name of *The Caudian Forks*. The *Conſuls* marched their Troops thro' a narrow hollow Way, beſet on each Side with thick Foreſts, and from thence deſcended into a ſpacious Valley, ſo ſurrounded by Nature with Hills, that it looked like an Amphitheatre. It was bounded on all Sides with high Mountains, which were ſo covered with Trees and Briers, as to be utterly unpaſſable. The Flat of the Valley was a marſhy Meadow, which was always moiſt with the Torrents which came rolling down from the Mountains. There was but one Way out of it, which was narrow and ſteep; and the *Samnites* had taken Care to ſtop it up, and guard it with a Body of Troops. When therefore the *Conſuls* gave Orders to clear it, they found it impracticable, by means of the Trees which were thrown down croſs it, and the Heaps of Stones with which it was filled. And then, and not before, the *Romans* began to fear an Ambuſcade, and to ſuſpect that the Enemy was not far off. For fear of being inveſted, they inſtantly turned back again, and endeavoured to get out of the Valley by the hollow Way thro' which they entered it; but in vain. The *Samnites* haſtily built up a dry Wall with the Trees they had prepared, and the Stones they gathered together in haſte; ſo that the *Legions* at laſt found themſelves ſhut in, without a Poſſibility of eſcaping. Then the Soldiers and Officers fixed their Eyes upon one another, wiſhing to diſcover ſome Signs of Hope in their Companions Faces; and all were ſo ſeized with Fear, that they continued immoveable. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſuls* put a good Face upon it; and, as if they had a mind to continue there, ordered the Valley to be meaſured, in order to encamp and fortify themſelves in it. The Soldiers laughed at their Precaution; but, leſt they ſhould add their Diſobedience to the Faults of their Generals, none refuſed to work. They threw up Entrenchments at the Edge of the Water, notwithſtanding the Hiſſes of their Enemies, who from the Tops of the Mountains inſulted them for their fruitleſs Labours.

WHEN the *Romans* were encamped, the chief Officers of the Army, that is, the Lieutenant-Generals, and *Legionary Tribunes*, came to the *Prætorium* of the *Conſuls*, to hold a Council there. They had not been ſent for; either becauſe the Confuſion of the Generals had made them forget it, or becauſe they thought all Deliberations uſeleſs in ſo great an Extremity. But nevertheleſs, it was at leaſt neceſſary, to ſatisfy the Clamours of the Soldiers. They crowded round the *Conſuls* Tent, and demanded a Deliverance; which Heaven itſelf could not give them, without a Miracle: And the time of the Conſultation was rather ſpent in Lamentations, than in finding out wholſome Expedients. At length Night came on, and ſeparated the Officers before they came to any Determination. But the Soldiers, inſtead of taking their Reſt, ſpent it in diſcourſing about the unhappy Situation of their Affairs; every one reaſoning according to his Inclinations, or Humour. *Why don't we march thro' theſe Foreſts*, ſaid ſome, *and climb up theſe Rocks, as long as we are able to carry our Arms? Will the Enemy be able to reſiſt the deſperate Fury of the* Romans, *if we can once come to engage them? Can theſe Cowards, who have been ſo often overcome, withſtand the Valour and Steadineſs of their Conquerors, upon even Ground?* Whilſt others ſaid, *If we would come at the* Samnites, *we muſt remove theſe Mountains, or dig our ſelves a Paſſage thro' theſe impenetrable Rocks. As long as they continue in their Places, we have no Battels to fight, or Enemies to encounter. The* Samnites *will ſee us periſh with Hunger here, without giving themſelves the Trouble of ſtirring out of their Poſts. We are utterly undone, Fellow-Soldiers; our Lives will be very ſhort.*

THUS the *Romans* expreſſed their Deſpair in different Ways; and their Dejection made them neglect both Sleep, and Nouriſhment. On the other hand, the *Samnites*, elated with ſuch ſurprizing Succeſs, could not agree among themſelves, what uſe to make of it. What were they to do with the *Romans*, whom they kept ſhut in? In this Irreſolution, it was the unanimous Opinion of the whole Council of War, that old *Herminius*, the General's Father, and the Oracle of their Nation, ſhould be conſulted. His Age exempted him from military Labours, and he lived retired in his own Houſe, far from *Caudium*. A Courier was therefore diſpatched to him, with a Letter, informing him of the Extremity, to which his Son had reduced the *Roman* Army, by his Addreſs; and deſiring his Advice, what they were to do with an Army hitherto invincible, but now entirely at the

Mercy

Year of ROME CCCCXXXII. T. Veturius Calvinus, Sp. Postumius, Consuls.

Mercy of its Enemies. To this, the wiſe old Man ſent the following Anſwer, which the Officers by no means expected, and which, by its Novelty, ſurprized them. *I adviſe my Son,* ſaid he, *to act an humane Part, open a Paſſage for the* Romans, *and let them return to* Rome, *without either killing, or enſlaving them.* But as much reſpected as *Herminius* was, his Advice was rejected. Perhaps they thought there was ſome Miſtake in expreſſing it, or that they miſunderſtood him. At leaſt, the Courier was ſent back to him a ſecond time; and then the old Man gave a very different Anſwer from the former. *Tell the Council from me,* ſaid he, *that I would not have them ſpare the Life of one* Roman; *but put them all to the Sword, without Mercy.* Theſe ſeemingly contradictory Opinions therefore ſurpriſed the *Samnite* General. He thought his Father's Underſtanding impaired by his great Age. But the Officers of the Council ſaw there was ſome Myſtery in this ſeeming Contradiction; and the Ambiguity itſelf, made them reverence the Anſwer, like that of an Oracle. They therefore preſſed *Pontius* to bring his Father to the Camp, and he at length complied with it, but not without difficulty. The old Man himſelf conſented to be brought to the Army, in a ſort of covered Carriage: and when he came, the Council was aſſembled, and the wiſe *Herminius* was introduced into it. And then, he ſaid, *The two Anſwers, which I ſent you, one after another, contain no Contradiction, if taken ſeparately. I am ſtill of opinion, that you ſhould either freely give the* Romans, *who are in your Power, their Lives and Liberty; or elſe exterminate them all, and not ſpare one of them. The firſt is the wiſeſt Advice; but if you reject that, the other is neceſſary.* Rome *is a powerful State, from whoſe Affection we may hope for the greateſt Benefits, and from whoſe Enmity we have reaſon to fear the greateſt Misfortunes. If we gain her Eſteem by a ſignal Act of Generoſity, we ſecure ourſelves in a happy and laſting Tranquillity. And if, on the other hand, we cut off all the Flower of her Youth, at one Blow, we enſure our Safety at leaſt for a time. So that there is no Medium between theſe two things. Either ſave the* Romans *in ſuch a manner, as to make them your Friends; or deſtroy them ſo effectually, as to render them impotent Enemies.* But *Pontius*, and the Officers of his Army, propoſed a middle Way, neither altogether ſo generous as the former Opinion, nor ſo rigorous as the latter. They were for ſaving the Lives of the *Romans*, but treating them as conquered Perſons, and impoſing ſuch Laws upon them, as ſhould reſtrain their Ardour for Conqueſt. *Trifling!* replied the wiſe old Man. *If you do that, you will neither make* Rome *your Friend, nor diminiſh the Number of your Enemies. To what purpoſe will it be, to have ſaved brave Men, whom you have provoked? You have reaſon to fear the Return of a fierce and revengful Nation. If the Reſtraints of a Treaty ſtifle their Revenge for a time, their Reſentments will ſoon revive; and then nothing will appeaſe their Rage, but the Blood of their Conquerors.* However, *Pontius* would not hearken to the Reaſons of his Father. The moſt agreable Fruit he could reap from his Victory, was to ſee the *Romans* humbled in his Preſence. *We have ſometimes happened to conquer them,* ſaid he; *but we never yet had it in our Power to force them to ſurrender to us. It will be a great Pleaſure to me, to humble their Pride in this reſpect.* Thus the Vanity of a young Conqueror prevailed againſt the true Intereſt of his Country.

Zonaras, B. 7. c. 26. Orſius, B. 3. Liv. B. 9. c. 3. Eutropius, &c.

Oroſius, B. 3.

Whilst the *Samnites* were deliberating in their Camp, about the Fate of the *Romans*, the *Conſular* Army was terribly overwhelmed with Deſpair. It had already languiſhed for ſome Days in the Valley in which it was ſhut up, without Hopes of being able to eſcape. The Scarcity in the inveſted Camp increaſed daily, and no Poſſibility appeared, either of getting Proviſions, or eſcaping out of the Snare. Some Soldiers had indeed endeavoured to get away, but their Attempts had been in vain. The only reaſonable Method ſeemed to be, to ſend a Deputation to the *Samnites* to deſire a Peace upon equitable Terms; or in caſe of a Refuſal to invite them to a Battel. *Pontius* gave the Deputies an haughty Reception, and anſwered them in theſe Terms. *We have no Battels to fight, the Victory is already gained. Nevertheleſs, ſince you will not acknowledge your Defeat, tho' in reality conquered, this I declare to you, that not a Man of you ſhall eſcape out of our Hands, till you have all been diſarmed, and paſſed one by one* under the Yoke. *This is a Preliminary from which I will never depart. As to other Matters, we can ſettle them with the* Romans *upon equal Terms. They ſhall all leave* Samnium; *they*

They ſhall withdraw their Colonies from the Cities they have invaded from us; and then both Nations will live in Peace, each according to its own Laws. Tell your Conſuls *this from me; and if they don't accept my Offers, appear no more in my Preſence.* Theſe Words, when reported in the *Roman* Camp, ſunk the *Legions* into Deſpair. They were in as great a Conſternation at it, as if they had received an Account that they muſt die. The Camp was full of Sighs and Lamentations. But the *Conſuls* continued in Silence. How durſt they declare themſelves in favour of the ſhameful Treaty, which was propoſed to them? And yet, could they refuſe it in the Extremity to which their Army was reduced? Whilſt they were heſitating, and keeping a profound Silence, *L. Lentulus* extricated them out of their Difficulty, and ſpoke. He was a conſiderable Officer in the Army, whoſe Wiſdom had raiſed him to the chief Poſts in it; and he ſeems to have been at the Head of the Deputation to the *Samnites*. His Words were theſe: *I have heard my Father ſay, that he was the only Man who oppoſed the Redemption of the* Capitol, *when, during its being beſieged by the* Gauls, *it was deliberated, whether it were proper to purchaſe its Deliverance with Gold. Our Enemies,* ſaid he, *have thrown up no Entrenchments round us; and tho' it be difficult to get out from hence, yet it is not impoſſible to elude their Vigilance, or make our Way thro' them by our Valour. And in our preſent Circumſtances I ſhould by no means degenerate from the Sentiments of my Father, but be of his Opinion, were it poſſible for us to make Sallies upon the* Samnites, *as our* Romans *formerly did on the* Gauls. *Nay, if we could but ſo much as fight the Enemy, tho' with ever ſo great a Diſadvantage of Ground, I would exhort you to exert your Valour, and animate you to it by my own Example. I would with Joy devote myſelf for my Country's ſake, and would ſeek Death in the midſt of the Battalions, which I would break into before I fell. But theſe are vain Projects! uſeleſs Wiſhes for the Good of our Country! I ſee before me, in a manner, the whole State; all the Strength of the Republick conſiſts in the* Legions *which form this Army. And can they attempt to eſcape, without inevitable Deſtruction? Or will their Deaths turn to the publick Good? It will perhaps be ſaid, that by their Deaths the Walls of* Rome *will be preſerved, and the reſt of the Citizens ſaved by our Deſtruction. But this is a ſtrange Paradox, which tends to the Ruin of thoſe whom we would preſerve. If we periſh, who ſhall defend our Walls in a Siege? Will a confuſed Multitude of diſheartened Men be able to ſuſtain the Attacks of the* Samnites *with more Valour than our Fathers formerly did thoſe of the* Gauls, *who had before defeated them? Will the Republick now find another* Camillus, *and the Remains of another Army retired for Refuge to* Veii? *The whole Power, and all the Reſources of* Rome *are ſhut up with us in this Valley. I will venture to affirm, that if we periſh. our Country will periſh with us; if we eſcape Death, it will revive with us. Now there is no way of ſaving our Lives, but by ſurrendering at Diſcretion. This is very grating to* Roman *Pride. How reproachful, ſay you, how ignominious! I grant it: But nothing is ſhameful, which the Love of one's Country makes neceſſary. You would ſave it at the Expence of your Blood; preſerve it then by ſacrificing a little Glory to it. For the Love of* Rome, *bear Ignominy itſelf; which ſhould be the more tolerable, becauſe abſolutely neceſſary. The Gods themſelves ſubmit to Fate. Go then,* Conſuls, *and don't think it more ſhameful for you to redeem your Country by ſtriping yourſelves of your Arms, than it was for your Fathers to deliver* Rome *with Money.*

Year of ROME CCCCXXXII. T. Veturius Calvinus, Sp. Postumius, Conſuls.

If the Advice *Lentulus* gave was not the moſt honourable, it was at leaſt wholſome. *Rome* would have been utterly loſt, if it had not been followed; the Republick could never have born up after ſo terrible a Blow. The *Conſuls* therefore reſolved to grant the *Samnite* General his Preliminary. They determined to lay down their Arms, and *paſs under the Yoke:* And after ſignifying their Reſolution to *Pontius*, they obtained a Conference with him. At the Interview, the *Samnite* demanded to have a Treaty of Peace concluded with *Rome*; doubtleſs on the Conditions he ſhould preſcribe. But the *Conſuls* entrenched themſelves in Formalities. Our *Dependance on the People and Senate,* ſaid they, *limits our Power, and the Laws preſcribe us certain Ceremonies, one ſingle Defect in which makes our Conventions uſeleſs. We can determine nothing without the Approbation of the People, and the Miniſtry of the* Fecials. *Our Powers, at beſt, extend no farther than to ſecure the Conditions we agree upon by Promiſes, and a ſimple Contract, which we will further*

Year of ROME CCCCXXXII. T. Veturius Calvinus, Sp. Postumius, Consuls.

ther ſtrengthen, by giving Hoſtages. From whence we may infer, contrary to the Opinion of ſome Hiſtorians, that the Reſult of the Conference was not an actual 4 Treaty made in form. Hoſtages were, it ſeems, neceſſary to aſſure the Execution of what was ſtipulated; and one eſſential Ceremony in making a Treaty was wanting, which was that of ſacrificing a Sow, and loading the Violaters of it with a thouſand Imprecations. However, the Stipulation was accepted, and the *Samnites* ſatisfied. On the Day appointed, the principal Officers of the *Roman* Army, the *Conſuls*, the Lieutenant-Generals, the *Quæſtors*, and the *Legionary Tribunes*, went to the Camp of the *Samnites*, to ſign the Convention. They promiſed to leave *Samnium*, evacuate the Places poſſeſſed by the *Roman Colonies*, and leave the *Samnites* in Peace, under the Government of their own Laws. Nothing ſeemed wanting to make the Convention a formal Treaty, except the Sanction of Publick Authority, and the Ceremonies of Religion. But to ſecure the Performance of what was ſtipulated by the *Romans*, the *Samnites* demanded of them 600 *Knights*, for Hoſtages; and with this Condition, that they might cut off their Heads, if *Rome* did not accompliſh what the *Conſuls* promiſed. *Pontius* fancied, that by taking ſo many Sureties, he ſhould for ever ſecure the Glory and Liberty of his Country. But the Event ſhew'd, that the Views of the wiſe *Herminius* were more extenſive than thoſe of his Son.

§. II. Upon the Return of the *Conſuls*, Sorrow and Rage filled the Hearts of the *Roman* Soldiers. They had like to have offered Violence to their Generals, and cut them in Pieces. *It is their Imprudence*, ſaid they, *which has brought us into an inextricable Labyrinth; and now they, like Cowards, bring us out of it with Ignominy. Their Fault in ſuffering us to come hither, thro' a Want of Caution, was greater than that of purchaſing our Liberty at the Expence of our Honour. Shall then theſe Inſtruments of our Valour*, cried they, looking on their Arms, *be ſurrendered up into the Hands of a proud Enemy? Shall the* Samnites *ſee us paſs in Files, and diſarmed, thro' their Battalions under Arms! Muſt we bear the Exultations and Shouts of a proud Conqueror! How great will their Inſults be, when they ſee us all* paſs under a *ſhameful* Yoke; *and when, having us in their Power, they ſhamefully ſtrip us! How ſhocking will be our Return to our native Country! What Confuſion will even the Pity of our Allies, when we paſs thro' their Cities, create in us! And when we return to* Rome, *with what Face can we appear before our Fathers and Fellow-Citizens, who formerly never entered* Rome, *but in the Trains of triumphant Victors! The Wounds they received in the Battels they gained, were Proofs of their Bravery. Whereas they can only look on us, who are conquered without fighting, and diſarmed without drawing a Sword, as Men of no Reſolution, Strength, or Courage.*

These Diſcourſes, which were ſo ſuitable to the Pride of the *Romans*, were ſpread thro' the whole Camp; and the Ideas they formed of their future Diſhonour fell very ſhort of the Diſtraction they felt when they underwent it. At length, the

4 *Livy* himſelf, *B.* 9. ſays, that this Convention made between the *Samnites* and the *Roman* Army, was not a real Treaty. *Itaque non, ut vulgo credunt, Claudiuſque etiam ſcribit, Fœdere, Pax Caudina, ſed per ſponſionem, facta eſt.* Indeed the *Civilians* ſay, there were three different ſorts of Treaties, which the *Romans* called by the Names of *Sponſio*, *Pactio*, and *Fœdus*. *Sponſio* was a mutual Promiſe between private Perſons, with Security. *Pactio* was a plain Contract, founded only on the Fidelity of the contracting Perſons, and not drawn up in the Forms of Civil Law. But *Fœdus* ſignified among the *Romans*, a publick Treaty between two Nations, authorized by the Senate and People of *Rome*, confirmed by Oaths and Imprecations on thoſe who ſhould break it, attended with all the uſual Ceremonies of Religion; and laſtly, drawn up, and executed, with all the Forms neceſſary to render a ſolemn Act valid. In the Treaties which were made *per Sponſionem*, Reſpondents and Hoſtages were given, as Securities for the Performance of them. But in the Conventions *ex Fœdere*, every Clauſe of the Treaty was ratified by a *Fecialis*, who engaged to perform it, in the Name of the Republick. Then a Hog, or a Sow, was offered in Sacrifice, and this Form of Words, which *Livy* records in the ſame Place, was repeated with a loud Voice. PE QUEM POPULUM FIAT, QUO MINUS LEGIBUS STETURUS, UT EUM ITA JUPITER FERIAT, QUEMADMODUM A FECIALIBUS PORCUS FERIATUR. That is, *May* Jupiter *ſtrike that Nation of the two, which ſhall violate the Conditions of the Treaty, as the* Feciales *ſtrike the Hog.* From whence *Livy* concludes, that the Agreement made between the *Samnites* and the *Romans*, was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a real Treaty. His Reaſon for it, is this; *Spoponderunt Conſules, Legati, Quæſtores, Tribuni Militum. Nominaque omnium, qui ſpoponderunt, extant. Si ex Fœdere acta res eſſet, præterquam duorum fecialium non extarent, &c.* The Conſuls, ſays the Hiſtorian, The Lieutenant-Generals, The Queſtors, *and* The Legionary Tribunes, *ſigned the Treaty, and engaged to ſee the Articles of it performed. But this was not the Way of proceeding, in Treaties of* Fœdere. *It was ſufficient for them to be ſigned by two* Feciales; who repreſented the *Roman* Senate and People.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXII. T. Veturius Calvinus, Sp. Postumius, Conſuls.

fatal Hour came. It had been fixed by the Enemy's General: And the Conditions to which the *Romans* ſubmitted were theſe. Firſt all their Officers, and then their Soldiers, were ordered to march out of their Camp, with only one Garment on, and without their Arms. The 600 *Knights*, who were to be the Hoſtages, went firſt; and as ſoon as they were put into the Enemy's Hands, they were conducted to a Place of Safety. The *Conſuls* next appeared in the Preſence of their Conquerors, and were firſt ordered to pull off their military [5] Clokes, which were the Marks of their Dignity. At this Sight, thoſe very Soldiers, whoſe Indignation had made them murmur againſt their Generals, turned away their Eyes, and their Anger melted into Compaſſion. They could not ſee Officers of ſo high a Rank treated with ſo much Indignity, without Regret: And whilſt the *Legions* were lamenting their hard Fate, the *Conſuls paſſed* firſt *under the Yoke*, ſtripped off their Habits, and half naked. Then the ſame Affront was put upon the reſt of the Officers, according to their Rank. Laſt of all, the private Men followed, every one in his Turn. The unfortunate *Romans* were ſurrounded with armed Enemies, who inſulted or ſtruck them, as they paſſed: And if any of them gave a *Samnite* but a fierce Look, they were knocked down, or killed.

Such was the miſerable Caſe of theſe unhappy *Romans*, who did not begin to breath, till they were delivered out of their Priſon. But though they thought themſelves eſcaped out of a kind of Hell, they found their Condition almoſt inſupportable. They could have reached *Capua* the ſame Day: but partly out of Diſtruſt of that City, though allied to *Rome*, and partly out of Shame to be ſeen there in ſo miſerable a Condition, they choſe rather, to lay down, and ſleep, upon the bare Ground, without Food or Refreſhment. The News however, was no ſooner brought to the City, but the haughty [6] Temper with which the *Capuans* had always been reproached, changed into Humanity. They ſent the *Conſuls* Habits, Horſes, and all the Ornaments belonging to their Office. They provided them with Arms, *Faſces*, and *Lictors*. They ſent Refreſhments for them and their Army: and when they came near *Capua*, the Militia and People went to meet them. In ſhort, theſe beneficent Allies were not wanting in any publick or private Act of the moſt friendly Hoſpitality. But to how great a Dejection does ſuch an Humiliation ſink thoſe Men, who have been accuſtomed to Succeſs from their Infancy, and habituated to Triumphs! The *Conſuls*, and their Troops, were unaffected with all the Marks of a ſincere Friendſhip. A kind of wild ſavage Grief appeared in their Faces. With their Eyes fixed on the Ground, they perſiſted in Silence, and all conſolatory Diſcourſes ſeemed irkſome to them. Their profound Silence proceeded not ſo much from Vexation, as Shame. In a word, all Company ſeemed troubleſome to them; they thought every New-comer, ready to vent freſh Reproaches againſt them; and therefore left *Capua* the next Day, in order to return to *Rome*. The Choice of the young *Campanian* Nobility accompanied them, out of Reſpect, to the Frontiers of their Country: and when the young Nobles returned, the Senate of *Capua* aſſembled, and enquired how the *Conſuls*, and their Army, appeared in their March. *Time*, ſaid they, *has not at all diminiſhed their Dejection. They kept the ſame Silence, and ſhewed the ſame Conſternation on the Road, as at* Capua. *The fierce* Romans *are diſcouraged, and have laid down their ancient Valour with their Arms. Not one of them made any Return to our Civilities; nay, they ſcarce perceived them. One would have ſaid, that they were carrying the Yoke, under which they paſſed, on their Shoulders. How great is the Glory of the* Samnites! *Their Victory is not tranſient; for they have not only vanquiſhed the* Romans, *as the* Gauls *formerly did; but have even triumphed over* Roman *Valour*.

These Diſcourſes in the Senate of *Capua*, gave many People a Contempt for the Republick, and thereby paved the Way for a Revolt. But there was one Man in

5 This military Cloak was called *Paludamentum*. See what we have ſaid of it, *B.* 16. *p.* 143, of this Volume, *Note* 13.

6 The Pride of the *Campani*, and *Capuans*, in particular, was ſo well known, and ſo remarkable, that it became proverbial, *Campana Superbia*. *Tull. Orat. poſt redit*, ſpeaking of *Capua*, ſays, it was the Seat of Pride; and in his *Oration againſt Rullus*, ſays, that this Vice had its Riſe there. *Capua Domicilium Superbiæ ..... Capuæ nata Superbia*. In this Senſe, *Aulus Gellius* ſays of this Epigram of *Nævius*,

Immortales Mortales ſi fas foret flere,
Flerent Camenæ Nævium Poetam, &c.

That it ſavours of the Pride and Arrogance of the *Campani*.

the

Year of ROME CCCCXXXII. T. VETURIUS CALVINUS, SP. POSTUMIUS, Conſuls.

the Aſſembly, who had good Senſe enough to form a right Judgment of thi Conſternation of the *Roman* Army. The Name of this wiſe Man was *Oſilius Ca lavius*, whoſe Age, Birth, and Services, gained him great Reſpect in his Country *I judge quite otherwiſe*, ſaid he, *of this dumb Confuſion of the* Romans, *than th generality do. I perceive, in this obſtinate Silence of theirs, the Marks of a Rage which ferments, without evaporating. The fixing their Eyes on the Ground, ſhew how much their Thoughts are bent on Revenge; and their refuſing to be comforted is a Proof, that they will never forget the Affront they have received. The Taci turnity of ſo many brave Men, will ſoon produce loud Lamentations among th* Samnites. *The* Romans *will always have the unworthy Treatment they have re ceived from their Enemies before their Eyes; but the* Samnites *will not always hav* Caudian Forks *to ſhut them in.* Such were the different Sentiments and Diſcourſe of the Allies of the Republick.

AT *Rome*, the People began to be in pain for the *Conſular* Army. News had been brought thither, I know not how, that it was ſurrounded by the *Samnites*; and ſome Levies were already made to march to their Aſſiſtance. But a ſtop wa put to all Preparations, when an Account was brought of the ſhameful Peace the *Conſuls* had made with the Enemy. The Indignation of the *Romans* at this News, was greater than their Fears had been, at the Danger to which the Flower of their Youth was expoſed. Without waiting for the Orders of the Senate, all, as it were, by a tacit Conſent, put on the Marks of the deepeſt Mourning. The Adminiſtration of Juſtice was neglected; the Shops in the *Forum Romanum* were ſhut up; the *Roman* 7 Ladies laid aſide their Gold-Rings, and the Magiſtrates their Habits [8] of Ceremony. In ſhort, the City ſeemed to be in as great a Conſternation, as the Army. Nor was this all. Every one burſt out into bitter Invectives againſt

7 *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 33. *c.* 1. that Gold-Rings came very late into Uſe among the *Romans*. They, for a great while, wore only Iron ones. Theſe Rings of a more valuable Metal, were not ſuffered to be worn by any, but thoſe whom the Republick ſent on an Embaſſy, to whom they were given as a Badge of their Dignity. Nor did they ever wear them on their Fingers, except on Days of Audience, when they were upon their Duty as Embaſſadors. Nay, even thoſe who triumphed, *Marius* himſelf not excepted, were not allowed this Privilege, any more than private Perſons. Being therefore very uncertain, whether the *Roman* Nobility wore Gold-Rings, at the time we are now ſpeaking of, we thought it allowable to confine the Uſe of them to the *Roman* Ladies, and to make them lay them aſide, as a Proof of their Grief; tho' *Livy* ſays nothing poſitive about it. We ſhall hereafter give a full Account of the Antiquity, and different Uſes of Rings, among the *Romans*.

8 *Livy* calls theſe Habits of Ceremony, which the Magiſtrates laid aſide, *Lati Clavi*. Thoſe who are ever ſo little acquainted with the *Roman* Hiſtory, cannot but know, that the *Latus Clavus* was a Tunick, or ſort of Veſt, which the Senators wore, to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the *Roman Knights*. The Tunick worn by the latter, was called *Anguſtus Clavus*. The moſt plauſible Account which can be given of the Name of theſe Habits, (which is a Subject, on which many learned Men have much differed in Opinion) is, that they were ſo called from ſome Ornaments of Purple put on the *Tunicks*, which looked like Studs, or Heads of Nails. *Sigonius*, *B.* 3. *de Judiciis*; and *Zamoſcius*, *B.* 1. *de Senatu Romano*, have falſely imagined, that theſe *Clavi*, with which the Tunicks of the Senators, and *Roman Knights*, were adorned, were nothing elſe but Flowers, either embroidered, or interwoven in the Stuff itſelf. And this Opinion, which has hitherto been received by very conſiderable Men, we adopted, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 120. *Note* 58. But beſides, that it can never be reconciled with the Crowd of ancient Authors; it is eaſy to diſcover, that *Clavus* was never uſed among the *Latins*, to ſignify the Figure of a Flower. Others, as *Lazius*, *B.* 2. and 3. *Commentar. Reipub. Rom.* and *Pancirollus*, *Lib.* 1. *Rerum memorabilium*, take the *Clavi* to ſignify the Buttons, or Claſps, with which the Tunick was faſtned together before. But this Opinion refutes itſelf. Who can imagine, that the *Romans*, who called their Napkins, and Table-Cloths, *Clavatæ Mappæ*, *Clavata Mantilia*, and *Laticlavie Mappæ*, ſhould put Buttons or Claſps upon them, to make them finer. Beſides, ſuch Ornaments as theſe would have been very improperly placed on a Tunick, which was all of a Piece, and had no Opening, as we ſhall demonſtrate the *Lati Clavi* to to have been, in its proper Place. And laſtly, we find no Marks of any ſuch Buttons, or Buckles, on any antique Statues of the *Conſuls*, or *Roman* Senators. Nor has *Cujas* ſucceeded better in his Conjecture, when he takes the *Clavus*, as well as the Ἐπωμὶς of the *Greeks*, to have been a kind of Scapulary, which reached from the Shoulders to the Breaſt. What Reſemblance has ſuch a Piece of Stuff to the Form of a *Nail*? And yet *Scaliger* ſeems to incline to this Opinion, only with this difference, that he thinks this ſort of *Scapulary* was ſpotted with Purple-Spots, like the Heads of Nails. We likewiſe reject the Opinion of *Budæus*, who has injudiciouſly confounded the *Latus Clavus* with the *Prætexta*. He did not conſider, that the one was the *Toga* worn by the Magiſtrates, the other ſimple Veſt. As for *Le Ferrari*, he glories in having found out the Etymology of the *Laticlave*, and the *Anguſticlave*, in thoſe purple Figures, which he ſays were ſcattered all over them, without Number and were like the Heads of Nails; only with the difference, that thoſe on the *Laticlave* were broader than thoſe of the *Anguſticlave*. He endeavours to ſupport his Opinion by a multitude of Quotations which he turns to all Senſes, in order to make them favour it. But all his Labours amount to no more than to ſhew the little Solidity there is in the Proofs he produces with ſuch a Confidence, as had hithe to impoſed on thoſe, who had not read *Albert Ru benius*'s Treatiſe, on *The Habits of the Ancien* All things conſidered, the Opinion of the latt ſeems to us, to be moſt agreable, to what the *R man* Writers have told us, of the *Laticlave*, and *Anguſticla*



A. *A Roman Knight in his* Angusticlave.
B. *A Roman Senator in his* Laticlave.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXII. T. VETURIUS, CALVINUS, SP. POSTUMIUS, Conſuls.

againſt the Authors of ſo ſhameful a Treaty: and as Anger is often unjuſt, the publick Hatred reached even to the Soldiers themſelves, tho' entirely innocent. *They are a Parcel of Cowards*, ſaid the People, *who don't deſerve to ſee their native Country again; we ought to ſhut them out of our City.* Such are the uſual Murmurings of a Multitude, at ill Succeſs; but it is very inconſtant in its Reſolutions. The Indignation of the *Roman People* ſoon turned into Pity. As ſoon as their unfortunate Countrymen appeared at *Rome*, ſo far were they from being inſulted, that their Misfortunes were lamented. Nevertheleſs, they did not enter the City, with an Air of Joy, as is uſual, after an unexpected Deliverance from great Danger: the Mortifications they had felt at the Place where they were ſhut up Priſoners, followed them to the Place, where they had moſt Liberty. They tarried till Night, before they would enter the City; and then every one ſtole home, and hid himſelf in his own Houſe. None appeared in publick for ſeveral Days; the *Forum* was entirely deſerted. They looked on themſelves, as diſgraced, degraded, and utterly ruined. Even the *Conſuls* baniſhed themſelves from publick Society. They performed only one Act of their Office, which was indiſpenſable; that is, they nominated a *Dictator*, to preſide in the *Comitia by Centuries*, wherein new *Conſuls* were to be choſen. They thought themſelves unworthy to appear at the Head of the Republick, in the *Campus Martius*. The *Dictator* they nominated was *Q. Fabius Ambuſtus*, who choſe *Ælius Pætus* to be his General of Horſe. But there was ſome Defect found in *Fabius*'s Nomination; *Æmilius Papus* was ſubſtituted in his room; and the General of Horſe he choſe was *Valerius Flaccus*. And ſo diſſatisfied were the People of *Rome* with all the Magiſtrates of this unfortunate Year, that the latter Promotion was as much diſliked as the former: And it therefore became neceſſary to let the Republick fall into an *Interregnum*, in order to have a more fortunate Preſident of the *Comitia* than either of the *Dictators* which ſuch cowardly *Conſuls* had named. The Government fell into the Hands of two

Anguſticlave. He thinks the *Clavus* was a purple Stripe, which terminated in a Point, and reached from the top of the Veſt, to the bottom, before. In this Senſe, *Horace* ſays, *Latum demiſit pectore clavum*. According to *Rubenius*, the *Prætexta* differed from the *Laticlave* and *Anguſticlave*, only in this, that the former was bordered with a Stripe of Purple at the bottom; whereas this Stripe was placed on the upper and moſt viſible Part of the latter. Beſides, the *Greeks* called a *Laticlave*, μισοπόρφυρον; whence our Author draws a ſtrong Proof in favour of his Opinion. He obſerves, that the περιπόρφυρον of the *Greeks*, was a Garment, which was bordered with Purple at the bottom; and therefore their μισοπόρφυρον muſt have been a Garment, which had a Stripe of Purple in the middle of it. And St. *Jerome* favours this Interpretation, in *B.* 2. of his *Commentary on Iſaiah*, where he renders the *Greek* Word μισοπόρφυρον, by *Tunicam clavatam purpurâ*. *Feſtus* calls a Stripe of Purple, *Clavus Purpureus*. *Iſidorus*, *B.* 19. *ch.* 22. *Of Etymologies*, compares the purple Stripes, with which the ancient *Dalmatian* Veſts were adorned, with thoſe the *Latins* called *Clavi*, or rather he gave them that Name. His Words are theſe. *Dalmatica Veſtis primum in Dalmatia Provincia Græcia texta eſt, Tunica Sacerdotalis candida cum Clavis ex purpura.* Theſe are the ſame Stripes, which *Alenin*, *cap.* 4. *de Celebr. Miſſ.* calls *Virgulas coccineas*. *Amalarius*, *Lib.* 2. *de Eccleſiaſt. Offic.* calls them *coccineas Lineas*. So that, the *Latin* Words, *Clavi*, *Virgulæ*, and *Lineæ*, were by them thought ſynonimous. *Rubenius* conjectures, with probability enough, that the *Laticlave* of the Senators had only one very broad Stripe of Purple in the middle of the Veſt before: and he gives this Reaſon for it; becauſe, ſays he, the *Laticlave* is called *Latus Clavus* in the ſingular. And he ſuppoſes, at the ſame time, that the *Anguſticlave* had two Stripes, which were narrower than that of the *Laticlave*, and placed, one on the right Side, the other on the left of the Tunick: in proof of which, he quotes the Authority of *Quintilian*, who calls the Purple uſed in the Tunicks of the *Roman Knights*, *Purpuræ*, in the Plural. *Quintilian*'s Words *B.* 11. 3. are theſe. *Cui Lati Clavi Jus non erit, ita cingatur, ut Tunicæ, prioribus, infra genua paulum; poſterioribus, ad medios poplites, uſque perveniant: nam infra, Mulierum; ſupra, Centurionum. Ut* PURPURÆ *recte deſcendant levis cura eſt: Notatur interim negligentia. Latum habentium Clavum modus eſt, ut ſit paullum cinctis ſubmiſſior.* That is, *Let him who has not a Right to wear the* Laticlave, *gird up his Tunick in ſuch a manner, that it reach down a little below the Knees before, and to the middle of the Leg behind; for Women only ought to wear their Tunicks longer, and only* Centurions *ſhorter. It is eaſy to manage the Tunick ſo, as that the Stripes of Purple ſhall fall ſtrait, and anſwer one another exactly, in ſuch a manner as not to look ſlovenly. As for thoſe who enjoy the Honour of the* Laticlave, *their Tunicks ought to come down lower, than thoſe which are tied up with Girdles.* From this Paſſage of *Quintilian*, *Rubenius* infers, 1ſt, That the *Anguſticlave*, or Tunick of the *Roman Knights*, had two Stripes of Purple reaching from the top to the bottom of it: and he confirms this Conjecture by theſe two Verſes of *Horace*, who does not give any more to the *Roman Tunick.*

Purpureus late qui ſplendeat unus & alter
Aſſuitur Pannus....

2dly, That excepting only the *Laticlave*, it was cuſtomary for the *Roman Knights* and *Plebeians*, to tie up their Tunicks with a Girdle. And, 3dly, That thoſe of the Senators were more full and long, and conſequently more ſuitable to the Gravity of a Magiſtrate. The adjoining Plate will ſhew the Form of the *Laticlave*, and *Anguſticlave*, among the ancient *Romans*. Add to this, that the Right of wearing the Habits which were called *Clavatæ Veſtes*, was not confined to the Senators, or *Knights* only, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter. For we ſhall often have occaſion to ſpeak of the *Roman* Habits.

illuſtrious Men, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *M. Valerius Corvus*, who was then *Prætor* the third time; and during his Adminiſtration, the *Comitia* were held, wherein the People made a moſt judicious Choice of new Governors.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXII. T. VETURIUS CALVINUS, SP. POSTUMIUS, Conſuls.

§. III. IN order to repair the Glory of *Rome*, and fill the Places of two *Conſuls*, who were too inconſiderate, and too little skilled in the Art of War, it was neceſſary that two Men of known Wiſdom, and approved Valour, ſhould be choſen. The firſt Perſon pitched on was the famous *Papirius* 9 *Curſor*, who had been for ſome time forgotten. It often happens in Republicks, that in Times of Proſperity great Men are neglected; and their Merit, which is often oppoſed by Factions, ſometimes leſſened by Jealouſy, and at other times ſuſpected, thro' the general Diſtruſts of the People, ſinks into Obſcurity. But when the Misfortunes of the State open the Eyes of thoſe who govern it, Men of extraordinary Virtue regain their former Luſtre; Neceſſity makes Governors do Juſtice to their Talents, and they become the Refuge of their Country. Thus, the Victories, the Conſtancy, and the Addreſs of *Papirius*, in managing the People, were forgotten, till *Rome* met with this Misfortune. And it was much the ſame Caſe with the famous *Q. Publilius*, ſurnamed *Philo*, who was given him for his Collegue in the *Conſulſhip*. He had been twice *Conſul* already, and was now promoted to that Dignity a third time. He had triumphed over the *Latins* in his firſt *Conſulſhip*; and afterwards, when he was only *Proconſul*, *Rome* had granted him a Triumph, contrary to Cuſtom, for having ſubdued the *Palæpolitans*. Tho' a *Plebeian*, the Republick had always diſtinguiſhed him; the Commons had raiſed him to all thoſe Offices, which before his Time had been filled only with *Patricians*: And he had, by his Bravery and Conduct, all along ſhewn himſelf worthy of the great Poſts to which he had been advanced. Nevertheleſs, for theſe ſix Years laſt paſt, his Name ſeemed to have been forgotten, and he was no longer found in the Liſt of *Roman* Magiſtrates. Nothing leſs than ſo terrible a Blow, as that of *The Caudian Forks*, could make the People think of him, and raiſe him from the Obſcurity of a private Life, in which his Merit was buried.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, Conſuls.

THE ſame Day that theſe two Great Men were choſen in the *Comitia*, the *Conſcript Fathers* ordered them to enter upon their Office. They did not wait till the Time of their Predeceſſors was expired. This was a Sort of Degradation, which the latter had deſerved by their ill Conduct: And this again ſhews how uncertain a Method it is to reckon the *Roman* Years by the Number of the *Conſulſhips*, the Beginnings and Endings of which, then often varied. *Papirius* and *Publilius* made it their firſt Buſineſs to get themſelves inveſted in their Office, according to Law, by a Decree of the Senate; wherein it was declared, that they took Poſſeſſion without any Defect in Point of Religion. Then they reſolved to report to the Senate the Stipulation the preceding *Conſuls* had made with the *Samnites*, in order to deliver the *Roman* Army. The Senators were aſſembled, and the greateſt Part of thoſe who had ſigned the Convention were preſent. *Publilius* preſided, becauſe it was his Month to have the *Faſces*, and do the Office of firſt *Conſul*. The firſt of the *Conſcript Fathers* whom *Publilius* ordered to ſpeak, was *Poſtumius*, one of the unfortunate Generals who had ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized in *The Caudian Forks*. He ſpoke thus.

Liv. B.9. c.8. *I am very ſenſible, that my being called upon firſt to give my Opinion concerning the unhappy Affair in which I bore ſo great a Part, is not ſo much to do me Honour, as to overwhelm me with Confuſion. I ſhall therefore ſpeak rather as an Offender, than as a Senator. You have not indeed made it a Part of the Buſineſs in hand, to conſider, either the Nature of our Crime, or the Puniſhment we deſerve; it not being your Deſign to proſecute us as Criminals. If it were, I ſhould have Reaſon to ſay that it would be unjuſt to make Generals reſponſible for unforeſeen Events; and that*

9 *Livy* himſelf confeſſes, that this was *Papirius Curſor*'s ſecond *Conſulſhip*; tho' he does not mention his firſt, as we have obſerved, under the Year of *Rome* 420. The *Greek Tables* call this his third *Conſulſhip*; which is a Conſequence of the Miſtake which is in thoſe *Tables*, under the Year 431. They call the *Conſuls*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, and *L. Fulvius Curvus*, only by the Surnames of *Curſor*, and *Rullus*. The former of which Surname being that of *Papirius*, this has occaſioned the Miſtake in thoſe Annals, about the Number of *Conſulſhips*. It ſeems probable, from the Hiſtory itſelf that the *Conſuls* of the laſt Year, laid down their Offices before they expired. But as no Hiſtorian is expreſs concerning it, we reckon the Years of *Rome* according to the *Conſulſhips*, as uſual.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, Conſuls.

the capricious Turns of Fortune are not in their Power. But I ſhall at preſent only declare my Opinion of our unfortunate Campaign, and the ſhameful Peace we have juſt made with the Enemy: And by my Sentiments which I ſhall declare to you, you will judge whether I had my own Intereſt, or that of my Country, moſt at heart, in concluding an infamous Treaty. No; the Stipulation we have ſigned, does not at all oblige The Roman People, *becauſe we did it without their Orders. In order to fulfil it therefore, nothing more is wanting, than to deliver up the chief Authors of it to the* Samnites. *This is all that our Enemies can, in ſtrictneſs, require of* Rome. *Let us be ſtripped, put in Chains, and conducted by* Fecials *to the Enemy's Camp; and let the Obligations which we alone have entered into, be diſcharged, wholly at our Expence. Happy ſhall we be, if Heaven is appeaſed by the Sacrifice of our Lives, and if Religion does not obſtruct the Renewal of the War with the Enemy! I am therefore of opinion, that* Papirius *and* Publilius *ſhould raiſe a new Army, and lead it into the Field, but not enter upon Action, till we are delivered up to the* Samnites, *according to the ſtricteſt Rules of Equity. O ye immortal Gods! If* Veturius, *and I, have incurred your Diſpleaſure, be at leaſt ſatisfied, to have forced us to paſs naked, and unarmed, under the* Samnite *Yoke, and to ſee us this Day loaded with Chains, and delivered up into the Enemy's Hands! But be ye more propitious to the new* Conſuls, *and lead them on to as great and conſtant Victories, as any of our Predeceſſors obtained! Inſpire them with the ſame Courage, by which the Generals before us, ſo often gained themſelves Triumphs.*

POSTUMIUS ſaid this with an Air of as great Humility and Dejection, as he ſhewed when he *paſſed under the Yoke:* and the Aſſembly was moved by it. The Senate judged, that he made ſufficient amends for the Shame of his Treaty, by the heroick Advice he gave. *Is this that* Poſtumius, ſaid they, *whoſe Conduct and Cowardice have cauſed ſo much Murmuring? What a Misfortune is it to the Republick, to loſe ſo great a Man! Muſt a Man of ſuch high Virtue be delivered up to an Enemy, which will exerciſe Vengeance with the greater Fury upon him, as he has broken the Peace, he himſelf had ſigned! How terrible are the Puniſhments deſtined for him!*

NOTWITHSTANDING the univerſal Compaſſion of the Senators, for the great Number of Officers, which were delivered up to the *Samnites*, all were of *Poſtumius*'s Opinion. Only two *Tribunes of the People*, named *L. Livius*, and *Q. Mælius*, made any Oppoſition to the Decree which was going to paſs. Theſe two Men had, in all appearance, been *Legionary Tribunes*, in the Troops which returned from *The Caudian Forks*, and had been choſen [10] *Tribunes of the People* ſince their Return. Being therefore comprehended in the Number of thoſe which were to be delivered up into the Hands of the *Samnites*, they did their utmoſt to divert the Blow which threatned them. *Don't imagine*, Conſcript Fathers, ſaid they, *that you have diſcharged all your Obligations, when you have delivered us up to the Enemy. You cannot do all that in ſtrict Juſtice is required of you, without placing your whole Army, in that Situation out of which our Promiſes delivered it. You ought to ſend all your Troops, and their Commanders, to* The Caudian Forks; *and not barely abandon a few Officers to the Rage of the* Samnites. *What Puniſhment have we deſerved, for having ſaved the* Roman *Army? Ought we alone to pay, with our Lives and Liberty, for the Advantage we have gained the Republick? Will you put a Cheat upon the Gods, and neighbouring Nations, by diſcharging only the leaſt Part of the Demands the* Samnites *have upon* Rome? *Beſides; with regard to us, whatever becomes of the other Victims, which you reſerve for the Fury of our Conquerors, we at leaſt, as* Tribunes of the People, *are not ſubject to your Decrees. You know our Office is ſacred, and our Perſons inviolable. Both the Laws, and Religion, have put the* Tribunes of the People *out of the reach of*

[10] It is paſt doubt, that *Lucius Livius* and *Quintus Mælius*, did not begin to exerciſe the Office of *Tribunes*, till after the unhappy Affair of *Caudium*; tho' *Livy* does not tell us when they were created. It was not lawful for the *Tribunes of the People*, as *Aulus Gellius* obſerves, to be abſent from *Rome* a whole Day. Theſe two new Magiſtrates could therefore be at *The Caudian Forks*, only as inferior Officers in the *Roman* Army. *Tully, de Offic. lib.* 3. ſpeaks of the Oppoſition the two *Tribunes* made, with this Difference, that he gives the former the Name of *Titus Minucius*, and not that of *Lucius Livius*; and calls the ſecond *Tribune*, *Quintus Æmilius*, inſtead of *Quintus Mælius*. But this is a manifeſt Miſtake. The *Æmilii* were *Patricians*; and conſequently could not ſtand for the *Tribuneſhip of the People*.

the

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, Conſuls.

the Senate, and other Magiſtrates. Be not therefore guilty of a double Crime, depriving the Samnites *of the beſt Part of their Pretenſions, and at the ſame tim wounding the Authority of the* Roman People.

INDEED, if maturely conſidered, one of the Reaſons urged by *Livius* and *Ma lius*, was agreeable to natural Equity, and the other to the *Roman* Laws. But i the preſent Extremity, the Senate was not inclined to confine itſelf wholly to regard for Juſtice, and an Obſervance of the Laws. Thoſe who govern State often make the Publick Good a Pretence for acting contrary to the Dictates c right Reaſon. And *Poſtumius* now endeavoured, in a long Harangue, to remov the Scruples the two *Tribunes* had raiſed in the Minds of thoſe who were natu rally inclined to follow the ſtricteſt Rules of Equity. It was indeed out of a Prin ciple of Magnanimity, and Love for his Country, that this old *Conſul* perſiſted i his Opinion: but his Virtue was defective in the moſt eſſential Part. He ſpoke i this manner. *Delay not*, Conſcript Fathers, *to ſend back us, who are now n more than common Perſons, to the Enemy. And the time will ſoon come, whe you may deliver up theſe (as is pretended) ſacred Perſons, theſe inviolable Magi ſtrates, in their Turn. You may promiſe the* Samnites *to do it, as ſoon as the Yea of their* Tribuneſhip *is expired. And if you will hearken to me, you ſhall cauſ them to be beaten with Rods here in the* Forum, *by way of making amends, fo delaying to ſurrender them. Theſe* Tribunes *pretend, that your delivering us int the Enemy's Hands, is not diſcharging the Whole of your Obligations. But wh does not ſee, that their Fear of being given up to the* Samnites, *is what alone ſug geſts to them a Pretence, ſo little agreable to the Laws of the* Feciales, *and th military Code? I allow, that Treaties, and even bare Promiſes, are held ſacred and inviolable by all Nations, who are governed by Religion, and act agreably t Law. But is it not likewiſe granted, that Conventions which are not* agreed to *by any Nation, don't oblige that Nation? What if the* Samnites *had required o us, the Surrendry of* Rome, *and all the* Roman *State, and had even forced us to promiſe to give them Poſſeſſion of them, by the ſame Form* [11] *of Words, which is uſed in the Surrendry of beſieged Cities; would the Republick have been bound, in that Caſe, by our Oaths? Would you yourſelves,* Tribunes of the People, *have conſented, to have given them our Towns, our Temples, our Sanctuaries, and our Lands? But why ſhould we put a ſimple Promiſe upon an equal foot with a for mal Surrendry? Suppoſe we had agreed with the* Samnites, *to get* Rome *deſerted by its Inhabitants, to reduce it to Aſhes, to aboliſh the Senate, Magiſtracy, and Laws, and to re-eſtabliſh Kingly Government here; would you have thought your ſelves bound by our Promiſes? The bare Thoughts of it make you tremble. Does then the Obligation of Promiſes depend on the Importance of the Things promiſed? Is not a Man equally obliged to perform what he lawfully promiſes, whether it be of little, or much Conſequence? Beſides, what ſignifies it, whether the Perſon promiſing be a* Dictator, *a* Conſul, *or a* Prætor, *if the Promiſes he makes in your Name, be without your Conſent? No one Magiſtrate in* Rome, *how great ſoever, is empowered to repreſent the whole Republick. Of this the* Samnites *themſelves were ſo fully convinced, that they required the principal Officers of the Army ſhould ſign the Stipulation, as well as the* Conſuls. *Nor let it be asked, Why then did you, as* Conſul, *promiſe the* Samnites, *what you had no Right to promiſe them? Why did you, without any Commiſſion, enter into Engagements, which you could not perform? Theſe are impertinent, and trifling Queſtions. Were we conducted by Reaſon, in the Affair of* Caudium? *The Gods deprived both us, and our Ene*

[11] We may judge of this Form, by that pronounced at the Surrendry of *Collatia*, in the Reign of *Tarquin the Firſt*; which Form *Livy* gives us, *B.* 1. The King, ſays the Hiſtorian, addreſſed himſelf to thoſe who were empowered to treat with him, in the Name of the City, in theſe Words. ESTIS NE VOS LEGATI, ORATORES QUE MISSI A POPULO COLLATINO, UT VOS POPULUM QUE COLLATINUM DEDERETIS? SUMUS. EST NE POPULUS COLLATINUS IN SUA POTESTATE? EST. DEDITISNE, VOS, POPULUM COLLATINUM, URBEM, AGROS, AQUAM, TERMINOS, DELUBRA, UTENSILIA, DIVINA, HUMANAQUE OMNIA, IN MEAM POPULIQUE ROMANI DITIONEM? DEDIMUS. A EGO RECIPIO. That is, *Are you the Deputies ſen by the People of* Collatia, *in order to ſurrender u yourſelves and them to us? We are. Have the Peo ple of* Collatia *an abſolute and free Power of diſpo ſing of themſelves? They have. Do you abſolutel ſubmit to become obedient to me, and do you ſurren der up to me, yourſelves, your Citizens, your City your Lands, your Dependencies, your Temples, you Moveables, and in ſhort, every thing that belongs t you, whether ſacred or prophane? We do. And accept of them.*

mie.

mies, of the Uſe of it. The Samnites, *by a ſtrange kind of Fatality, made no uſe of their Advantage. They were as imprudent, in being ſo haſty in diſarming us, as we were raſh in running into their Snares. If they had had any Preſence of Mind, could they not have ſent Deputies to* Rome, *and entered into a regular Treaty with the Republick? Could they want time for it, when they had enough, to fetch old* Herennius *to their Camp, from a great diſtance? They might have concluded a ſolid Peace with the Senate and People of* Rome, *to their Advantage, in three Days, had their Envoys made but the leaſt Diſpatch. And in that caſe, they muſt have gained, either a Truce, or a Peace, or a certain Victory. But what am I ſaying? You never would have conſented to the Terms, which they required of us. The Gods determined, that this perplexed Affair ſhould only end in deceiving the* Samnites, *as they had deceived us. Their Victory has been only an empty Dream to them, which gave them a little Joy for the preſent; and the Peace they made with us, is as vain, as their Conduct was imprudent. In a word, they entred into ſuch a Treaty with us, as obliges only the Authors and Guarantees of it. The Senate and People of* Rome, *are abſolutely free from the Engagements which oblige us only. Who will think you reſponſible for them? The Enemy? You entred into no Treaty with them. The* Roman People? *We had no Commiſſion to act in their Name. We alone then are bound by our own Promiſes, and we are able to diſcharge our Obligations. Our Heads ſhall anſwer our Engagements: we ſubmit to the Fury of the* Samnite. *Let him treat us with all the Severity his Rage can inſpire. As to* Livius *and* Mælius, *it is your Buſineſs to conſider, whether it be moſt proper, not to deliver them up, till their Magiſtracy is expired; or to ſend them away with us, and put them into the Enemy's Hands, immediately. Do you,* Veturius, *my old Collegue, and you the brave Officers of an unfortunate Army, come with me; and offer up thoſe Victims to the* Samnites, *which are devoted to them. Happy ſhall we be, to have ſaved the Flower of the* Roman *Youth, at the Expence of our Lives!*

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII.
L. Papirius Cursor, Q. Publilius Philo, Conſuls.

The Senate was charmed with this Diſcourſe, in which there was more Art than Eloquence, and more Magnanimity than true Juſtice. The *Romans* acquieſced in theſe Reaſons, which were clothed with the Appearance of Equity: they were both prejudiced in favour of *Poſtumius*, and tranſported to ſee themſelves delivered from a ſhameful Peace, at the Expence of only a few Officers, who could eaſily be ſpared. *Poſtumius*'s Advice was confirmed, and all the Senators, the two oppoſing *Tribunes* themſelves not excepted, came into it. *Livius* and *Mælius* did not refuſe to follow the Fate of thoſe who had ſigned the Stipulation. They abdicated their Office, and joined the Company, which was to be conducted to the enemy. The Republick, till that time ſunk into an Abyſs of Sorrow, found ſome oy revive, as ſoon as the famous Decree, for delivering up the *Conſuls* for the laſt ear to the *Samnites*, was paſſed. The *Romans* talked of nothing but *Poſtumius*. hey looked on his Surrender of himſelf, as a *Devotement* for the Good of his ountry, and equalled his Glory to that of *Decius*. *It is* Poſtumius, ſaid they, *ho has freed us from the Subjection to which a ſhameful Treaty would have reuced us. He has reſtored us our Arms; let us therefore turn them againſt the* amnite. *Will not the time ſoon come, for us to retaliate upon our Enemies! We all ſoon ſubdue thoſe by Force, who have conquered us by Artifice.* Theſe Diſourſes animated the *Roman* Youth ſo much, that there needed no Orders to raiſe n Army. Almoſt all who took Arms, were Volunteers; and of them were ormed new *Legions*. The Army marched from *Rome*, and came and encamped nder *Caudium*. At the Head of it, marched the two *Conſuls* for the laſt Year, and e unfortunate Company which was to be delivered up to the *Samnites*. At ngth, they arrived near the Enemy's Camp; and then Preparations were made r conducting the *Roman* Officers which were to be given up, to the General *ontius*.

§. IV. *CORNELIUS ARVINA* was the *Fecialis* deputed by the Republick, perform the Ceremony of the Surrendry. He began, with cauſing *Poſtumius*'s ands to be tied; but the Officer, who was to do it, did not tie the Cord hard ough, out of reſpect to ſo great a Man. But the generous *Conſul* reproved him r it. *Why do you ſpare me?* ſaid he; *tie me in ſuch a manner, that the Enemy ay have nothing to ſuſpect in my Surrender.* In this captive State, the *Roman*

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, Consuls.

Officers came to the *Samnite* Camp. As soon as they were brought into *Pontius'* Presence, the *Roman Fecialis* expressed himself in these Words, as he was commanded. *Since these Men undertook, without any Commission, to conclude a Treaty of Peace with you, and committed a Crime in so doing; we deliver them up to you in order to free ourselves from any Share in the Punishment which they alone have deserved.* Upon which, *Postumius*, as if offended at what the *Fecialis* said, immediately gave him a hard Blow on the Thigh with his Knee, and sternly said: *I am now a* Samnite, *and you an Embassador of* Rome. *I have therefore by this Blow violated the Law of Nations; and you are thereby the better authorized to make War upon us.* But the *Samnite* General did not suffer himself to be imposed on, by these Appearances of Equity, and this premeditated Artifice. He replied *No; I neither accept of such a Surrendry, nor will my Republick be satisfied with it. As for you,* Postumius, *why don't you either absolutely break your Word, or else wholly discharge it? You ought either to deliver up the whole Army, which was surrounded at* Caudium, *or bring* Rome *to consent to the Treaty you have signed. But why do I complain of you? You have indeed personally acquitted yourself of your Engagements to us, by surrendring yourself up a Prisoner. I must therefore address myself to the* Roman People. *If they disown the Stipulation of their* Consuls, *let them at least send a whole Army, to the same Place, where we kept one invested. They will by that means restore every thing as it was. We shall then have no more Complaints to make, no Deceit to charge them with. We will return your disarmed Soldiers their Arms, and their Camp shall be restored them. There they may brave us, and threaten us with War, as much as they please. They may there, either treat of Peace, or fight. The faithless Republick will then have no Promises of her* Consuls *to disavow. Go, perfidious Men; you recover a bad Step, by Breach of Faith, as usual. It was thus that you took away the Hostages which you sent* Porsena, *when he besieged* Rome. *It was thus, that you suddenly fell upon the* Gauls, *when you were paying them the Money stipulated for your Redemption. In this manner, you elude the Execution of a Treaty, you have entred into with us, under the appearance of Law. You say, you will have no Peace with the* Samnites; *it is an ignominious one. Very well; reject it, since you dislike it: but then, surrender up to them the* Legions, *which they had in their Power. Your Honour will then be untainted; and your Fidelity, as well as the Law of Nations, will be preserved inviolate. But shall the Lives of your Troops be saved, and you enjoy all the Advantages of the Peace, whilst we alone shall be deprived of the Benefits of our Conventions? Where is the Justice, or Equality of this? Is this the Justice you perform to other Nations? Are these the equitable Maxims, upon which your* Feciales *are ordered to act? For my part, I will not be so deluded. No,* Cornelius; *no; I will not accept of a fallacious Surrendry. Carry back these unfortunate Men, to the City, which is not discharged of its Obligations; and which the Gods must punish, with the utmost Severity. Make War upon us, since* Postumius *the* Roman, *has given the Signal for it, by the Blow he has given an Embassador who is a* Roman, *as well as himself. Will you be able to impose on the Gods themselves, by these thin Disguises? Will they take* Postumius *for a* Samnite, *and consider the Blow he has given, as an Insult offered to the* Roman People *by a* Samnite? *Is this the only Pretence, upon which you think you have a Right to declare War? Is it thus, that you sport with Religion and Fidelity? Are such ludicrous Transactions becoming the Gravity of a* Consul, *and the Dignity of a great Nation?*

PONTIUS had no sooner ended his Reply to the *Roman Fecialis*, but he ordered his *Lictors* to untie the *Romans* which were offered him, and send them home, refusing to accept of the Surrendry: but the *Roman* Officers seem to have accepted their Lives and Liberties which were restored them, with Joy, and without Scruple. They had indeed acquitted themselves of their personal Obligation, but could the *Roman People* persuade themselves, that they had discharged their Duty? So true is it, that the so much boasted Virtue of the *Romans*, was always subordinate to the Interests of their State, in extraordinary Cases!

§. V. *POSTUMIUS*, and his Company, returned safe and sound to the *Roman* Camp, where all things were getting ready for entring upon Action. On the other hand, the *Samnites* sheltered themselves in their Entrenchments, and forc-

foreſaw the Evils which threatned them. They repented, but too late, of not having hearkned to the wiſe Counſels of old *Herennius*. They had not gained the Friendſhip of Enemies they ought to have feared, by their gentle Behaviour towards them; nor had they weakned them, by letting them periſh. So that *Pontius*, tho' Conqueror, loſt much of his Reputation, and *Poſtumius*, tho' conquered, and made to *paſs under the Yoke*, had gained an immortal Glory, among his Countrymen. The *Romans* looked on the Liberty he had gained them, of making War, as a certain Victory; and the diſheartned *Samnites* looked on themſelves as already overcome, by having been diſappointed of the Fruits of their Succeſs. But many Cities, allied to the *Romans*, doubtleſs diſguſted at the *Roman* Government, for its want of Fidelity, had Thoughts of withdrawing themſelves from under the Dominion of ſo artful a People. *Satricum*, a City of *Latium*, near *Corioli*, and famous for its frequent Revolts from the *Romans*, declared openly for the *Samnites*; and its Inhabitants ſignalized themſelves by a cruel Expedition in favour of their new Allies. It may be remembered, that *Fregellæ* had been the Occaſion of the War, the *Samnites* had declared with the *Romans*. The latter had ſent a *Colony* thither, ſufficient to defend it, and it was a Garriſon to it: and this very City, the revolted *Satricani* ſupported by a Detachment of *Samnites*, reſolved to take from the *Romans*. They entred it by Night; and as long as that laſted, Fear kept both them, and the *Fregellani*, from coming to a Battel. But as ſoon as it was Day, Hoſtilities began: And tho' the Aſſailants were ſuperior in Number, the *Fregellani* made a brave Reſiſtance. They fought for their Houſes, their Lands, their Altars, and their Houſhold-Gods; and therefore all the People, Women and Children not excepted, ſtood up in Defence of their City. They killed many of their Enemies, who were below, from the Tops of the Houſes; and then the *Samnites* thought of a Stratagem to ſurprize the brave *Fregellani*, and diſarm them. They made a Proclamation by an Herald, that as many as laid down their Arms, ſhould have their Lives ſaved: and this Hope abated the Ardour of the *Fregellani*, and a great Number of their brave Men left off fighting. But this was a vain Precaution, againſt enraged Enemies, who would not keep their word! The *Samnites* ſurrounded thoſe who had voluntarily diſarmed themſelves, with Fires, and without any Compaſſion for their Cries, and the Complaints which they made to the Gods, burnt them alive. Only a few of the braveſt of the *Fregellani* eſcaped; who ſtuck cloſe to their Arms, retired fighting, and got out of a Gate behind them. *Liv. B. 9. c. 12.*

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, Conſuls.

§. VI. ON another Side, *Capua* formed pernicious Deſigns againſt *Rome*, and prepared for a Revolt. The chief Heads of this great City, entred into a ſecret Plot, and reſolved to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. But the Senate had timely notice of this dangerous Conſpiracy. The *Conſuls*, *Papirius* and *Publilius*, were then abſent from *Rome*, and uſefully employed in War. Nevertheleſs, theſe Commotions in the *Roman* Cities, gave the Republick Uneaſineſs; and the wavering Condition of her Allies, made her fear great Inſurrections: for which Reaſons, ſhe had recourſe to the uſual Remedy, in Times of great Danger. She nominated *C. Mænius* to be [12] *Dictator*, and he choſe *M. Foſlius*, ſurnamed *Flaccinator*, for his General of Horſe. The *Dictator*'s Commiſſion was, contrary to Cuſtom, confined to the Execution of Juſtice, and extended only to his enquiring into Crimes againſt the State, and puniſhing them; but did not reach to the Command of the Troops. *Faſt. Capit. under this Year.*

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. C. MÆNIUS, Dictator.

12 The *Faſti Capitolini* mention three *Dictators* one after another, under the Year of *Rome* 433. And *Livy* is here again defective. Being deceived by imperfect Memoirs, and incorrect Annals, he entirely omits two of theſe Magiſtrates. That *Caius Mænius* was one of the *Dictators* for this Year, is a queſtionable Matter of Fact, tho' the *Roman* Hiſtorian ſays not one Word of it. This is ſufficiently evident from the *Faſti Capitolini*; in which we find the ſame *Caius Mænius* promoted to the *Dictatorſhip* a ſecond time, ſix Years after this 433d Year of *Rome*, in order to ſettle the Affairs of the Republick; REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA. He muſt therefore have been inveſted with the ſupreme Magiſtracy ſix Years before, that he might adminiſter Juſtice with abſolute Authority; QUÆSTIONUM EXERCENDARUM CAUSA. *Livy* has confounded theſe two *Dictatorſhips*, and made them but one, which he places under the Year of *Rome* 439. *Mænius* was then, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*, elected *Dictator* a ſecond time, and *Rome* entruſted him with the whole Adminiſtration. She then promoted him REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA; and not in order to his making an Enquiry into the Crimes committed againſt the State; not *Quæſtionum exercendarum cauſa*, as *Livy* expreſſes it: For that was the Buſineſs of his firſt *Dictatorſhip*, in the Year of *Rome* 433. Thus the *Latin* Hiſtorian is doubly miſtaken; firſt, In making *Caius Mænius* to have been but once *Dictator*; and ſecondly, in miſplacing his firſt *Dictatorſhip*, which was in the Year 433, and

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. C. MÆNIUS, Dictator.

Troops. However, the Terror of a Judge without Appeal, ſpread itſelf through all *Campania:* and the Heads of the Conſpiracy of *Capua,* were ſo much alarmed with it, that they killed themſelves, to avoid Puniſhment. Among theſe Conſpirators who puniſhed themſelves, are reckoned, ſeveral *Calavii,* one *Ovius,* and one *Novius*; that is, ſome of the chief Nobility of the Country. And as it is common for Perſons, who are charged with an extraordinary Commiſſion, to ſtretch their Power to its utmoſt Extent; the *Dictator* interpreted his Orders to enquire into State-Crimes, to relate not only to the *Capuans,* but to all the Citizens of *Rome* in general, who had made any Attempt prejudicial to the publick Welfare. *Intrigues,* ſaid he, *are Treaſon againſt the Republick, which I have a Right to puniſh.* So that Informations were brought him againſt thoſe Aſſemblies which were held in City and Country, in order to canvaſs for the Offices in the Republick: and the *Dictator* countenanced theſe Proceedings, declaring, that his Power extended to all ſorts of Crimes againſt the State, and to all ſorts of Perſons. *Mænius* was a *Plebeian,* as well as his General of Horſe; and his chief Aim ſeems to have been levelled againſt the Nobility. A great Number of *Patricians* were cited to appear before him: and it was in vain for them to claim the Protection of the *Tribunes of the People.* Nothing could ſcreen them againſt an abſolute Power. As many as were accuſed, were ranked among Criminals: and this raiſed the Murmurs of the *Patrician* Faction. Not only the Accuſed, but the whole Body of the Nobility, retorted the Accuſation upon the *Plebeians. Where is the Neceſſity,* ſaid they, *for us to form Intrigues for obtaining great Employments?* Our *Birth alone leads us to them, if we are not prevented by Artifice. It is only for the common People, and* * *Upſtarts, to form Intrigues to raiſe themſelves. Is not this* Dictator *himſelf, who uſurps a Power of condemning us, one of thoſe ambitious* Plebeians, *who, notwithſtanding his judicial Authority, ought to be ranked among the Criminals? As ſoon as his* Dictatorſhip *is expired, we ſhall proſecute him, and his* Foſlius, *in their Turn.* And theſe Diſcourſes of the Nobility terrified the *Dictator.* Not that he thought himſelf guilty; but he was afraid his Reputation would ſuffer, by the Reports, which they began to ſpread abroad: and he therefore aſſembled the People, and addreſſed himſelf to them, in this manner. *All* Rome *can witneſs the Innocence of my paſt Conduct; and the* Dictatorſhip, *which has been conferred upon me, is a notorious Proof of it. When I was choſen* Dictator, *no Regard was had to my Skill in the Art of War, as uſual; all the* Romans *had in View, was to place a Judge at the Head of the Republick, who, being an Enemy to Faction and Intrigue, could boldly enquire into the Miſdemeanors of bad Citizens. But what has been the Conſequence? The* Patricians *immediately roſe up againſt the Commiſſion I bear; and you know well enough the ſecret Motive of their Oppoſition; tho' it ill becomes me, in my preſent Station, to declare it, without full Evidence. After this, the Nobles uſed their utmoſt Efforts, to avoid being tried at my Tribunal; and were not aſhamed to have Recourſe to the* Tribunes of the People *and appeal even to the old Enemies of their Faction. When their Appeal was rejected, they impeached my Conduct and Behaviour; and have accuſed me, the Judge, of the ſame Crime of which they were conſcious themſelves. So true is it that they found it ſafer to have Recourſe to any thing than their own Innocence. And as for me, in order to prove, before the Gods and Men, that this laſt Attempt of the* Patricians *is groundleſs, and that it ought not to ſcreen them from the Trial they dread, I abdicate the* Dictatorſhip. *Being therefore now deprived of a Dignity which protected me from any Citation to appear in a Court of Juſtice, I am ready*

* Novi homines.

and carrying it on to the Year 439. In both theſe Promotions, *Mænius* choſe *Marcus Foſlius Flaccinator* for his General of Horſe; and Hiſtory likewiſe informs us, that *Luceria* was taken twice by the *Romans*; once in the Year 433, which was *Mænius*'s firſt *Dictatorſhip*; and again in the Year 439, which was the Year in which he was *Dictator* a ſecond time. So that the Reſemblance of the Names and Events of theſe two Years, might probably lead *Livy* into this Miſtake and Omiſſion. Beſides, he himſelf makes *Publius Sempronius,* a *Tribune of the People,* ſay, in the Year 443, that it was then ten Years ſince *Mænius* was *Dictator,* with an abſolute Power only to make Enquiry into State Crimes, and ſettle the Diſorders which had crept in among the Nobility, QUÆSTIONUM EXERCENDARUM CAUSA. Whereas, if with *Livy* we place this *Dictatorſhip* in the Year 439, it will ſcarce have been four Years before the Year 443. In order therefore to make this Space of ten Years, we muſt neceſſarily call *Mænius*'s firſt *Dictatorſhip,* which was given him QUÆSTIONUM EXERCENDARUM CAUSA, to the Year 433; and place his ſecond, with which he was inveſted REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA, to the Year 439: the *Faſti Capitolini* direct us.

give an Account of my Conduct. I here preſent myſelf before my Enemies, without any Support, but my Innocence; and let the Conſuls, *when empowered by the Senate, try* Foſlius, *and me; and convince the whole World, that we have not made uſe of our Offices to ſcreen ourſelves from Correction.*

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, Conſuls.

THUS ſpake *Mænius*; and immediately he and *Foſlius* reſigned their Offices. It is probable, That theſe domeſtick Broils recalled *Papirius* and *Publilius* from the Army; and That, after *Mænius*'s Abdication, they appeared in *Rome* again, to reſtore her Tranquillity. The *Dictator* had deſired to have the *Conſuls* for his Judges, and the Senate granted them an extraordinary Commiſſion for that Purpoſe. The Cauſe of *Mænius* and *Foſlius* was heard; thoſe of the Nobility who appeared as Witneſſes againſt them, were examined; and upon a full Hearing, the two accuſed were acquitted in a very honourable Manner.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Conſul.

IT is difficult to reconcile the *Faſti Capitolini* with *Livy*, or *Livy* with himſelf, in this Place, without ſuppoſing that the *Conſul Publilius* likewiſe laid down the *Conſulſhip*, for the ſame Reaſon that *Mænius* had abdicated the *Dictatorſhip*. He had probably ſhewn ſome Warmth in Defence of *Mænius*, who was a *Plebeian*, as well as himſelf; and therefore the Nobility reproached him with having been guilty of Intrigues, in order to obtain the Offices with which he had been ſo often honoured. Tho' Hiſtory does not poſitively declare, that *Publilius* did thus voluntarily abdicate; yet it is neceſſary to ſuppoſe it, in order to digeſt the Events of this Year in a regular Order. At leaſt it is certain [13] that this *Conſul*, who was hated by the Nobility, ſubmitted to a Trial, and was acquitted of that Ambition, which was laid to his Charge. And if it be true, which can ſcarce be doubted, that it was in the Year of his *Conſulſhip*, it will follow, that he laid down his Office, before he could be brought to his Trial.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Dictator. *Faſt. Capit. under this Year.*

§. VII. THE Republick had then but one *Conſul*, the famous *Papirius*; and therefore thought it neceſſary to chuſe a *Dictator*. *Papirius* could not nominate himſelf to the *Dictatorſhip*; tho' it was indeed abſolutely neceſſary for the State to continue the War with the *Samnites*. In order therefore to do his beſt in the preſent Circumſtances, he raiſed one to this ſupreme Dignity, who was a Man of Senſe, and without Ambition. This, I believe, was the ſame [15] *Cornelius Lentulus*, who in the Camp in *The Caudian Forks*, had perſuaded the *Roman* Army to ſave themſelves, by conſenting *to paſs under the Yoke*. He choſe the *Conſul Papirius* for his General of Horſe; and thereby took a Man for his Second, who was infinitely more able to conduct Armies, than himſelf. It is probable, he purſued

13 *Livy* having found the Account of *Publilius*'s Trial, in the ancient Memoirs immediately after the Decree which was paſſed in favour of *Mænius*, after his *Dictatorſhip*; it is not to be wondered at, that he has placed both theſe things under the Year 439, tho' they belong to the Year 433, which was *Mænius*'s firſt *Dictatorſhip*, as we have obſerved in the preceding *Note*. This ſecond Miſtake is a Conſequence of that beforementioned. Now the Year 433 was remarkable, in that *Publilius* was then *Conſul*, and *Mænius Dictator*, who were both formally and honourably acquitted of the Accuſations brought againſt them. It is therefore natural to believe, that the *Conſul Publilius*, as well as the *Dictator Mænius*, abdicated the Magiſtracy. It is well known, that the *Conſuls* were ſupreme Magiſtrates, they were not ſubject to the Cenſure of the People, whilſt in Office. And therefore their Accuſers waited till their Office was expired, before they brought them to the Tribunal of the People.

14 *Livy* frankly owns, that ſome ancient Annals reckoned one *Lucius Cornelius*, who choſe *L. Papirius Curſor* to be his General of Horſe, among the *Dictators* of the Year 433. And he at the ſame time confeſſes, that the Credit of ſome Memoirs made it doubted whether theſe new Magiſtrates had not all the Honour of the Expeditions which were undertaken againſt the *Samnites*, all the reſt of the Year 433. Suppoſing then, as we with ſome Probability believe, that the *Conſul Publilius* abdicated, we have divided the Honour of the following Events between *Lucius Cornelius* the *Dictator*, and *L. Papirius Curſor* for his General of Horſe, excluſive of *Publilius*. And here again, the *Faſti Capitolini* confirm us in our Opinion. In them, the *Dictatorſhip* of *Lucius Cornelius* follows immediately after that of *Caius Mænius*, in the ſame Year 433. All the Difference between theſe two *Dictators* was, that one was created to take the Reins of the Government into his Hands, REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA; the other, to inquire into Crimes QUÆSTIONUM EXERCENDARUM CAUSA. But why ſhould the Republick chooſe a *Dictator*, if, as *Livy* ſuppoſes, the *Conſuls* continued ſtill in their Office? We have therefore, with Reaſon, left *Livy*, to conform ourſelves to the *Faſti Capitolini*. We have made all theſe Reflections, only to give ſome Light to the Relation of thoſe Facts, which are diſplaced, and confounded together, in *Livy*.

15 *Livy* has not given us the Surname of *Cornelius*, who was promoted to the *Dictatorſhip*; neither have the *Faſti Capitolini* preſerved his Name, or *Prænomen*. Some think it was one *Cornelius Lentulus*, who had been *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 426; and this Conjecture is confirmed, by the Surname of *Caudinus*, which ſome of the *Lentuli* affected, after the Victory gained over the *Samnites*, near *Caudium*. At leaſt, ſome Authors have borrowed that Surname from thence. This is the ſame *Lentulus*, who in the Extremity to which the *Roman* Army was reduced, perſuaded the *Conſuls* to accept of the mortifying Conditions propoſed by the *Samnites*.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Dictator.

Papirius's Advice in all Cases; and that to the latter, were owing all the Victories of the Campaign. This we may judge of by this Circumstance, which ought not to be omitted, That *Cornelius* had not the Honours of a Triumph conferred upon him: Which the Republick would have done, had he been the Author of the Advantages, we are going to relate. I know *Livy* divides them between *Papirius* and *Publilius*; but he was probably misled, by uncertain Memoirs.

THE new *Dictator* therefore, and *Papirius* under him, returned to the Army, which they divided into two Bodies. *Papirius*, with his Detachment, marched towards *Apulia*, in order to lay siege to *Luceria*, where the 600 *Roman Knights* given in Hostage, were detained Prisoners. The chief Aim of both the Generals, was to deliver them: in order to which, it was necessary to divide the Forces of the *Samnites*. *Cornelius* therefore halted near *Caudium*, with the same Troops he had delivered out of *The Caudian Forks*; and there kept the Enemy in play, whilst *Papirius* marched a great way round, in order to come and fall upon *Luceria*. Tho' History has informed us, how this City became *Roman*; yet it has not told us in what manner it submitted to the *Samnites*. But it is at least certain, that it did not come under the Dominion of the latter, till after the Peace of *Caudium*. It was doubtless offended, as many other Cities were, at the Breach of Faith of the *Romans*. The Continuance of the *Dictator* in *Samnium*, gave the *Samnites* some Uneasiness. Their General would very willingly have marched to the Relief of *Luceria*; but how could he leave his Country open to the Pillage of the *Romans*; or how could he take a long March, without having the Enemy in his Rear? In this Uncertainty, *Pontius* chose to hazard a Battel, and try his Strength with the *Romans*. As soon then as the *Samnites* appeared in Battalia, the *Dictator* assembled his Troops round his Tent, in order to exhort them to behave themselves valiantly. But he in vain attempted to harangue them. The Soldiers demanded a Battel with so much Earnestness, and so great Clamours, that the General's Discourse was not heard. Their Desires of Revenge animated them more, than the General's Words could have done. As soon as they were in sight of the Enemy, the *Roman* Soldiers themselves pressed their Ensigns to march faster, that they might engage the Enemy the sooner. It was then customary to begin general Actions, with throwing Darts and Stones. But the Ardour of the *Romans* to fight, was now so violent, that they neglected to begin the Charge that way. They threw down the Darts they had in their Hands, and, without Orders, immediately drew their Swords. Then they rushed on the Enemy with an Impetuosity, which looked like Madness. The *Legions* were not disposed in their usual Order, nor did they wait for the General's Commands; the Rage of the Soldiers supplied the Place of both. Yet their irregular Animosity alone, did more than could have been expected from the wisest Conduct. The *Samnite* Army was put to the Rout, and did not fly to their Camp. They were afraid of being invested by these furious Men, whose Attacks might more safely be avoided, than sustained. So that the dispersed *Samnites* took the Road to *Apulia*, in order to relieve *Luceria*. In the mean time, the *Dictator* led his Troops into the Camp of the Vanquished, where they put all the *Samnites* they found to the Sword, and made as great a Slaughter of them, as in the Battel. The whole Camp was sacked and pillaged; whatever the Soldiers could not remove, they broke in pieces, and thereby spoiled more than they carried off.

§. VIII. *PAPIRIUS*, on his Part, having marched along the Sea-Coast, was now entring *Apulia*. [16] *Arpi*, an ancient City, formerly founded by *Diomedes* and at first called *Argyrippa*, received the *Romans* without Opposition. Not that *Rome* had entred into a new Alliance with *Arpi*, or that the *Apulians* had received any signal Benefit from the Republick; but they were the old Enemies of the *Samnites*, their nearest Neighbours. The latter, who inhabited the Mountains and the Barbarity of whose Temper, savoured of the Hardness of the Rocks on which they dwelt, often came down into the Plain of *Arpi*, made Incursions there spread

Liv. B. 9. c. 13.

16 *Stephens* calls this City *Lampe*, and *Argos Hippium*; and says the latter Name was given it by its Founder, *Diomedes*, King of *Ætolia*. *Pliny* mentions this City, *B. 3. c. 11. Arpi aliquando Argos Hippium, Diomede condente, mox Argyrippa dictum.* *Virgil* shews us the Origin of this City, in his *Æneid.*

——— *Ætolis surgit ab Arpis*
Tydides ——— Dio

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Dictator.

ſpread themſelves all over the maritime Countries, and committed Rapines in them. So that theſe *Apulians* being Enemies to the *Samnites*, at once became Friends to the *Romans*; and this Diſpoſition of theirs, favoured *Papirius*'s Deſigns. Had there been a good Correſpondence between the Inhabitants of *Arpi*, and the *Samnites*, the *Roman* Army could not have paſſed beyond, or even reached *Luceria*. Nay, it would perhaps have periſhed with Hunger [17] between *Luceria* and *Arpi*. It did not want much of it, as it was. As much as the *Arpinates* were Friends to the *Romans*, the latter ſuffered a great deal, for Want of Proviſions, in their March to *Luceria*. This City itſelf was indeed in great Want; but it was ſoon ſupplied by the *Samnites*, who ſent Convoys of Proviſions thither. As for the *Romans*, they immediately laid Siege to it. They had no Proviſion, but what was brought from *Arpi*, which was able to furniſh them with only ſmall Quantities: and therefore, as the Infantry only were concerned in the Labours of the Siege, ſo the Cavalry alone were employed in getting Proviſions. And theſe often returned loaded with only ſmall Sacks of Corn, and were ſometimes forced to quit them, upon the Approach of the Enemy, either that they might be lighter for Flight, or leſs encumbered in Action.

So that the *Dictator Cornelius*'s Arrival at *Luceria*, after his Victory, was very ſeaſonable for *Papirius*'s Army. He let the Troops, commanded by his General of Horſe, carry on the Siege: whilſt he diſperſed his *Legions* all over the Country, intercepted the Convoys, which were going to the Beſieged, and facilitated the Conveyance of Proviſions to *Papirius*'s Army. The *Samnites* likewiſe had a Camp near *Luceria*. And when they found, That the Beſieged were reduced to a Want of every thing; That their Fatigues were exceſſively great; and That it ſeemed impoſſible they ſhould hold out long; they then choſe to give the Beſiegers Battel. They collected all their Forces together, in order to fight; and *Papirius* did not decline engaging with an Enemy ſo often overcome, and which was always inferior to the *Romans*, in pitched Battels. But whilſt every thing was getting ready for a general Action, Embaſſadors arrived from the *Tarentini*, who had ſent them to put a ſtop to Hoſtilities on both Sides. Theſe Embaſſadors had Conferences ſometimes with the *Romans*, and ſometimes with the *Samnites*, and threatned both, that they would declare themſelves againſt that Nation, which ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in carrying on the War. *Papirius* was not a Man to be terrified with the Threatnings of *Tarentum*. But he nevertheleſs pretended to pay a regard to them, and anſwered the Embaſſadors, That he would confer with the *Dictator* upon the Matter. And indeed, the two *Roman* Generals had a Conference, but without ſo much as deliberating, whether they ſhould regard the *Tarentini*; they only conſidered what Meaſures were moſt proper to be taken for the



Brass. *Brass.*

Diomedes was the Brother of *Meleager*, who killed the *Caledonian* Boar. For this Reaſon, the *Arpinates* placed the Figure of a Boar, with an Hunter's Spear, on the Reverſe of the Medal above, to perpetuate the Memory of the Founder of their City. The Horſe which we ſee on another Medal, alludes either to the Birth of *Diomedes*, who was born at *Argos*, according to the *Scholiaſt of Pindar*, on the 10th *Ode*; or to the ſame Name of *Argos Hippium*, which this Hero gave to his new Colony, perhaps in Honour to his native City, which was called *Argos Hippium*, on account of its Studs, which furniſhed *Greece* with excellent Horſes. *Horace* explains the *Greek* Word *Hippium*, in this Line,

Aptum dicit equis Argos, ditesque Mycenas.

The Fruitfulneſs of the Soil of *Arpi* is pointed out by the Ear of Corn we ſee on the ſecond Medal, which, as well as the other two, has this Inſcription, ΑΡΠΑΝΩΝ. This ancient City, formerly one of the moſt conſiderable of *South-Italy*, was in *Apulia*, between *Luceria* and *Sipontum*. We find ſome Footſteps of it remaining to this Day, ſix Miles from *Foggia*, in the Place the Natives now call *Arpe*, on the Banks of the *Cerbalus*, or *Cervaro*.

17 *Livy*'s Words are, *Inter Romam & Arpos*; i. e. *between* Rome *and* Arpi. But we think there is a Miſtake crept into the Text of this Place; and judge it more natural to read *Luceria*, inſtead of *Rome*; otherwiſe the Author's Reflection is childiſh.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Dictator.

Battel. When every thing was got ready, *Papirius* gave the Signal for the Engagement; which, among the *Romans*, was done, by hanging up a red Coat over the General's Tent. The *Dictator*, and his General of Horſe, had already offered up the Sacrifices uſual before a Battel. They had already conſulted the *Auguries*, when the Embaſſadors of *Tarentum* came to them, and found the *Romans* juſt ready to march into the Plain. *Papirius* accoſted them, and with an Air which ſhewed them, how much *Rome* deſpiſed their Menaces, ſaid; *Our* Auguries *are favourable; and the Entrails of our Victims ſhew, that the Victory will be ours. You ſee it; the Gods are for us. We are marching to meet the Enemy.* *Papirius* was naturally a Man of Pleaſantry; and by this inſulting Raillery, mortified the Vanity of an inconſiderable People, who had Inſolence enough, to undertake to mediate a Peace between two powerful Nations, at a time when *Tarentum* had much ado to ſupport herſelf under her domeſtick Diſſentions. The *Romans* then marched out of their Camp without delay; and the *Samnites* were ſeized with a ſudden Fright at their Approach. They had no Expectations of a Battel; nor had they made any Preparations for it. Perhaps they deſired a Peace, or at leaſt pretended to wait for one, in order to draw *Tarentum* into their Party. When they ſaw the *Romans* drawn up in Battalia, they cried out; *That they referred themſelves wholly to the Negotiation of the* Tarentini; *That they would not fight, unleſs their Lines were forced*; *That they had been deceived, by the Hopes* Papirius *had given them*; *and That they were reſolved to ſuffer any Extremities, rather than render fruitleſs the Advances the Embaſſadors had made towards a Peace.* The *Roman* Generals anſwered; *That the Fearfulneſs of their Enemies was an happy Omen of the Succeſs of the* Romans; *who had only one Prayer more to make the Gods*; *which was, That the* Samnites *might not dare defend their Camp.*

AFTER theſe Diſcourſes, the two *Roman* Generals divided their Troops, in order to begin their Attack on the Enemy's Entrenchments, in two different Places. Some of theſe brave *Legionaries* were employed in filling up the Ditch, others in making a Breach in the Ramparts; and all were equally animated by a Deſire of Revenge. *We are now*, ſaid they, *no longer in* The Caudian Forks, *into which we were drawn by Artifice, and where it was eaſy to overcome us. The Succeſs of this Day depends on Valour only. We have now no Woods, and impenetrable Paſſes, to break through. We have nothing but Ditches and Ramparts in our Way*; *Difficulties by no means unſurmountable by* Roman *Bravery.* Which was no ſooner ſaid, but the Thing was done. The Entrenchments were forced. The *Romans* cut in Pieces both thoſe that reſiſted, and thoſe that fled. They gave no Quarter, either to thoſe whom they found diſarmed, or armed. Neither Men, Children, Slaves, nor Beaſts, were ſpared. Not one ſingle Perſon would have eſcaped this terrible Slaughter, if the Generals had not, by their Orders and Threatnings, forced the Soldiers, who were thirſty of Blood, to leave the Entrenchments. They ſounded a Retreat. And after the Troops were returned, the Generals found it neceſſary to addreſs themſelves to their Soldiers, in the following manner, in order to appeaſe their Fury, and aſſwage their Thirſt of Vengeance. *Liv. B. 9. c. 14.* *You cannot doubt, dear Fellow-Soldiers, but your Leaders rejoiced as much as you, at the Deſtruction of theſe perfidious Men: and have ſhewn as much Anger againſt the* Samnites, *as yourſelves. By our Ardour in purſuing the War, we have given you ſufficient Proofs of our Impatience to revenge the Ignominy thrown on the Republick. And if we have ſpared ſome miſerable Remains of the Enemy's Army, we were induced to it, wholly by this ſingle Conſideration, that* 600 *of our* Roman Knights *are now detained as Hoſtages in* Luceria. *We were afraid of reducing the miſerable People we beſiege to Deſpair, leſt they ſhould raſhly reſolve to cut off the Heads of thoſe illuſtrious Citizens, for the ſake of having the barbarous Pleaſure of ſacrificing them, before they periſhed themſelves.* This Diſcourſe ſatisfied the *Legions*. They were well pleaſed that their Commanders had put a Stop to their Fury, and ſaid, *That they could not ſhew too tender a Regard for the moſt illuſtrious of the* Roman *Youth.*

NOTHING now remained, in order to put a glorious End to the Campaign, but to take *Luceria*, and to ſecure the Fidelity of the *Apulians*, who had hitherto been wavering. A general Council of War was therefore called, in which it was conſidered, whether it was proper to purſue the Siege with all the Forces of the two *Roman* Armies, or to divide them, and continue their Attacks on the City with

one Army, whilſt the *Dictator* made Incurſions into *Apulia* with the other: And the latter Opinion prevailed. *Cornelius* marched away with Part of the *Romans*, found no *Samnites* to oppoſe him, over-ran all *Apulia*, and in this ſingle Expedition, made himſelf Maſter of many Cities, which he conſtrained, ſome to ſurrender at Diſcretion; others to capitulate, and all to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*. As for *Papirius*, he loſt no time, in endeavouring to force *Luceria* to ſurrender. The Remains of the laſt Rout, had taken Refuge in the beſieged City; and according to ſome, even *Pontius* had ſhut himſelf up in it. And if ſo, theſe Succours only helped to increaſe the Famine in *Luceria*; ſo that it was ſoon obliged to capitulate. It ſent a Deputation to the *Roman* General, to offer him the 600 *Roman Knights* detained there as Hoſtages, in caſe he would raiſe the Siege. But *Papirius* was not inclined to be ſatisfied with ſo little; and with his uſual Raillery, gave the Deputies this Anſwer. *The* Samnites *muſt have learnt from the Son of* Herennius, *how a conquered People ought to be treated. He thought it glorious to make them* paſs under the Yoke; *and he ſhall therefore paſs under it himſelf. In ſhort, ſince* Luceria *chuſes rather to have this Condition impoſed upon her by us, than to impoſe it upon herſelf; let her know, That all the Soldiers in her Garriſon, ſhall leave their Horſes, Arms, and Baggage behind them, and* paſs under the Yoke. *I am content, with retaliating upon her, the Affront offered us at* Caudium, *without adding any thing to it. The Citizens of* Luceria, *who have not taken up Arms, may continue there in Safety.* Theſe Conditions were accepted by the *Lucerians*; and 7000 of their Soldiers *paſſed under the Yoke,* with *Pontius* at the Head of them. *Papirius* had the Satisfaction, of thus retaliating upon him, the Ignominy he had caſt on the two *Roman Conſuls*, and their Army: but what gave him moſt Pleaſure, was the Recovery of the Hoſtages, which the *Conſuls*, his Predeceſſors, had given the *Samnites*, for Securities for a ſhameful Peace. It may be affirmed, that no Victory, ſince that of *Camillus*, had delivered *Rome* out of greater Diſgrace; and a Triumph was due to *Papirius* at his Return to *Rome*: but he had fought under the *Auſpices* of another. He did not then [17] triumph, whatever *Livy* may ſay to the contrary: this Honour was reſerved for him, till the next Year.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIII. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Dictator.

Orſius, B. 3. c. 15. and others.

Faſt. Capit.

§. IX. As ſoon as *Papirius* had led back his Troops to the City, *Cornelius*, doubtleſs, becauſe his Time was expired, laid down the *Dictatorſhip*; and another *Dictator* was nominated, probably, only to preſide in the *Comitia by Centuries*, which were to chuſe new Magiſtrates. The *Dictator* was *T. Manlius* [19], ſurnamed *Imperioſus*. He choſe the late Conqueror *Papirius* [20], to be his General of Horſe; and that evidently with the Good-will of the whole Republick, ſince *Papirius* was again promoted to the *Conſulſhip*. He had been nominated *Conſul* the laſt Year; but ſeveral Changes had obliged him to act only a ſecond Part, almoſt all his time. He was known to have been the main Spring of all the Tranſactions of the former Campaign; but he had neither reaped all the Fruits, nor received all the Honours of it. Beſides, the Republick wanted ſo great a General, to carry on a War of Importance. *Papirius* [21] was therefore declared *Conſul* the third time; and *Q. Aulius* [22] *Cerretanus*, who had been *Conſul* once already, was made his Collegue. The two Collegues, either drew Lots, what Province they ſhould take, in the next Campaign, or elſe agreed amicably upon it. At leaſt it is certain, that the *Conſul Aulius* marched towards [23] *Ferentum*, or *Forentum*, a City of *Apulia*, which was

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIV. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS, Conſuls.

18 The Silence of the *Faſti Capitolini*, as to this Triumph, is a ſtrong Proof againſt *Livy*.

19 *Livy* ſeems to have known as little of the Dictatorſhip of *T. Manlius Torquatus*, as of that of *Manius Manius*.

20 At leaſt we gueſs ſo. He had merited this Diſtinction, by the Glory he had lately acquired. The *Faſti Capitolini* indeed don't give us the Surname of this General of Horſe; and for want of Evidence, we muſt therefore have Recourſe to Conjecture. *Pighius* inclines to believe that this *Papirius* was not the ſame who conquered the *Samnites*. He gives him the Surname of *Craſſus*. But this is meer Gueſs work.

21 According to *Livy*, ſome ancient Annals make *Lucius Papirius*, ſurnamed *Mugillanus*, *Conſul* this Year 434, and not *Lucius Papirius Curſor*. But the Authority of the *Faſti Capitolini* leaves us no room to doubt of the Promotion of the latter to the *Conſulſhip*, which he now enjoyed a third time. This Office was the Reward of the Services he had done the Republick in reducing *Luceria*. *Cuſpinian* is therefore miſtaken, in giving him the Surname of *Mugillanus*.

22 In ſeveral Editions of *Livy* the Name of this *Conſul* is diſfigured. In ſome he is called *Æmilius*, in others *Aurelius*; which are the Miſtakes of the Copyiſts.

23 *Ferentum* was formerly a City of *Apulia Peucetia*, a little beyond *Venuſium*; ſo that Mount *Vultur*, a Part of the *Apennines*, lay between theſe two Cities. According to this Verſe of *Horace*,

——————*Et Arvum*
Pingue tenent humiles Ferenti,

Ferentum ſtood in a Valley. It is now called *Fiorenza*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXIV. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS, Conſuls.

then ſubject to the *Samnites*, or at leaſt in Alliance with them: and one Battel was ſufficient to put him in Poſſeſſion of it. The conquered *Samnites* who had retired to *Ferentum*, ſurrendered at Diſcretion to the *Conſul*, who took Hoſtages, to ſecure the Fidelity of the Inhabitants.

IN the mean time, *Papirius* was already arrived before *Satricum*. This City had openly declared for the *Samnites*, after the Affair of *The Caudian Forks*, tho' it enjoyed the Privileges granted to the Citizens of *Rome*. Not content with having aſſiſted the *Samnites* in ſurprizing *Fregellæ*, it had likewiſe received them; and, as it was not far from *Rome*, had opened the Enemies of the Republick, a Way into the Center of her Dominions. It was therefore neceſſary to puniſh the rebellious *Satricani*, and take this advantageous Poſt from the *Samnites*. *Papirius* appeared before *Satricum* with his Troops; and his Name alone filled theſe faithleſs Friends with Terror; upon which, they employed all their Thoughts about preſerving themſelves from the Deſtruction with which they were threatned. In order to appeaſe the *Conſul*, they ſent a Deputation to him, which was received with that haughty Air, which *Papirius* very well underſtood how to aſſume, when he treated with Rebels. *Expect*, ſaid he, *to receive no Favour at my Hands, till you either deliver up to me, or put to death, the* Samnite *Garriſon you have received into your City; Nor preſume to appear any more in my Preſence, till my Orders are obeyed.* Theſe Words filled the *Satricani* with more Terror, than the Siege with which they were threatned. Nevertheleſs, they ventured to repreſent to the *Conſul*, that it was difficult for them to put his Commands in Execution. *How can we*, ſaid they, *compaſs the Deſtruction of ſo many* Samnites, *as we have brought into our City? Ask Advice*, replied *Papirius*, with his uſual Vivacity and Ingenuity, *of thoſe who engaged you to receive more Strangers among you, than you have Citizens.* Before they withdrew, the Deputies promiſed to report the Affair to their Senate; and deſired leave to return to the *Dictator*'s Camp, to bring their Anſwer. This the *Conſul* made ſome difficulty of granting; but at length complied.

SATRICUM was divided into two Factions. One conſiſted of thoſe, who were faithful Subjects to the *Roman* Republick, and who had been concerned to ſee their Countrymen deliver themſelves up to Strangers. The other was made up of thoſe, who were Malecontents with reſpect to *Rome*, and had been the ſeditious Authors of the Revolt. However, both Parties now agreed, that it was very neceſſary to ſatisfy the *Conſul*, and obtain a Peace of him; and in order to this, the Rebels thought it would effectually reconcile *Papirius* to them, if they informed him beforehand of the Departure of the *Samnites*, who were to leave *Satricum* the next Day; the Place being really unable to ſuſtain a Siege. They likewiſe let him know, by what Gate they were to march out, that he might wait to intercept them. But the Friends of *Rome*, on the other hand, did ſomething more. They introduced the *Romans* into the City, and put the *Conſul* in Poſſeſſion of one of the Gates. And the General made his Advantage of both the Information and Surrendry. A Detachment of *Romans* hid in Woods, by his Orders, fell ſuddenly on thoſe *Samnites*, who came firſt out of *Satricum*, whilſt thoſe who were hindmoſt were cut in pieces, by the Troops which had been brought into the City. Thus the Treaſons of the two Factions made the *Romans* Maſters of the Place, which they took Poſſeſſion of, without the Fatigues and Expence of a Siege. *Papirius* entered *Satricum* as a conquered City. He informed himſelf of the Authors of the Revolt; and ſuch as he found guilty, were firſt whipped with Rods, and then beheaded by his *Lictors*. Thus ended the *Conſul Papirius*'s Campaign. That of the former Year was indeed more glorious than this; but he did not receive the Honours of a Triumph till now, on *The tenth of the Calends of September*. The *Romans* thought themſelves indebted to him for the Services he had done his Country the laſt Year; and rejoiced to ſee him enter *Rome*, with all the Pomp due to a Man who had recovered the Luſtre of the *Roman* Name, after it had been obſcured by the *Samnites*. The Fame of this great Man is celebrated by all the Writers of his Nation. It is pretended, that if *Alexander the Great*, who was then dead, had come to attempt the Conqueſt of *Italy*, *Papirius* would have been a proper Hero, to have oppoſed the Conqueror of *Aſia*. But be that as it will, it is at leaſt certain, that no General in *Italy*, in his time, equalled him in Strength

Faſt. Capit.

Liv. B.9. c.19.

of Body or Mind, or in Courage. The Surname of *Curſor* was hereditary in his Family; but he likewiſe perſonally merited it, by his Swiftneſs in *running*. He was a Man of a tall Stature, and majeſtick Mein. And as he was always in Motion, continual Exerciſe gave him a great Appetite, and no Man eat more, or drank ſo much as he; and he was indefatigable in military Labours. The Armies he commanded were often harraſſed, by the fatiguing Duties he required of them. But he himſelf bore a Part in them, like the meaneſt of the Soldiers; and yet the Strength of his Conſtitution was not abated by the ſevereſt Fatigues. He kept his Troops continually in Action. It is ſaid, that his Cavalry one Day deſired a little Reſpite after an Expedition, in which they had ſucceeded; and he pleaſantly anſwered, *With all my Heart; nothing is more juſt. I excuſe you from careſſing your Horſes, or putting your Hands round their Necks, when you diſmount. You may ſpare yourſelves this Trouble.* Such was the Great *Papirius!* He gave himſelf up ſucceſſively to Pleaſure and Labour: But his Pleaſures never made him forget his Duty. And as great a Captain as he was, we ſhall now ſee *Rome* let him lie idle for ſome time; and ſhall not find him appear upon the Stage again, till he comes to experience the unaccountable Humour of the People, in their Judgments.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXIV. L. Papirius Cursor, Q. Aulius Cerretanus, Conſuls.

§. X. The *Conſuls* who ſucceeded the illuſtrious *Papirius*, were two Men, who had never yet been raiſed to this firſt Dignity. The one was [24] *L. Plautius*, ſurnamed *Venno*; and the other that *M. Foſlius Flacccinator*, whom the Nobility had, a little while ago, accuſed of canvaſſing illegally for Offices. Theſe reaped the Fruits of the Victories which *Papirius* had gained. Deputies came to *Rome* from a great Number of the *Samnite* Cities, to entreat the *Romans* to admit them into an Alliance with them, as formerly. It is eaſy to judge, with what Joy the Senate ſaw theſe haughty Enemies humbly proſtrating themſelves at the Feet of the *Conſcript Fathers:* And the latter were ſoon wrought upon by the Prayers and Proſtrations of the *Samnites*; but it belonged to the People, to judge of Affairs of Peace and War. The Deputies were therefore referred to the Tribunal of the *Comitia*; and there they found Men more intractable than in the Senate. The People long deſpiſed their Intreaties, and were unmoved at their Complaints; tho' they were very earneſt and importunate in their Sollicitations. But at length the *Romans*, more to get rid of their Importunities, than out of any regard to them, granted them, not indeed the Renewal of an Alliance they had ſo often broken already, but a Truce for two Years. The *Caudian Legions*, which were a Part of theſe Aſſemblies of the *Roman* People, were too much exaſperated, to grant them a laſting Peace.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXV. L. Plautius Venno, M. Foslius Flaccinator, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 9. c. 20.

The *Conſul Plautius* led an Army into the Field, to carry on the Reduction of *Apulia*; where he ſpread ſo much Terror, that the two Cities of [25] *Teanum*, and *Canuſium* [26], to prevent their being pillaged, ſurrendered to the *Romans*, and gave them Hoſtages. *Capua* was ſo divided by inteſtine Seditions, that it was not in a Condition to govern itſelf; and therefore the *Capuans* deſired the *Romans* both to give them an Head to govern them, and new Laws to keep them in order. Then the *Romans* firſt turned *Campania* into a *Roman Præfecture*, and ſent thither a *Præfect* to govern it. All the Cities the Republick had ſubdued were not put upon the ſame Foot. Some were called *Colonies*, ſome *Municipia*, and ſome *Præ-*

Diod. Sic. B. 20.

[24] The *Faſti Capitolini* give us the *Prænomina*, Names, and Surnames, of theſe two *Conſuls* entire. But ſeveral Authors have much disfigured them, for want of conſulting this ancient Record.

[25] *Teanum* was the firſt City to be ſeen in *Apulia*, as it ſtood on the right Banks of the River *Frento*, which is ſuppoſed to be the preſent *Fortore*. This City was called *Teanum Apulum*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Teanum*, in the Country of the *Sidicini*. We have already ſpoken of it, under the Name of *Teanum Sidicinum*. The *Teanum* here ſpoken of, ſtood, according to *Strabo*, *B.* 6. near Mount *Garganus*, not far from two Lakes, which are now called *Lago di Varano*, and *Lago di Leſina*. There are ſome Ruins yet to be ſeen, ten Miles from the Mouth of the *Frento*, which are thought to be the Remains of *Teanum Apulum*. *Holſtenius* thinks this City ſtood near the Place now called *Civita*, by the Natives.

[26] Old *Canuſium*, now *Canoſa*, ſtood 25 *Stadia*, that is, 3125 Geometrical Paces, above *Cannæ*; with which ſome Authors have very improperly confounded this City of *Canuſium*. They did not conſider, that *Livy*, *B.* 22. ſpeak of the latter as a City ſurrounded with Walls; and of the former, as a Town famous for nothing but the total Defeat of the *Romans* by *Hannibal*. *Canuſium* was not far from the Sea, according to *Strabo*, *B.* 6. and *Philoſtratus* ſays, that *Herod of Athens*, who lived in *Adrian*'s Time, conveyed ſweet Water to this City, thro' ſubterraneous Canals, for the Convenience of the Inhabitants. *Diomedes* was thought the Founder of it. *Horace*, ſpeaking of the People of *Canuſium*, gives them the Epithet of *bilingues*; *Canuſini more bilinguis*, *Sat.* 10. *B.* 1. becauſe they ſpoke both *Greek* and *Latin*. *Dicebantur bilingues quia utebantur Græco & Latino ſermone; unde totus ille tractus olim Magna Græcia dicta eſt.* For this Reaſon, the whole Country, ſays *Horace*'s Commentator, was called *Great Greece*.

fectures.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXV. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO, M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR, Conſuls.

fectures. The *Colonies* choſe their Governors out of their own Inhabitants, and being ſubject to the *Roman People*, were, as it were, ſo many little Republicks, modelled after the Plan of *Rome*. The *Municipia* kept their old Laws, and governed themſelves by the Cuſtoms they had among them, before they became *Roman*. The *Præfectures* [27] were in a worſe Condition than either the *Colonies*, or *Municipia*. The *Præfects* ſent to them annually from *Rome*, had a Power of changing their Laws, and wholly ſwallowed up all the Authority of the other Magiſtrates. Some of theſe *Præfects* were choſen by the *Roman People*; and others received their Commiſſion from the *Prætor of Rome*, and were, properly ſpeaking, no more than his Subſtitutes in the *Provinces*. To this time, the Republick had not eſtabliſhed *Præfects* in any Country. But the Diſcord of the [28] *Capuans* gave her Room to make a new Inſtitution for *Campania*: And afterwards, the *Romans* eſtabliſhed this Form of Government in ſeveral Parts of *Italy*. However, it ſeems probable, that either in order to make the *Campani* ſome Sort of Amends for their Liberty, which they had voluntarily given up, or rather, in order to keep them to their Duty, *Rome* erected a new *Roman Tribe*, in their Country, and called it the *Falernian Tribe*, doubtleſs from the Name of the Hill *Falernus*. It poſſeſſed the delightful Plains which ſurrounded that Hill. Another *Tribe* was alſo eſtabliſhed on the Borders of the [29] *Ufens*, which was therefore called *Ufentina*. So that the *Romans* now firſt had thirty one *Tribes*, which all had a Right of Suffrage, in the *Comitia by Tribes*.

Liv. B.9. c.20. *D. Sic. B. 20.*

It generally belonged to the *Cenſors* to create *Tribes*. Theſe were at preſent *L. Papirius Craſſus*, and *Caius Mænius*, who likewiſe ſignalized their Office, by a *Cenſus*, and a *Luſtrum*, which was the 25th ſince their Eſtabliſhment. It is very probable, that the Number, now taken, of Men fit to bear Arms, amounted at leaſt to 250000; ſince *Livy*, ſpeaking of the Soldiers at this time, makes them amount to that Number; tho' he does not expreſly mention this *Luſtrum*.

Faſt. Capit.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXVI. Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS, Conſuls.

§. XI. THIS happy Year was followed by another as proſperous. The new *Conſuls* were *Q. Æmilius*, ſurnamed *Barbula*, and one *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Bubulcus*. The latter was indeed of the ſame Family as the famous *Brutus*, the firſt *Conſul* of *Rome*, who had expelled the *Tarquins*; but he was deſcended only from a collateral Branch of it, which was *Plebeian*. When the two *Conſuls* entered upon their Office, they found *Apulia* almoſt ſubdued. The Inhabitants of [30] *Teanum*, (who had the laſt Year given the *Romans* Hoſtages, as Pledges of their Fidelity, and whoſe Example had pacified almoſt all the reſt of *Apulia*, and drawn them off from the *Samnites*) hoped they ſhould therefore obtain the better Terms of the new *Conſuls*. They flattered themſelves, that the great Services they

Liv. B.9. c.20.

27 *Feſtus* ſays there were two Sorts of *Præfectures*. One, governed by *Præfects*, who were choſen by the *Roman People*, to whom that Right belonged; and another, whoſe *Præfects* received their Commiſſion from the *Prætor*, who appointed them to adminiſter Juſtice in his Name, and according to the *Roman* Laws. So that the Cities which were reduced to *Præfectures*, were entirely ſubject to the Juriſdiction of *Rome*, and no Regard was had to their former Privileges. Nevertheleſs, in order to preſerve ſome Appearance of a Republick, they ſtill continued, with the Conſent of the *Roman People*, to chooſe themſelves *Ædiles*, a Sort of Magiſtrates, whoſe Office was like that of Mayors or Aldermen. They were to inſpect the Streets, Ways, Edifices, and Proviſions. The Inhabitants of a City which was a *Præfecture*, had alſo the Privilege of chooſing themſelves a *Quæſtor*, or Receiver of the publick Money. To which *Ulpian* and *Feſtus* add, that they had a Right of having Markets every nine Days. *Præfecturæ appellantur ex eo quod in diverſis regionibus Magiſtratus ad Coloniarum juriſdictionem mittere ſoliti ſunt. Etenim in Italia Præfecturæ vocabantur, in quibus & jus dicebatur, & nundinæ agebantur, neque tamen Magiſtratus ſuos habebant, ſed in eas Præfecti mittebantur. Ulp.* Moreover, the Office of *Præfect* expired at the End of the Year, as thoſe of *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, &c. did at *Rome*. Nor muſt we forget, that the *Præfectures* enjoyed more or fewer Privileges, according to the Offence they had given the Republick. They were ſometimes reſtored to their ancient Privileges, and the Rights of a *Roman Colony*, or *Municipium*, which they had forfeited by their Unfaithfulneſs.

28 *Capua* was indeed the firſt City which had the Title of a *Præfecture* given it by the Republick; but it muſt be granted, that *Tarquin* had introduced much the ſame Sort of Government in *Collatia*, which he had forced to ſurrender to him. The King, ſays *D. Hal. B.* 3. diſarmed the Inhabitants of this City, and in order to keep them to their Duty, made *Arunx* their Governor, in the Quality of a *Præfect*.

29 The *Ufens*, now the *Aufente*, diſcharged itſelf into the Sea, not far from *Terracina*, on the Confines of *Latium*.

30 Inſtead of the Inhabitants of *Teanum*, Livy's Words are, *Theates Apuli*; i. e. *The Inhabitants of Theate in Apulia*. Probably the Copyiſts miſtook, in taking the Word *Theates* for *Teanenſes*. It is certain, the City of *Theate* was not in *Apulia*. Its Territory was Part of the Canton of the *Marrucini*, in *The Hither Abruzzo*. It is ſurely no eaſy Matter to believe that *Livy* was guilty of ſuch groſs Miſtakes in Point of Geography. Beſides, if he had meant the City of *Theate*, he would not have uſed the Word *Theates*, but rather that of *Theatini*, as *Gronovius* and *Sigonius* have very judiciouſly obſerved.

had done, would procure them so much regard from the *Romans*, as to prevail on the latter to leave them upon an Equality; that is, to admit them among her Friends, and not to make them a Part of the Demesnes of the Republick. But *Rome* did not think proper to grant all that was desired. They indeed were ranked among the Friends of the *Roman People*, but with some Dependence upon them; and, if I may be permitted to guess, *Rome* obliged them to furnish their Contingent of Troops for the *Roman* Armies, as the other Allies did. *Forentum* was now the only Town left unsubdued in *Apulia*. It was a strong City, situated a little above [31] *Acherontia*. After *Junius Brutus* had made himself Master of it, he led his Troops into *Lucania*. There the two *Consuls* joined their Forces, fell upon [32] *Nerulum* together, and took that important Place by Assault. Thus the *Romans* enlarged their Conquests, after the Adventure of *The Caudian Forks*; and surrounded the *Samnites*, their eternal Enemies, with the Nations they brought into Subjection to *Rome*. The Dominion of the *Romans* began likewise to extend itself, in several Parts of *Italy*. *Capua* had desired the Republick to give her a *Præfect*, and Laws; and the *Antiates* had followed her Example. The latter, dissatisfied with the ill Conduct of their City, and the continual Quarrels among their Magistrates, had recourse to *Rome*. Their Request did Honour to the Republick, and it was therefore granted. *Antium* was not indeed made a *Præfecture*; nor was any one single Person sent thither, to give her new Laws. This was left to the Care of the *Patrons* of the *Colony*. It was then customary, not only for private Families, but likewise for Cities, and whole Provinces, to have their *Patrons*, which were often taken out of the principal Nobility in *Rome*. The *Patrons* of the *Municipia*, were generally of the Families of those *Consuls*, who had conquered them: and the Protectors of the *Colonies* were the Children of those, who had received the Commission to plant them. And the Laws and Regulations, by which the Magistrates of the *Antiates* were to govern them, were given them by these *Patrons*.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXVI. Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS, Consuls.

§. XII. TOWARDS the End of their Year, *Barbula* and *Bubulcus* presided in the *Comitia* which elected new *Consuls*, who were *P.* [33] *Nautius*, and *M. Popilius*. But almost as soon as they entred upon their Office, they were obliged, contrary to Custom, to nominate a *Dictator*. Perhaps the People had but an indifferent Opinion of their Ability in warlike Affairs. At least it's certain, they did not appear at the Head of Armies; but continued in *Rome* all the time of their Administration. *L. Æmilius*, who was nominated *Dictator*, and who chose *L. Fulvius* for his General of Horse, received the Command of the *Roman Legions*, immediately from the preceding *Consuls*. The *Dictator* began his Expeditions with investing the City of [34] *Saticula*. It was in *Campania*, and by the Right the *Romans* had acquired over that Province, belonged to them. But its Neighbourhood to the *Samnites*, had drawn it into the Party of these Enemies of *Rome*: and the Danger this City, now in Alliance with them, was in, drew the *Samnites* out of that Inaction, in which they had continued, during the two Years of the Truce which had been granted them. The *Roman* Historians wrongfully accuse them of Breach of Faith, in this Case: the Time of the Cessation of Arms was expired. Besides, the *Romans* were come to lay Siege to a City in Alliance with *Samnium*. The *Samnites* therefore raised a great Army; and came and encamped near the *Roman* Camp. As for *Saticula*, it was well provided with Men and Provisions. So that, all things considered, the Enemy was equal in Strength to the *Dictator*'s Army. The Troops which defended the City, and which came to force them to raise the Siege, appeared formidable to the *Romans* themselves. The wise *Æmi-*

Year of ROME CCCCXXXVII. P. NAUTIUS, M. POPILIUS, Consuls.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXVII. L. ÆMILIUS, Dictator.

[31] The City of *Acherontia* in *Apulia*, is now generally called *Chirenza*, or *Cirenza*; but some call it *Acirenza* and *Agerenza*.

[32] This ancient City, which *Cluver* calls *Episcopia*, stood near the River *Siris*, or *Senno*. *Holstenius* proves by the ancient *Itineraries*, that it stood over-against the *Apennines*, near the River *Laüs*, now the *Laino*, and the Place now called *Rotunda*.

[33] The *Nautian*, was a considerable *Patrician* Family in *Rome*. *Varro*, in his Book of the *Trojan* Families, derives it from one *Nautes*, who, according to the fabulous Traditions of those Times, received the *Palladium* from *Diomedes*, and conveyed it to *Æneas*, whom he had followed in his Travels. The *Popilian* Family seems to have been *Plebeian*. At least, it was then always customary to take one of the *Consuls* out of the *Plebeians*.

[34] *Saticula* stood on the Frontiers of *Samnium* and *Campania*, at a little Distance from *Suessula*, towards Mount *Tifata*. *Cluver* thinks it was not far from a City now called *Caserta*, which stands upon an Eminence.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXVII. L. ÆMILIUS, Dictator.

lius's Deliverance from the Danger which threatned him, was wholly owing to his Skill and Precautions. As he was apprehenſive, that the Enemy would attack him on both Sides, he choſe convenient Poſts, and faced both the *Samnites*, and the Beſieged, in caſe they ſhould make a Sally. And indeed the Enemy marched out of their Camp, and the *Saticulani*, at the ſame time, came out of their City, endeavouring to join them, and ſurround the *Romans*; but they found them every where upon their Guard. The Battel was indeed doubtful, on the Side of the *Samnites*; and the *Dictator* was diſtreſſed by the Number of his Enemies: but the Body of Troops he had appointed to act againſt the *Saticulani*, gained great Advantage over them. The timorous Garriſon did not hold out long againſt the Beſiegers; they fled within their Walls for Refuge. And then *Æmilius* came with his whole Army, and fell on the *Samnites*, who had got ſome Advantage over the *Roman Legions*. But at length, the Victory declared for the latter; and tho' it was ſomewhat late firſt, it was ſo complete and durable, that the Enemy was diſcouraged by it. The *Samnites* fled in Diſorder; returned to their Camp: and after they had lighted great Fires in it, to conceal their Decampment, they marched out of it in the Night, and left the *Dictator* to continue the Siege he had begun. Nevertheleſs, the Place made a long Reſiſtance. *Æmilius* in vain attempted to make himſelf Maſter of it; his *Dictatorſhip* expired, before *Saticula* was taken.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXVIII. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, Conſuls. *Faſt. Capit. under this Year.*

§. XIII. THE *Romans* had then taken up a new Cuſtom, which I cannot account for, of not ſuffering any but *Dictators* to command their Armies. It cannot be ſaid, that the new *Conſuls* were Men unexperienced in War. They were the ſame *Papirius Curſor*, and *Publilius Philo*, who had more than once triumphed over the *Samnites*, and who were now [35] both choſen *Conſuls*, the fourth time. The Injuſtice the *Romans* did them, was thought ſo incredible by *Livy*, that he has omitted both their Names. At leaſt, if we examine his Words only, we ſhall be apt to imagine, that the Republick was ſolely governed by a *Dictator*, all this Year. But it is certain, *Rome* choſe two *Conſuls* of diſtinguiſhed Merit, probably, on purpoſe to give them the Mortification, of having no Part in the War. Nay, a Man was raiſed over the Head of the great *Papirius*, who could not but be his implacable Enemy. This was the ſame *Q. Fabius Maximus*, whom he had proſecuted ſo far, as to have endeavoured to make him loſe his Head, for having fought a Battel, (in which he was victorious) contrary to his Orders. *Fabius* was named *Dictator*, doubtleſs by the *Conſuls* of the preceding Year, and he ſet out to finiſh the Conqueſt of *Saticula*; whilſt the two greateſt Generals in the Republick continued ingloriouſly, and in a manner out of Office, in *Rome*. Such Mortifications are often given to Men of the greateſt Merit, in popular Governments. After he had choſen *Q. Aulius Cerretanus* for his General of Horſe, the new *Dictator* led a Reinforcement, to carry on the Siege, which had been long begun. As ſoon as he arrived in the Camp, he received the Command of the *Legions*, not from the *Conſuls*, but *Æmilius* the *Dictator*, whoſe Office was expiring. No ſooner had the *Roman* Army changed its General, but the *Samnites* returned, to attempt the Deliverance of *Saticula*. They had already experienced the Valour and Ability of *Æmilius*; and after having been beaten by him, had fallen upon [36] *Pliſtia*, a City in Alliance with the *Romans*. They had laid Siege to it, in order to recover an Equivalent for *Saticula*, which they feared would be loſt. But upon *Fabius*'s Arrival, they abandoned their Enterprize upon *Pliſtia*, and came to try their Strength with the new General. However, *Fabius* was not alarmed, at the great Number of the Troops, the *Samnite* General brought with him; he rather ſeemed

Year of ROME CCCCXXXVIII. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, Dictator.

Liv. B.9 c.22.

35 *Diodorus Siculus*, *B.* 19. reckons *Quintus Popilius* to have been now made *Conſul* the ſecond time, in this Year 438. And we find the ſame Miſtake in *The Greek Tables*, which give *Papirius*'s Collegue the Surname of *Lænas*, with the Addition of II. to ſignify the ſecond time. This was the Surname of *Popilius*, who was *Conſul* the preceding Year. The Reſemblance of theſe two Names, POPILIUS and POBLILIUS, as we read them in the *Faſti Capitolini*, probably occaſioned this Miſtake of the Annaliſts, or Copyiſts. *Caſſiodorus* is miſtaken in making *Lucius Papirius Junior*, and not *Lucius Papirius Curſor*, one of the *Conſuls*. He ſeems to intend by it, that the Son of the latter was promoted to the *Conſular* Dignity. We have followed the *Faſti Capitolini*; a deciſive Authority, againſt the Variations and Uncertainties of ancient and modern Annals.

36 If there be no Miſtake in the Text of *Livy*, this City of *Pliſtia*, and its Situation, are utterly unknown. *Cluver* thinks we ought to read *Pleſtina*, *i. e.* the City of *Pleſtina*, in the Country of the *Marſi*. But it is no eaſy matter to determine the Affair.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus, Dictator.

to neglect them. He continued his Attacks on *Saticula*, and only placed some Bodies of Guards round his Trenches, to cover them. And this Security of the *Dictator* emboldened the *Samnites*, to come and insult the *Roman* Camp, with only a few Squadrons. *Aulius*, who commanded the *Roman* Cavalry, continued in it, whilst *Fabius* employed the Infantry before the Place. The Enemy was already arrived at the Gates of the Camp, when *Aulius*, with the *Roman Knights*, made a Sally of his own Head, and hazarded a Battel, without consulting the *Dictator*. This was a Want of Deference, like that which *Fabius* himself had been guilty of, long before he was *Dictator*. The ill Example he had formerly given, was now followed by one of his own Subalterns. *Aulius* at first repulsed the Enemy; but the *Samnite* General rallied his Troops, revived their Courage, and led them back to the Charge, which proved fatal to him. *Aulius*, who discerned him among the Enemies, and knew him by his Stature, ran to him, with his Lance levelled, and managed his Horse with so much Dexterity, that he laid him dead on the Ground, with the first Stroke. It generally happens, that the Death of a General puts the whole Army into Disorder. But the *Samnites* neither gave themselves up to Despair, nor fled; they took Courage, and thought of nothing but Revenge. The General of the *Roman* Horse had rashly penetrated too far into the Squadron, which guarded the General he had killed. He was all at once surrounded with Enemies, who all threw their Darts at him only. But the *Samnites* gave a Brother of their General the Glory of revenging his Death. He dismounted *Aulius*, and being full of Rage, stabbed him after he had fallen. It was then thought a singular Honour, to get Possession of the Body of a General, who had been slain in the Battel. His Spoils were erected into a Trophy. And the *Samnites* had very like to have gained the Advantage over the *Romans*, of carrying off the General of Horse. But the *Roman Knights* freed *Rome* from so terrible a Reproach. They instantly dismounted, and formed themselves into a close Battalion. It was customary for the *Roman* Horse to fight either on Horseback, or on Foot, as there was Occasion. This Example of the *Romans* was followed by the *Samnites*, but with very different Success. The *Roman* Cavalry, which Way soever they fought, were invincible, and superior to that of the *Samnites*. So that the *Roman Knights*, now become Foot-Soldiers, recovered the Body of their General, and carried it back to their Camp, both grieved at having lost *Aulius*, and pleased with having rescued his Body out of the Enemy's Hands. Had that General survived his Victory, *Fabius* would not well have known how to punish his Disobedience. He would infallibly have been reproached, either with having suffered an Act of Disobedience to have escaped unpunished; or with having punished the same Crime in another, which *Rome* had pardoned in him.

AFTER the Loss of the Battel, the *Samnites* retired towards *Plistia*, in order to renew the Siege of it. *Fabius* pursued that of *Saticula*, with Vigour, and in a little time, it capitulated. The *Samnites*, on the other hand, took *Plistia* by Assault; so that, Fortune seemed hitherto equally to favour the *Romans* and their Enemies, in this Campaign. But she soon declared herself more signally for *Fabius*. 37 *Sora* was a considerable City, in the Country of the *Volsci*, which had formerly been conquered by the *Romans*, who had planted a *Colony* in it, to defend it. It was advantageously situated on the Banks of the *Liris*, and the *Romans* thought the Loss of it of Importance to them. The *Dictator* had nothing more at heart, than to retake from the Enemy, a Place which they had gained by the Treachery of its old Inhabitants. The *Sorani* had massacred the *Roman Colony*, which guarded the City, and surrendered themselves up to the Enemies of *Rome*. *Fabius* therefore left *Samnium* and *Apulia*, immediately after the Surrender of *Saticula*, and marched his Troops towards *Sora*. He expected, that the *Samnites*, after the taking of *Plistia*, which had made them vain, would march after him; and this Expectation made him act with the more Precaution. He took long Marches, and placed Scouts on all the Roads, to bring him notice of the Enemy's March. And at length, he was informed, that the *Samnites* followed him, and were not far off; upon which, he chose rather to turn back, and meet the Enemy, than either wait for them, or continue his Progress. He thought it more for the

37 We have already spoken of the Situation of *Sora*, *B.* 15. *p.* 131. of this Volume, *Note* 106.

Year of ROME CCCCXXXVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus, Dictator.

Glory of the *Roman* Arms, and more likely to increaſe the Confidence of his Soldiers, to be the Aggreſſor, than to ſuffer himſelf to be attacked. He therefore flew to the Enemy, and found them about the [38] *Lautulæ*, near *The Pomptin Marſhes*. There a Battel was fought, the Succeſs of which was doubtful. Night put an end to it, before either Party could claim a Victory: and both Armies continued their March towards *Sora*; the one to attack, the other to defend it.

§. XIV. The *Dictator* had not yet choſen a new General of Horſe, ſince the Death of *Aulius*. But he now determined to fill up this important Place, and nominated to it one *L. Fabius*, probably his Relation. The Inſtructions he gave him facilitated the Victory he ſoon after gained over the *Samnites*. The new General of Horſe had Orders to bring a new Army from *Rome*, to conceal its March from the Enemy, and to make no Uſe of it, till he ſaw the Signal for entering upon Action. Accordingly the *Dictator* was obeyed; *Lucius Fabius* marched privately out of *Rome* at the Head of ſome Levies, came near *Sora*, and poſted his Soldiers in inacceſſible Places. The *Dictator*, who was informed of his Arrival, pretending to be afraid of the Enemy, kept himſelf cloſe in his Entrenchments; and the feigned Fright of the *Roman* General drew all the *Samnite* Army round his Camp. This was the very thing he wanted; and therefore, without informing his *Legions* of the Succours *Rome* had ſent him, he all on a ſudden hoiſted over his Tent the red Standard, which was the Signal for giving Battel. By the Fright the *Dictator* had ſhewed, and his ſudden Reſolution to give Battel, all the Soldiers thought themſelves in extreme Danger, and imagined they had no Remedy left, but to make a brisk Sally on the Enemy. They were not only brave, but their Courage was increaſed by the great Neceſſity they apprehended they lay under of exerting themſelves; and the General confirmed them in this Opinion, by the Harangue he made to them, according to Cuſtom, before he marched to the Battel. *Fellow-Citizens*, ſaid he, *we are unhappily fallen into dangerous Paſſes. We muſt either conquer, or periſh in them. Our Entrenchments are indeed ſtrong enough to guard us from the Blows of the Enemy; but then it is no eaſy matter to bring Proviſions to them; without which we are in danger of being ſtarved here. The neighbouring Cities, which could furniſh us with Proviſions, have ſhaken off the Dominion of* Rome. *So that, neither the Situation of the Country, nor its Inhabitants favour us: And I will not deceive you with the vain Hopes of finding an Aſylum in your Camp, if you return without Victory, as you did the other Day. We ought not to place our Security in our Entrenchments, but in our Arms. Let thoſe who deſign to prolong a War, ſhut themſelves up in a Camp. But let our whole Dependance be on Victory. Come on then, Fellow-Soldiers; March, and meet the Enemy. As ſoon as we are gone from hence, I have ordered Fire to be ſet to our Tents and Baggage. We ſhall ſoon make ourſelves amends for this Loſs, by the Plunder of the rebellious Cities.*

Liv. B. 9. c. 23. *Liv. ibid.* *Liv. ibid.*

Thus ſpake the *Dictator*, and his Harangue raiſed the Courage of his Troops. When they ſaw the Flames riſe from their Camp (tho' the wiſe *Dictator* had given private Orders, that only thoſe Tents which lay round the Ramparts ſhould be burnt, and thoſe in the Center of the Camp ſaved) it exceedingly quickened their Reſolutions. Beſides, this Fire was to be the Signal for the General of Horſe to put his Troops in Motion; and every thing was executed with wonderful Harmony. The Armies of the two *Fabii* marched againſt the *Samnite* Troops, and attacked them one in Front, the other in Rear, with Fury. The Enemy, when thus hemmed in on both Sides, could not long ſuſtain ſo furious an Attack; but were ſoon diſperſed and routed. Thoſe who could, fled, and eſcaped by the Flanks of the Army which were not inveſted. The reſt rallied, in the middle of the Field of Battel; where they crowded ſo cloſe together, that they embarraſſed and hindered one another from fighting. So that being ſurrounded on all Sides, they were cut in Pieces, almoſt without making any Reſiſtance; and the Camp of the *Samnites* was taken and plundered. After this, the *Dictator* led back his Troops to their firſt Camp: And how great was the Joy of the Soldiers, when they ſaw the greateſt Part of their Tents and Baggage not burnt! It fell little ſhort of the Pleaſure their Victory gave them.

Livy, ibid.

38 See what we have ſaid of the Name and Situation of *Lautulæ*, *B. 16. p.* 147. of this Volume, *Note* 22.

ALL that now remained for the *Dictator*, was to take *Sora*, which he beſieged in Form. But *Rome* ſoon after choſe his Succeſſors, without granting him a Triumph. Who can now gueſs what Motives could induce the Publick to diſappoint *Fabius* of the Honours which he ſeems to have merited, by his Exploits in this Campaign?

Year of ROME CCCCXXXIX.

§. XV. THE two *Conſuls* the *Centuries* choſe, were *M.* [39] *Poetelius Libo*, and *C. Sulpicius Longus*. The latter was now raiſed to the *Conſulate* the third time; and *Rome* now reinſtated the *Conſuls*, in the ancient Right their Predeceſſors had enjoyed of commanding Armies. They ſet out, to continue the Siege of *Sora*, and received the Command of the *Roman Legions* from the *Dictator Fabius*. Theſe two Commanders made great Alterations in the Troops, they ſent away moſt of the Veterans from the Camp, and filled up their Places with new Levies. In all Appearance, the Siege would laſt long. *Sora* was a ſtrong Place, both by Situation, and the Rocks which guarded the Upper-City. It ſeemed impoſſible to ſubdue it, unleſs by a tireſome Perſeverance, or by dangerous Attacks. However, the *Conſuls* pitched their Camp ſo near the City, that it almoſt touched the Walls. This was doubtleſs to keep the Beſieged continually in Play, and to diſtreſs them with the Fear of an Enemy, which was always ready to make Sallies upon them. Nevertheleſs, the *Sorani* were not intimidated, either by the Nearneſs of the *Romans*, or the Number of their Troops, or the late Defeat of the *Samnites*, who came to their Relief. The *Conſuls* themſelves were perplexed to find a weak Place, at which they might either force or ſurprize the City. But whilſt they were deliberating about it, a Deſerter from *Sora* came to the *Roman* Guard, and demanded to be brought to the Generals. When he was admitted into their Preſence, he promiſed to make them Maſters of the Place in a little time. He was heard, examined, and as his Scheme did not appear impracticable, and it was running but a little Hazard, to try to put it in Practice, all were for ſuffering him to conduct the Enterprize. He only asked two things of the *Conſuls*; one, that they would remove their Camp to the Diſtance of ſome Miles from *Sora*; the other, that he might chooſe ten Men out of all the Troops. By their removing the *Roman* Camp from the Walls of the beſieged City, he hoped to abate the Vigilance of the *Sorani*, and to lull them into ſuch a Security, as might make them neglect to make their Rounds: And he was not deceived. When therefore he ſaw that the Beſieged were become leſs vigilant, he took with him his ten choſen Soldiers, loaded them with more Darts than Men uſually carried, cauſed ſome *Manipuli* to follow, which he hid in Thickets in the Night-time, marched with his little Company over ſteep and almoſt inacceſſible Places, and at length arrived at the Upper-City, and brought his ten *Romans* into it. The Place to which he came muſt have been an open Space, within the Walls of *Sora*; an uninhabited Quarter of the Town, not defended by any Troops, or by any thing more than a ſingle Wall, becauſe ſuppoſed inacceſſible. As ſoon as the *Romans* were got thither, the Deſerter poſted them at the Head of a narrow and ſtrong Path, which was guarded, at proper Diſtances, by Pieces of Rocks, which the Inhabitants had thrown into it, to render it impaſſable. The Darkneſs of the Night favoured the Stratagem of the Deſerter; and when every thing was got ready, he harangued his choſen Troop, and ſhewed them how eaſy it was for them to go down into the lower City, by that Path, and how difficult it was for the Inhabitants to climb up it. *Three Men*, ſaid he, *are ſufficient to guard the Poſt in which I have placed you, againſt a great Number; whereas you are ten. Beſides, you are* Romans, *and the Choice of the* Roman *Army. The Place and the Night favour you. Darkneſs and Terror will without doubt multiply your Numbers in the Imaginations of the* Sorani. *Continue here therefore, while I go and raiſe the Alarm in all the Lower-City.* After he had thus encouraged them, he came down from the Rock, making a terrible Noiſe. *To Arms! To Arms! Citizens*, cried he, *Help! Help! The Enemy has ſeized the Eminencies which command the City!* Theſe Words he ſpoke aloud at the Doors of the chief Men in *Sora*, and the ſame things to all he met, and repeated them to thoſe whom the Noiſe

M. POETELIUS LIBO, C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, Conſuls.

[39] According to the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Marcus Poetelius Libo* was now promoted to the *Conſulate* the firſt time. The *Greek Tables* make *Sulpicius*, and *Longus*, *Conſuls* for this Year 439. That is, theſe Annals give the Name of *Sulpicius*, and the Surname of *Longus*, to two different Men; whereas they were the Name and Surname of the ſame Perſon.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXIX. M. Poetelius Libo, C. Sulpicius Longus, Conſuls.

brought out of their Houſes. Tho' all theſe Reports came originally from him only, they were ſoon ſpread in all Quarters, and the Commanders, upon hearing them, ſent to diſcover the Truth of them. Several Spears, deſignedly placed at proper Diſtances, were diſcovered, and Fear multiplied them. The News was confirmed by a thouſand different Reports. And at length, every one ſunk into Deſpair, and the Inhabitants thought of nothing but ſaving their Lives by Flight. The Gates of the City were ſhut, and they broke them open. Men and Women, ſcarce awakened out of their firſt Sleep, crowded to them, and preſſed one another to Death to get thro' them. The Tumult, and the Outcries, were heard at a Diſtance, and by them the *Roman* Soldiers judged that the Stratagem had ſucceeded. They therefore marched out of their Ambuſcade, ran and paſſed thro' a Gate which they found open, and put every Body to the Sword, whom they met in the Streets. Thus *Sora* was taken before the Day appeared. In the Morning, the *Conſuls* entered it, and gave thoſe of its Inhabitants Quarter, who ſurrendered at Diſcretion. They only loaded thoſe with Irons, who were unanimouſly accuſed of having been the Authors of the Revolt, and of the Maſſacre of the *Roman Colony*. Theſe Traitors, two hundred and twenty in Number, were conducted to *Rome*, and were all condemned to be firſt whipped with Rods, and then beheaded, without Mercy. The People ſaw all theſe Wretches executed, with Pleaſure. This was an Example of Terror, which *Rome* owed to the Safety of the great Numbers of Citizens ſhe often ſent out, to plant *Colonies*.

§. XVI. The ſame Spirit of Revolt, which had brought *Sora* to Deſtruction, had alſo ſpread itſelf in ſeveral other Places, ſince the Battel of *The Lautulæ*. The *Auſones* eſpecially were infected with it. They were now the ſmall Remains of a great Nation, which formerly poſſeſſed all the Eaſtern Parts of *Italy*. From them the *Greeks* gave the Name of *Auſonia* to all *Italy*. Afterwards, the [40] *Auſones*, being driven out of their Dominions, by the *Oenotrii*, who, in their Turn, gave *Italy* the Name of *Oenotria*, their State was reduced to the Compaſs of a few Cities, in the Neighbourhood of the *Volſci*. Nay, the *Auſones* ſeem to have changed their Name, and to have been called *Aurunci*. But however that be, *Auſona* [41], or *Aurunca*, was now their Capital; and [42] *Minturnæ* and *Veſcia* were dependent upon them. This Nation, proud of their Antientneſs, could not bear the *Roman* Yoke without Reluctance, and was inclined to ſhake it off; but ſtill kept ſome Meaſures with their Conquerors. After the taking of *Sora*, the *Conſuls* led their Troops among this wavering People, reſolving to puniſh them, if guilty; and ſome Traitors among the *Auſones* completed their Misfortunes, and hurried them into utter Deſtruction. As ſoon as they knew the *Conſuls* were arrived, they, to the Number of twelve, preſented themſelves before them, and accuſed the three Cities of *Auſona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Veſcia*, as ſuſpected Cities, which had broken their Faith. Theſe Informers were the Commanders of the *Auſonian* Infantry; and they ſaid: Romans, *you have been betrayed. As ſoon as our Fellow-Citizens underſtood, that the* Samnites *were come up with your Army near the* Lautulæ, *they thought it conquered. Nay, they conſpired together to defeat it, and aſſiſted your Enemies with their Troops. When you had chaſed the* Samnites, *our Citizens changed their Conduct indeed, but not their Inclinations. They did not ſhut their Gates, for fear of drawing a War upon them; but they reſolved to refuſe your Armies Admittance, in caſe they drew near their Cities. What have you then to do, but to make their Reſolutions your Plea, both for ſurprizing, and puniſhing them?* Theſe Traitors were believed upon their bare Words; and the Conſuls pronounced the Condemnation of the three Cities. Detachments were immediately ſent to *Auſona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Veſcia*, which were not openly attacked, but ſurprized by Artifice. The *Romans* which were ſent upon this Expedition, appeared in different Dreſſes. Some kept on their military Habit, and came by Night, and poſted themſelves near the three Cities. Others dreſſed themſelves like C

40 We have already ſpoken of the *Auſones*, and *Oenotrii*, in ſeveral Places.

41 We don't know of any ancient City, which was called *Auſona*. It is certain, the City here ſpoken of, ſtood in the Territory of the *Auſones*. Which makes us believe, that it was the City of *Aurunca*, the Capital of *Auſonia* properly ſo called. We have ſpoken of it already. It had indeed been ruined by the *Sidicini*; but it was, in all probability, repaired by the *Auſones*, or *Aurunci*. See *p.* 184 this Volume, *Note* 5.

42 We have already ſhewn the Situation of *Minturnæ* and *Veſcia*, *B.* 16. *p.* 166. *Note* 66: and 169. of this Volume, *Note* 67.

zens, and hid their Arms under their Robes. At Break of Day, when the Gates were opened, the latter entered the Cities without Suſpicion, killed the Guards, ſeized the principal Places, and gave their Companions notice of it. The ſame Stratagem was made uſe of againſt all the three Cities, at the ſame Hour, and with the ſame Succeſs; but to the Reproach of the *Romans*, with great Cruelty and Barbarity. As the Troops employed in this Enterprize, were out of their Commanders Sight, they ſet no Bounds to their Fury. Upon bare Suſpicions of a Rebellion, they puniſhed the *Auſones*, and made them ſuffer the worſt Calamities of a War. No Inhabitant was ſpared: the Maſſacre was General. Thus periſhed the Remains of a once flouriſhing People, who, if we may believe ſome Writers, owed their Settlement in *Italy*, to *Auſon*, one of the Sons of *Ulyſſes*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXIX. M. POETELIUS LIBO, C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, Conſuls.

LUCERIA had alſo followed the ill Example of the Cities, which had withdrawn themſelves from the Dominion of the *Romans*. This important Place had lately gone over to the *Samnites*, after having murdered the *Colony*, *Rome* had ſent thither. The *Roman* Government ſeems then to have been inſupportable to all the conquered Nations; or elſe the *Samnites* muſt have been exceeding skilful, in cauſing ſo many Revolts againſt the Republick.

THE *Conſular* Army therefore drew near a Place, which it was dangerous to leave long unpuniſhed. *Luceria* was a large City, and well fortified, for thoſe Times; but it was built in a Plain. Whence it may be judged to have been eaſy of Acceſs, in an Age, when the Strength of Places was eſtimated purely by the Height of the Eminencies on which they ſtood. The *Conſuls* took it by Aſſault, and ſpared neither the Inhabitants, nor the *Samnites* who defended it. The Senate at *Rome*, had like to have ordered it to be razed. Its repeated Perfidiouſneſs had made it odious to the *Romans*, even to Execration. *How can it be kept in Order*, ſaid they, *without planting a* Colony *in it! And how can we hazard the Lives of ſo many* Roman *Citizens, in a Country ſo far diſtant from* Rome! But at length, it was reſolved to preſerve a Place, which kept all *Apulia* in awe; and to ſend thither a *Colony*, numerous enough to guard it againſt all Attempts. The Republick ſent thither 2500 of the ancient Inhabitants of *Rome*. It is ſurprizing, that this Capital was not exhauſted by the great Number of *Colonies* it ſent out; but *Romulus*'s Foreſight had prevented it. By an ancient Inſtitution, of which he was the Author, the Places of thoſe who went from *Rome*, were ſupplied by the Inhabitants of the conquered Cities, who were tranſplanted thither, and ſerved as Hoſtages, to ſecure the Fidelity of the Conquered.

BUT all theſe Puniſhments inflicted by the *Romans*, on the Nations which rebelled againſt them, did not hinder the *Campani* from inclining to revolt, *Capua* was an unquiet City, and the *Capuans* naturally factious; and *Rome* was afraid of doing with *Capua*, one of the fineſt, and richeſt Provinces in *Italy*. The Republick therefore choſe to ſend a *Dictator* thither, to keep it in Subjection by Arms, and the Fear of an abſolute Magiſtrate. We think it probable, that the *Conſul Poetelius* was brought back to *Rome*, to nominate a *Dictator*; whilſt *Sulpicius* continued alone at the Head of his Army. And this appears the more plauſible, from *Poetelius*'s not having had any Share, after this, in his Collegue's Victories; which may be inferred from his not having triumphed with him. *Rome* had then two Armies in the Field; one, under the Command of *Sulpicius*, the other under that of the *Dictator*. The latter was the ſame *Mænius*, who had been raiſed to the *Dictatorſhip* ſeven Years before, only to take the Informations againſt the Heads of the *Capuan* Revolters. He then choſe *M. Foſlius* for his General of Horſe; and now placed him again in the ſame Poſt. In his firſt *Dictatorſhip*, *Mænius* had had nothing elſe to do, but to try thoſe who had been guilty of Treaſon againſt the Republick. In the ſecond, he was made General of an Army. And this was what deceived *Livy*, and made him tranſpoſe Events, which we rectify here by the *Faſti Capitolini*.

Diod. Sic. B. 19. Liv. B. 9 c. 26.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXIX. C. MÆNIUS, Dictator.

Faſt. Capit. under this Year.

MÆNIUS came into *Campania*, to keep Things in Order there, without ſignalizing his Power, by any extraordinary Executions. In the mean time, the Hopes the *Samnites* had conceived, of the Revolt of *Capua*, had drawn them together near *Caudium*. There they waited for the deſired Inſurrection of the *Campani*, to ſecure them in their Intereſt, and draw them off from the *Romans*. But *Sulpicius*'s Army appeared all on a ſudden in the Neighbourhood of *Caudium*, and

Year of *ROME* CCCCXXXIX. C. MÆNIUS, Dictator. *Liv. B.9. c.27.*

fruſtrated the Expectations of the *Samnites*. The *Conſul* did not indeed engage them in the Woods and Defiles which ſurrounded the Place. He waited for them, on this Side thoſe Paſſes, and if the Difficulty of the Ways hindered him from coming up with the Enemy, it likewiſe hindered them from coming to him. And at length, the Uneaſineſs of the *Samnites* at continuing long in the ſame Place, induced them to make a Motion, which ended in their Deſtruction. They took a little Compaſs, and entered into thoſe vaſt and 43 fruitful Plains, which gave the Country the Name of *Campania*; and *Sulpicius* came up with them, without delay. The two Armies now firſt appeared in Sight of one another. The *Romans* and *Samnites* began with ſlight Skirmiſhes, rather between the Cavalry, than Infantry. In theſe the *Romans* always had the Advantage; but were nevertheleſs not uneaſy at delaying the Battel. On the other hand, the *Samnites* were more ardent to engage; they ſaw their Army ſuddenly diſcouraged and weakned by this Delay; and at length reſolved to march out of their Camp, and offer Battel. Their Generals poſted their Cavalry in the Wings, with Orders, rather to watch the Entrenchments, for fear of an Irruption into them, than to take Part in the general Action. *Our Infantry alone is ſufficient*, ſaid they, *to ſuſtain the Attack of the* Romans. As for *Sulpicius*, he commanded his Right Wing, and without doubt, one of his Lieutenant-Generals the Left; tho' *Livy* gives this Poſt to the *Conſul Poetelius*. *Sulpicius*'s Wing had much widened its Ranks, in order to make the greater Front againſt the Enemy, who had likewiſe extended their Front very *Liv. B.9. c.27.* wide, in this Part, either to ſurround the *Romans*, or to prevent being ſurrounded themſelves. But it was quite otherwiſe in the left Wing of the *Romans*. The General who commanded it, had cloſed its Ranks, and to ſtrengthen it the more, had added to it a *Corps de Reſerve*, which he poſted in the firſt Line. The Battel began in the left Wing. The *Roman* Lieutenant-General marched all his Troops againſt the Enemy, who were a little diſordered by it. The *Samnites* began to *Liv. ibid.* ſtagger in their Right, and, contrary to their firſt Deſign, ordered their Cavalry to advance. Inſtantly therefore, the *Roman* Cavalry rode full Speed againſt the *Samnites*, and equally diſordered their Squadrons, and Battalions. Then *Sulpicius*, drawn by the Shouts he heard in the left Wing, quitted his right, which was not yet entered upon Action; encouraged the *Legions* in the left, with his Preſence and Words; and ſaw the Victory declare for them. Then he immediately flew back to the right Wing, but found it in a very different Condition from the left. It had already loſt a great deal of Ground, and the Enemy began to put it in Diſorder. But *Sulpicius* had brought with him 2200 Men from the left Wing; and with this Reinforcement he ſoon changed the Face of Affairs. The Sight of the General, the brave Troops he had brought to aſſiſt them, and an Emulation of being as victorious as the left Wing, animated the *Romans* in the right, and excited them to renew the Fight with Fury. And now, nothing could reſiſt the brave *Romans*; it was no longer a Battel, but a Slaughter. All who oppoſed them were killed, or taken Priſoners; and but few of the Enemy retired to *Maleventum*, a City ſince called 44 *Benevento*. In ſhort, there were 30000 *Samnites* ſlain on the Field of Battel



Brass.

43 The Fruitfulneſs of the Territory of *Capua*, is repreſented by an Ear of Corn, on the Reverſe of a Medal, which has this Inſcription, ΚΑΠΥΑΝΩΝ. See what we have ſaid of this City, which was formerly ſo famous, *B.* 16. *p.* 134. of this Volume, *Note* 4. and *p.* 135. *Note* 5.

44 Ancient Authors have boaſted much of the Antiquity of *Benevento*. Its Inhabitants gloried, in having had *Diomedes*, the King of *Ætolia*, for its Founder. The *Roman* Geographers, and Hiſtorians, place it on the Confines of *Samnium* and *Hirpinia*, near the Conflux of the *Sabatus*, and the *Calor*, now the *Sabato*, and the *Calore*. Pliny tells us, *B.* 3. *c.* 11. that it was at firſt called *Maleventum*; but afterwards changed that Name, which was an inauſpicious one, into that of *Beneventum*, which was more auſpicious. *Hirpinorum Colonia, quæ nunc Beneventum, Auſpicatius, mutato nomine, quondam*

Battel. From thence the Conqueror marched to the [45] *Bovianum*, a conſiderable City in the Intereſts of the *Samnites*, and poſted his Army round it, in Quarters of Refreſhment. As for *Sulpicius*, he returned to *Rome*, and entered it in Triumph, on the firſt Day of *July*. This Victory over the *Samnites* muſt have been gained under the Command of one ſingle General, ſince *Sulpicius* only obtained the Honours of the Triumph. The *Romans* were too equitable to refuſe them to *Poetelius*, if he had born the Part *Livy* ſays he did, in the Victory of his Collegue. Year of ROME CCCCXXXIX. C. MÆNIUS, Dictator. *Faſt. Capit.*

§. XVII. The *Samnites* had been vanquiſhed; but they neither were ſubdued, nor had they ſubmitted. The Republick had juſt raiſed the illuſtrious *Papirius* to the *Conſulate* a fifth time, and aſſociated with him *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Bubulcus*. The latter was now advanced to this chief Dignity a ſecond time. Upon what political Principles, or perhaps extravagant Notions, the *Romans* now acted, is not to be diſcovered: But they ſuffered the greateſt Soldier they had among them to continue idle, at *Rome*, and loſe his Time in Trifles, when they might have employed him, much more to their Advantage, at the Head of Armies. Perhaps the People elected *Papirius* in their *Comitia* ſo often, that he might finiſh the important War he had ſo long ſince begun with the *Samnites*; and perhaps it was the Jealouſy of the Great, which render'd fruitleſs the good Intentions of the People, by Factions. But however that be, a *Dictator* [46] was nominated, who ſwallowed up all the Authority of the two *Conſuls*. This *Dictator* was one *C. Poetelius Libo*, ſurnamed *Viſolus*; who choſe that *Poetelius Libo* for his General of Horſe, who had been *Conſul* the laſt Year. Some Hiſtorians, in vain, pretend that a *Dictator* was then named, only to perform the Ceremony of *driving a Nail*, on account of the Plague which then infeſted *Rome*. It is certain, that *Poetelius* received the *Dictatorſhip* to command the Troops. He ſet out for *Bovianum*, took upon him the Command of the *Legions* cantoned in thoſe Parts, and ſoon quitted that Poſt, in order to retake *Fregellæ* from the Enemy. This City, the Cauſe of the War, had of late undergone many Viciſſitudes. It was one while taken by the *Samnites*; as ſoon again retaken by the *Romans*; and ſo was ſucceſſively ravaged by both Parties. *Poetelius* made himſelf Maſter of it without fighting; the Enemy deſerted it, and left it open to him. After he had placed a ſtrong Garriſon in it, the *Dictator* came to *Nola* [47], a City in *Campania*. The Revolters of the Province had fled thither for Refuge, and it was defended by a good Number of *Samnites*. Its Suburbs were large and populous, and the Houſes guarded the Ramparts. The *Dictator* therefore ſet Fire to them, and when the Suburbs were burnt, *Nola* ſoon ſurrendered. After this, the Cities of *Atina* and *Calatia* underwent the ſame Fate as *Nola*. Thus the *Romans* were employed, for two Years, in recovering the Cities which the *Samnites* had drawn off from them by their Negotiations. Year of ROME CCCCXL. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS, Conſuls. Year of ROME CCCCXL. C. POETELIUS LIBO, Dictator. *Faſt. Capit.* *Liv. B. 9. c. 28.* *Faſt. Capit.*

WHILST the *Dictator* was thus ſignalizing himſelf, rather by uſeful than ſhining Exploits, the *Conſuls* provided for the Safety of thoſe Places which the *Samnites* might ſeize. By a Decree of the Senate, *Colonies* were ordered to be ſent to that *Liv. B. 9. c. 28.*

uondam appellata Maleventum. The City of *Beneento* belongs to *The Eccleſiaſtical State*, tho' it ands in the Kingdom of *Naples*. We ſhall hereſter ſee *Beneventum* become a *Roman Colony*.

45 *Bovianum*, now *Boiano*, in the *County of Moſa*, a Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*, was the apital of the *Samnites*, or at leaſt was one of the oſt conſiderable Cities in their Country. It ſtood t the Foot of the *Apennines*, near the Head of the *iſernus*, which the Natives now call the *Biferno*. *liny* tells us, *B.* 3. *c.* 12. that it became a *Roman olony*. *Samnitium Colonia Bovianum*. *Frontinus* ays, that by Virtue of *The Julian Law*, *Rome* ſent *Colony* of Soldiers thither.

46 *Livy* himſelf acknowledges, that the Republick choſe *Caius Poetelius Libo Viſolus*, *Dictator*. But he does not agree with the *Faſti Capitolini*, when he ſays, the *Dictator* choſe *Marcus Foſlius* to be his General of Horſe.

47 *Livy* confeſſes, that the ancient Authors did not agree, about the Succeſs of the *Roman* Army before *Nola*. Some, ſays he, aſcribe the Glory of it to *Poetelius* the *Dictator*; others, to *Junius Brutus* the *Conſul*; and in this Difference of Opinion, the Hiſtorian does not venture to ſay which is right, but leaves it undetermined. *Nec ita multo poſt, ſive a Poetelio, Dictatore, ſive ab Caio Junio Conſule, (nam utrumque traditur) Nola eſt capta.* But what he afterwards adds, is an unanſwerable Argument againſt thoſe who pretended, that *Junius Brutus* had the Command of the *Legions*. They excluded *Poetelius*, continues *Livy*, from that Command, from a Perſuaſion, that his *Dictatorſhip* was wholly confined to the Ceremony of driving a Nail into the Wall of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, on account of the contagious Diſtemper, with which *Rome* was then afflicted. Whereas it appears by the *Faſti Capitolini*, that *Poetelius* was created *Dictator*, REI GERUNDÆ CAUSA, *to govern the Republick*. They argue therefore upon a falſe Suppoſition. So that nothing can be drawn from it, in favour of *Junius Brutus*: or rather, the Inference they make, is as falſe as the Suppoſition. And of much the ſame Credit, is the Account given us by *Diodorus of Sicily*, who falſely ſuppoſes, that the City of *Fregellæ* was taken by *Quintus Fabius*, in the Campaign of this Year, 440.

Year of ROME CCCCXL. C. POETELIUS LIBO, Dictator.

48 *Sueſſa*, which was neareſt *Campania*; to the City called **Interamna* 49, becauſe ſituated on the Conflux of the *Melfis* and *Liris*; to *Caſinum* in the Country of the *Volſci*; and to the Iſland of *Pontia* 50. This Iſland lies ſome *Stadia* from the Continent, over againſt the Promontory of *Circæum*. It had formerly been cultivated by the *Volſci*; but the *Romans* had ſince divided its Lands among a Detachment of their own Citizens. *Rome* muſt then have ſwarmed with People, ſince it was thought neceſſary to ſend away ſo great a Number of its Inhabitants. Nevertheleſs, the *Colonies* deſigned for *Interamna* and *Caſinum*, did not ſet out till the Year following; but *Triumviri* were now nominated to conduct them, and the Detachment conſiſted of four thouſand Men.

* i.e. *Between Rivers.*

§. XVIII. WE ought likewiſe to rank among the Events of *Papirius*'s fifth *Conſulſhip*, an Adventure, which we ſhould ſcarce think worthy to be recorded in this Hiſtory, if it did not inſtruct us in the Cuſtoms of the *Romans*. *Numa Pompilius* had divided the *Roman* 51 Tradeſmen into ſeveral Bodies, among whom the Countrymen, and different Intereſts and Cuſtoms, were continually exaſperating them againſt one another. Hence the daily Quarrels which aroſe between them, to the great Detriment of the Publick. Theſe fatal Diviſions therefore, made *Numa Pompilius* think the *Romans* and *Sabines* like two ſolid Bodies, which can never mix together, as long as they continue whole; whereas, when they are once broken, and reduced to a Powder, the little Particles of each eaſily incorporate with one another, if I may ſo ſpeak, and are ſo blended and confounded together, that both Bodies make but one Maſs. And this Reflection led him to form a Deſign, of dividing the People into different Orders, according to their different Trades and Profeſſions, whether they were *Romans*, or *Sabines*. He judged, that this would make the People forget their common national Factions, and eſpouſe the Intereſts of that particular Body, of which each was a Member. He therefore divided both *Romans* and *Sabines* into ſeveral Companies. The firſt, and moſt conſiderable, was that of the Muſicians. The others were the Companies of the Goldſmiths, Carpenters, Diers, Shoemakers, Tanners, Smiths, Potters, and the like. By this means, all the Tradeſmen were congregated into different Bodies, according to their Trades, each under the Direction of its own *Syndick*, or Head. And each Society had its own Feſtivals, Sacrifices, and Tutelary Gods; juſt as the Companies of Tradeſmen in *France*, now chuſe their Patron-Saints, if we may be allowed to compare the Practice of the Pagans with thoſe of Chriſtians. *Numa*, continues *Plutarch*, found this Scheme perfectly anſwer his End. He thereby united all the People in Affection, and baniſhed that Party-Zeal, which had made one ſay, he was a *Sabine*; another, he was a *Roman*: one contend, that *Tatius* only was his Maſter; another, that he was to obey no body but *Romulus*. Nevertheleſs, *Florus* gives *Servius Tullius* the Honour of this Inſtitution. *At hoc Populus Romanus*, ſays he, *relatus in Cenſum, digeſtus in Claſſes, Curiis atque Collegiis diſtributus, ſummaque Regis ſolertia, ita eſt ordinata Reſpublica, ut omnia Patrimonii, Dignitatis, Ætatis, Artium, Officiorumque Diſcrimina, in Tabulas referrentur, ac ſi maxima Civitas minimæ domus diligentia contineretur.* Theſe Societies had each its *Præfect*, or Governor, who, for the moſt part, continued in theſe Poſts, five Years. Each Community was alſo divided into *Decuriæ*, or Tens, each of which was governed by its own Head, under the Inſpection of him, who governed the whole Community. In After-ages, in the Time of the Emperors, this Eſtabliſhment was not only in *Rome*, but took place in the *Provinces*. So that we find Societies of Smiths, Carpenters, and Cartwrights, mentioned on ſeveral Inſcriptions. According to *D. Hal.* indeed, *B.* 2. and 9. the *Romans*, in the time of *Romulus*, thought it beneath them to exerciſe any mechanical Art; but this Cuſtom was probably aboliſhed by *Numa Pompilius*

Ovid. Faſt. B. 9.

48 This City, of which we have ſpoken already, was called *Sueſſa Aurunca*, both becauſe it ſtood in the Country of the *Aurunci*, and to diſtinguiſh it from *Sueſſa Pometia*, formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of the *Volſci*, near *The Pomptin Marſhes*.

49 The old Editions of *Livy* don't agree, as to the Name of the ſecond City, to which the *Roman* Senate had reſolved to ſend a *Colony*. In ſome, it is *Minturnæ*, *Minturnæ & Caſinum*; in others, *Livy*'s Words are, *Veturnum & Caſinum*; and laſtly, ſome, inſtead of *Interamnam*, have *Internam*. *Gelenius* thinks it ought to be, *In tertiam Caſinum*; as if *Caſinum* had been the third Place after *Sueſſa*, and the Iſland of *Pontia*, to which the Senate had determined to ſend a *Roman Colony*. But *Sigonius* thinks theſe old Editions ought to be corrected, and the Text run thus, *Interamnam & Caſinum*; and his Authority for this, is that of *Velleius Paterculus*, *B.* 1. This Author ſays, that the Republick ſent a *Roman Colony* firſt to *Sueſſa*, and then to *Interamna*: and *Livy* himſelf ſays, *B.* 10. that the latter had the Title of a *Colony*, when the *Samnites* attempted to take it. *Interamna* ſtood in the Country of the *Volſci*; and Geographers give it the Surname of *Lirinas*, becauſe its Diſtrict was watered by the *Liris*. *Cluver* thinks the Ruins found over-againſt *Ponte Corvo*, are the Remains of this City. But *Holſtenius* will have it to have ſtood in the Place, where *Torre di Teramine* now ſtands. *Pliny* ſays of the Inhabitants of *Interamna*, *Interamnates Succuſani, qui & Lirinates vocantur.* We cannot gueſs, why the *Interamnates* were called *Succuſani*, unleſs, as *Cluver* obſerves, this Denomination was given them, on account of a Village near *Interamna*, called *Succuſa*. But *Holſtenius* interprets *Succuſani*, by *ſub Caſino*, as ſignifying, that *Interamna* was not far from *Caſinum*. This Name diſtinguiſhed it from ſeveral other Cities, of which we ſhall ſpeak in another Place.

50 Over-againſt the Territory of the *Volſci*, towards *The Promontory of Circæum*, there were ſeveral Iſlands, which *Livy* calls *Inſulæ Pontiæ*. The greateſt of them was, by way of Eminence, called *The Iſland of Pontia*. It lay between the Iſland of *Palmaria*, now *Palmaruola*, to the Weſt; and the Iſland of *Sinonia*, now *Sanone*, towards *Cajeta*, to the Eaſt. It is about 13000 geometrical Paces, that is, about four Leagues and a half from the Continent; and we muſt take care not to confound the Iſland of *Pontia* here ſpoken of, with another of the ſame Name, which was one of the *Ænotrian* Iſlands, in the *Lucanian* Sea.

51 *Plutarch*'s Account of this Inſtitution, in his *Life of Numa Pompilius*, is as follows. Of all the Eſtabliſhments, the ſecond King of *Rome* made, ſays the Hiſtorian, his diſtributing the People into different Societies, or Companies, was what contributed moſt to the preſerving of Order in the City. It was inhabited by *Romans* and *Sabines*; or rather, it was divided into two Factions, whoſe Partiality to their

Year of *ROME* CCCCXL.

C. POETELIUS LIBO, Dictator. *Fast. Capit.*

52 Musicians held the first Rank. They were employed, in the Sacrifices, the Sports of the *Circus*, and *Theatre*, and lastly, in Funeral Processions. As therefore the Art of the Musicians was both profitable and honourable, their Number was prodigiously increased. It was the Business of the *Curule Ædiles* to employ them; but there then happened to be a severe Man in that Office, who undertook to diminish the Number of these Citizens, who were useless to the State, by lessening their Profits, and Privileges. This *Ædile* was the celebrated *Appius Claudius*, of a *Sabine* Family, which had always been famous for Severity and Obstinacy. *Appius* therefore forbad the Musicians 53 eating in the Temple of *Jupiter*, or partaking 54 with the Priests, of the Members of the Victims which had been offered up to the Gods in Sacrifice; tho' this was an ancient Custom, received by Tradition from their Forefathers. Nay, the *Ædile*, under Pretence of reducing the immoderate Expences of Funeral Pomps to the Standard of the XII *Tables*, ordered that only ten 55 Flutes should be used in Funeral Processions, instead of the long Train of Musicians, which Vanity had introduced. These Regulations provoked Men who were greedy of Gain, and Lovers of good Chear; and they conspired together to desert *Rome* all at once: and accordingly went away for *Tibur*, not leaving any in the City, to assist at the Ceremonies of Religion. This made the People uneasy, who were zealous for the usual Decency in the Worship of the Gods; and the Senate sent a Deputation to *Tibur*, to desire the *Tiburtini* to send back these Deserters. The Magistrates of the Place therefore exhorted the Fugitives to return to their Country. But they were as obstinate as the *Ædile*, who was the Cause of their Desertion. So that, it became necessary to make use of a Stratagem to force them to return to *Rome*, whether they would or not. It is well known, how subject all Musicians, and especially those who play on Wind-Instruments, are, to drink intemperately. A *Tiburtine* Slave made them drink to Excess, at an Entertainment he gave them in the Country, and, as he said, without his Master's Knowledge. When they were set in to drinking, and half drunk, News was

Ovid. Fast. B. 6.

Liv. B. 9 c. 30.

or *Servius Tullius*. For it is certain, one of those Kings formed these Societies, of *Citizens of Rome* only, and not of Slaves and Foreigners, as some pretend. Otherwise, the Institutor would not have acted consistently with his own Design, which was, to unite the *Romans* and *Sabines*. In order therefore to reconcile the Ancients with one another, it must be said, that the Profession of an Artificer was a very contemptible one, in a City, whose Citizens were almost all Soldiers, and minded little but the Glory acquired by Arms. This is the Account *Cicero* gives us of them, *B.* 1. *de Offic. Illiberales & sordidi quæstus mercenariorum omnium, quorum operæ, non quorum artes, emuntur. Est enim illis ipsa merces auctoramentum servitutis. Opifices quoque omnes in sordida arte versantur. Nec vero quicquam ingenuum habere potest officina: minimeque artes probandæ, quæ ministræ sunt voluptatum, Cetarii, Lanii, Coqui, Piscatores, ut ait Terentius. Adde his, si placet, Unguentarios, Saltatores, &c.* For this Reason, the Tradesmen, who lived by manual Labour, were not admitted into the *Roman* Soldiery; nor were they numbered in a *Census*, because of their Poverty. But in pressing Exigencies of State, it is certain they were received into the *Legions*, as *Livy* tells us, *B.* 8. and this is a convincing Argument against those, who leave all Mechanical Arts to Slaves and Foreigners. It must be granted, that Men in a servile State were scarce ever admitted into the *Legions*, all the while the Republican Government subsisted. And as for Foreigners, it is well known they could only serve among the Auxiliaries. Those Artificers, who had laid aside their Profession, used to consecrate their Utensils, and hang them up at the Altar of some Divinity.

52 *Valerius Maximus* speaks of the College of Musicians, when he says, *They came into the* Forum, *on publick and private Festivals, and enlivened the People, with the Harmony of their Flutes; appeared in Masks, and Veils of different Colours; and captivated the Eyes and Ears of the People.* Whether String-Instruments were known in *Rome* at this time, is uncertain. All we know, is, that they were afterwards known to the *Romans*, and those whose Profession it was to play upon them, were Members of the same College with those who played upon Flutes. We have a Proof of this, in one of *Gruter*'s Inscriptions, which begins with these Words:

COLLEGIO TIBICINUM
ET
FIDICINUM ROMANORUM.

It is probable, that the Ancients who speak of the *Roman* Musick, comprehended the Flagellet, Hautboy, and Bagpipe, under the general Name of Flute. It is not yet time for us to treat of the different Sorts of Musical Instruments in use among the *Romans*. We have already shewn the Reader the Form of their Flutes; and the rest shall follow in its proper Place.

53 The *Greeks* and *Romans* generally sung Hymns, and joined Musick, with their Sacrifices; and when they solemnized any Festivals in Honour to the Gods, they thought instrumental Musick especially, an essential Part of the Ceremonies of Religion. Nay, the Pagans carried their Superstition in this Matter so far, that the Sacrifices and *Games* were thought to be rejected by the Gods, if the Flute-player made a rest, out of Time. With this *Arnobius* reproaches the Pagans of his Time. *Commissum statim omnes in Religiones clamatis sacras, si Ludius constitit, si tibicen repente conticuit.*

54 In Sacrifices, the received Custom was, to offer up a Part of the Victim to the Gods, and to reserve the rest for the Priests, and other Ministers, who assisted in the Ceremony.

55 See what we have said of this Law of the XII *Tables*, *B.* 10. *p.* 457. of the first Volume.

brought,

Year of *ROME* CCCCXL. C. POETELIUS LIBO, Dictator.

brought, that the Slave's Maſter was coming. Affrighted at this, they ſuffered themſelves to be put up in Carts, which were prepared for them, and were driven all Night towards *Rome*, whither theſe ſleeping Fugitives were carried. They did not awake till, at Sun-riſing, they found themſelves at once brought into the middle of the *Forum Romanum*. The *Romans*, either out of Regard to Religion, or a Taſte for Muſick, muſt have been very fond of a Company of idle Fellows, who ſcarce did any thing but promote Pleaſures: For the Decree of the *Ædiles* was repealed. The Players on Inſtruments of Muſick were not only reinſtated in their former Privilege of partaking of the Sacrifices, but the People permitted them to celebrate annually, a ſecond Feſtival, to the Honour of *Minerva* their Patroneſs, on *The Ides* 56 *of June*. They had the Privilege of running all over the Streets of *Rome* masked, and in Womens Habits, for three Days together, and of enlivening their

Varro, de Ling. Lat. B. 5.

Feſtiva

Sanguine prima vacat, nec fas concurrere ferro.
Cauſa, quod eſt illa Nata Minerva Die. Faſt. 3

The four following Days were ſpent in offering Sacrifices, and in the Combats which were fought in the *Arena*, in Honour to this warlike Goddeſs.

Altera, treſque ſuper, ſtrata celebrantur arena.
Enſibus exſertis bellica læta Dea eſt. Ibid.

The laſt Day was remarkable for a Pagan Ceremony, which the Mythologiſts derive from *Evander* who, they ſay, brought it into *Latium* from *Arcadia*. The *Romans* gave this religious Act the Name of *Tubiluſtrium*, becauſe it was cuſtomary to purify the *Trumpets*, and other muſical Inſtruments, dedicated to the Worſhip of the Gods, at this time. For this Purpoſe, an Ewe-Lamb was ſacrificed; and the Prieſts joined with this Sacrifice a kind of Expiation, or Purification, which the Ancients have not explained to us.

Summa dies è quinque Tubas luſtrare canoras
Admonet, & forti ſacrificare Deæ. Faſt. 3.

The ſame Ceremony was repeated, on *The tenth of the Calends of June*, that is, on our 23d Day of *May*, in Honour to *Vulcan*: as we are told by *Ovid*, *Faſt.* 5.

Proxima Vulcani lux eſt, Tubiluſtria dicunt,
Luſtrantur puræ, quas facit ille, tubæ. Faſt. 5

Beſides, *The Great Quinquatrus*, was a time of Vacation and Diverſion for Scholars. They then paid their Maſters a kind of Acknowledgment, not as a *Minerval*, or Salary, but by way of Preſent. *Xiphilin*, *B.* 67. and *Suetonius* in his *Life of Domitian*, ſay, that on theſe ſolemn Days, the Orators and Poets met to diſpute for the Prizes of Eloquence and Poetry. In a word, the two *Roman* Feſtivals to which we can give no other Names, than thoſe of *Quinquatrus Majores*, and *Quinquatrus Minores* were very like *The Great*, and *Little Panathenæa* celebrated by the *Greeks*, in Honour to *Minerva*. The Ancients have ſometimes confounded the one with one another, and taken the *Roman* Feſtivals for the *Greek*. The latter being foreign to our preſent Subject, we refer the Reader for a full Account of them, to the ancient and modern Writers who have treated of that Subject; eſpecially, *Meurſius*'s Treatiſe, *De Gemino Panathanæorum Feſto*. But nevertheleſs, we think it proper to give him a general Idea of this *Greek* Feſtival, which the *Roman* Hiſtorians have often compared to the *Quinquatria*. The *Panathenæa*, formerly *Athenæa*, were inſtituted at *Athens*, in Honour of *Minerva* the Protectreſs of that City. Several Clans, from the time of *Cecrops* to that of *Theſeus*, were diſperſed abroad in the ſeveral Villages of *Attica*; each Canton had its own Magiſtrates and Laws; and they were abſolutely independent of one another. *Theſeus* therefore formed a Deſign of uniting all the different Clans, in one uniform State, under one Head: and leſt he ſhould alarm all theſe little Sovereigns too much, each being jealous of the Authority he enjoyed in his Territory, he diveſted him

56 That this Feſtival was called *Quinquatrus Minuſculæ*, or *Quinquatrus Minores*, and fixed to the third of *June*, is evident from *Feſtus*. *Minuſculæ Quinquatrus appellabantur Idus Juniæ, quo dies Feſtus erat Tibicinum qui Minervam colebant. The Feaſt celebrated on* The Ides of June, *was*, ſays he, *commonly called* The Little Quinquatræ. *This Feſtival was celebrated by thoſe who played on muſical Inſtruments, and who payed a particular Worſhip to* Minerva, *as their Protectreſs.* They made a formal Proceſſion to her Temple, to pay their Duty to her, and honour it with their Concerts. *Cenſorinus* ſays, *De Die Natali*, that they ſpent ſome Part of this Feſtival-time in drinking, and the reſt in rambling about all the Quarters of the City, where they ſhewed themſelves as Sights to the People, who crowded together to ſee them. In this manner, they annually revived the Remembrance of the ridiculous Adventure, of their Journey to *Tibur*, and return to *Rome*. *Ovid* has not forgotten this Maſquerade, in the ſixth Book of his *Faſti*.

Et jam QUINQUATRUS *jubeor narrare* MINORES
Nunc Ades O! cœptis Flava Minerva meis!
Cur vagus incedit tota Tibicen in Urbe?
Quid ſibi perſona, Quid ſtola longa volunt?

The Name of *Quinquatrus Minuſculæ*, and *Quinquatrus Minores*, was given this Feſtival, to diſtinguiſh it from another, which was alſo conſecrated to *Minerva*, and which the Ancients call *Quinquatria*, or *Quinquatrus Majores*. It fell on *The fourteenth of the Calends of April*; that is, according to our Way of reckoning, on the 19th Day of *March*. *Aulus Gellius* is of opinion, *B.* 2. *c.* 21. that the Word *Quinquatrus* ſignified the five Days the *Romans* ſpent in Rejoicings, after *The Ides of March*; *Quod quinque ab Idibus dierum numerus ſit, & Atrus nihil ſignificet. Varro* ſpeaking of this Feſtival, ſays it was called *Quinquatrus*, not becauſe it laſted five Days ſucceſſively, as ſome have thought, tho' it continued but one: but becauſe the Day after the *Ides* was called *Quinquatrus*. Thus, continues he, the *Tuſculans* called *The ſixth of the Ides*, *Sexatrus*, and the ſeventh *Septimatrus*. And *Feſtus* agrees with *Varro*, in his Interpretation. But *Ovid* makes the *Quinquatria* to laſt five Days.

Una dies media eſt, & fiunt ſacra Minervæ,
Nominaque a junctis quinque diebus habent.
Faſt. 3.

In order to reconcile theſe two different Opinions, it may be ſaid, That this Feſtival, when firſt inſtituted, continued but for one Day; and That afterwards, four Days more were added to it. According to *Feſtus*, this was, as it were, the Anniverſary of the Dedication of the Temple, which the *Romans* built to the Honour of *Minerva*, on the Hill *Aventinus*. The firſt Day of the *Quinquatrus* was ſpent in ſinging the Praiſes of the Goddeſs; and eſpecially in celebrating the Wonders of her Birth, according to the fabulous Mythology of the Heathen. For this Reaſon, *Ovid* ſays, that no Victims were ſlain, and the Shews of the *Gladiators* were forbidden, on that Day.

Festival by looſe Songs, ſet to old Tunes. *Livy*, who partly gives us this Account, is miſtaken only in the Date of this Event. He makes it to have happened in the *Cenſorſhip* of *Appius*; whereas it was in his *Ædileſhip*. Nevertheleſs, the Muſicians may indeed have left *Rome* during the former, and returned thither during the latter. But however it be, it is a very pardonable Miſtake, concerning an Affair of ſo little Importance.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXL. C. POETELIUS LIBO, Dictator.

§. XIX. IN the mean time, the Government was put into the Hands of two Men, who had never yet been raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*. One of them was *M.* [58] *Valerius Maximus*, the other *P. Decius Mus*. The latter fell dangerouſly ill, which obliged him to continue in *Rome:* But his Collegue went to complete the Reduction of the *Samnites*, whoſe Forces were weakened. His Expeditions, like thoſe of ſome of his Predeceſſors, doubtleſs conſiſted only in ſubduing all the Nations which had aſſiſted theſe indefatigable Enemies, and reducing *Samnium* to her own Strength. But whilſt he was buſy in the Eaſt of *Italy*, News was brought to *Rome* of a new War. The more Northern *Hetrurians*, beyond the *Tyber*, threatened the *Romans*. Hiſtorians have not told us the Cauſes of the ſudden Motion of this formidable People; but it is certain, that the Republick had more Reaſon to fear them than any other Nation, except that of the *Italick Gauls*. *Rome* had not yet carried her Conqueſts far into *Hetruria*, either becauſe this Country abounded with Men and Cities, or becauſe it was impoſſible for her to ſubdue ſo many Nations, in ſo many different Places, all at once. The Dominion of the *Hetrurians* may be ſaid to have then reached almoſt to the very Gates of *Rome*. The *Romans* were therefore uneaſy at the News of this unexpected War, which muſt neceſſarily retard their Progreſs in the Eaſt; but they found Remedies enough within their own Walls. *Decius* the *Conſul* nominated a *Dictator*, by order of the Senate, and appointed *C. Sulpicius Longus* to be the Man; and he choſe that *Junius Brutus* for his General of Horſe, who had been *Conſul* the laſt Year. The *Dictator* made it his firſt Buſineſs to raiſe a powerful Army. All the *Roman* Youth were obliged, by his Order, to enroll themſelves in the *Legions*. New Arms were made, and great Stores of Proviſions laid up. But all theſe Preparations did not ſwell *Sulpicius's* Mind, or cauſe him to begin a War with Precipitation, which might at leaſt divert the *Roman* Armies from purſuing the Enterprizes already begun. He reſolved to act upon the defenſive, and ſuffer the *Hetrurians* to commit the firſt Hoſtilities; and the Moderation of the *Dictator* had its due Effect. The *Hetrurians* kept within their own Bounds, and *Sulpicius*, who would not march out of the *Roman* State, had the Satisfaction, not to add new Enemies to thoſe which were already contending with the Republick.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLI. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS, P. DECIUS MUS, Conſuls. *Liv. B.* 9. *c.* 29.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLI. C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, Dictator. *Faſt. Capit.*

lf of the ſupreme Authority, only reſerving to mſelf the Command of Armies, and the Execuon of the Laws. The reſt he left to be diſpoſed , by the Suffrages of the People. After this, he ſembled moſt of the Inhabitants of the Country the Capital, and they all became but one People. nd in order to perpetuate the Memory of this adntageous Union, *Theſeus* inſtituted the *Panathea*; during the Celebration of which, all the Naons round about came to *Athens*, as to their comon City. The Solemnity laſted only one Day, firſt; but afterwards, the many *Games*, and Shews hich were celebrated, in ſolemnizing it, required ore time. The *Greek* Authors make a Diſtinction tween *The Great*, and *Little Panathenæa*. *The eat* were celebrated every five Years; *The Little*, a ſtated time every Year. Every City belonging *Attica*, was obliged to furniſh an Ox for a Saifice, on theſe publick Rejoicings; and of theſe en an *Hecatomb* was made to *Minerva*; after ich, the Fleſh of the Victims was diſtributed aong the People. On this occaſion, the *Peplos*, or broidered Tunick of the Goddeſs, was carried Proceſſion. Her Actions, and thoſe of *Jupiter*, d the Exploits of Heroes, were embroidered upon n Gold. The chief Entertainments of that infi- Number of *Greeks*, who came from all Parts, join in this Solemnity, were Horſe-Races, Wreſtgs, Concerts of Muſick, and the Conteſts of the Orators and Poets, for their reſpective Prizes. The Expences of this Feſtival were ſo exceſſively great, that *Demoſthenes* ſeems to reproach the *Athenians*, in his *Firſt Philippick*, with laying out more Money on their *Panathenæa*, than would fit out a naval Armament.

57 Or elſe, as *Pighius* conjectures, the firſt Edict, which confined the Flute-players, who attended Funerals, to the Number of ten, muſt be referred to the *Ædileſhip* of *Appius Claudius*. But perhaps he was *Cenſor*, ſays that Writer, when he publiſhed a ſecond Edict, whereby he excluded the Muſicians from the ſolemn Feaſts which were made in the Temple of *Jupiter*. This Behaviour of *Appius* towards them, had given them an utter Averſion to him, and was the Occaſion of their Plot, to leave *Rome*, and go and ſettle at *Tibur*.

58 This *Marcus Valerius* had been twice *Prætor*; once in the Year of *Rome* 437; and again in the Year 439, according to *Livy*, *B.* 9.

59 According to the Text of *Livy*, the *Dictatorſhip* was not conferred on *C. Sulpicius Longus*, but on *Caius Junius Bubulcus*; and this Hiſtorian makes no mention of any General of Horſe; tho' one was never created without the other. But the *Faſti Capitolini* give us a more certain Account of this Election. They tell us, that the former was created *Dictator*, and the latter General of Horſe.

Year of ROME CCCCXLI. C. Sulpicius Longus, Dictator.

§. XX. At home, the City was disturbed by the Innovations of *Appius Claudius* who from having been *Ædile* the last Year, was now become *Censor*. He was a Man extremely wedded to his own Thoughts, bold enough to undertake any thing and steady enough to be able to maintain whatever he undertook. Besides, he was a zealous Citizen; and, had he not been so tenacious of his own Opinions, a good Counsellor; but obstinate, to a Neglect of all Decency and Regard for Mankind. He was an able *Civilian*, and was the Oracle of the *Romans* in all knotty Points of Law; but a Lover of Reformations, and took great Delight in overturning the most ancient Institutions, in interpreting the Laws, and setting up for a Legislator. He gave Proofs of this odd Character, in the Time of his *Censorship* and we shall hereafter see, in his *Consulship*, what Talents he had for War. This Great Man (for if taken all together he was really so) being made *Censor*, found out a Way to correct the Vanity of the Senate, after he had in vain attempted to reform the Taste of the *Romans* for Musick, in his *Ædileship*. It is well known that it belonged to the *Censors* to draw up and read, after every *Lustrum*, a List of those Citizens who had a Right to sit and vote in the Senate. It had hitherto been filled either with the *Patricians*, or at least with the most honourable of the Commoners. But *Appius* took upon him to put the most odious Names in his List, and to join with the *Patricians*, and most considerable *Plebeians*, some of those whom the *Romans* called *Libertini* [60], because their Fathers had been Slaves and had afterwards obtained their Liberty. This was putting a shameful Affront on the chief Body in the Republick, which shared the Sovereign Power with the People. So that C. [61] *Plautius*, *Appius*'s Brother *Censor*, laid down his Office. It is said that *Appius* cunningly deceived him, by making him believe he would abdicate himself. Whereas he, tho' it was unlawful to hold the *Censorship*, after the Death of a Collegue, and probably likewise after his Abdication, maintained himself in his Post; and, by mere dint of Obstinacy, succeeded in his Designs. Nay, the Attempts of this single *Censor* went farther. After he had debased the Senate, he attacked the Priesthood. It is well known, that the Honours of the Sacrificers Office were confined to the Nobility: But *Appius* resolved to confer them even upon Slaves. The most ancient Priesthood in *Rome*, was that [62] of the Temple of *Hercules*, and of the Altar, which was consecrated to him, under the

Pomponius, de origine Juris.

Pædianus in Cic. Auth. of Illustr. Men, Liv. B. 9. c. 29.

60 *Suetonius* tells us, in his *Life of Claudius*, *ch.* 24. that in the earliest Ages, the *Romans* gave the Children of *Freedmen* the Name of *Libertini*; and their Fathers that of *Liberti*. In this Sense, these two Terms were used, says he, in the Time of *Appius Claudius*. And yet most ancient *Civilians*, and *Roman* Writers, use them synonimously to signify *Freedmen*. *Cicero*, in his *First Oration against Verres*, calls the Heir of *Trebonius* a *Roman Knight*, sometimes *Libertus*, and sometimes *Libertinus*. *Trebonius*, says he, *fecit hæredem Libertum suum*; and afterwards, speaking of the same Man, *Equiti Romano Libertinus homo fit hæres*. Some Moderns think, that *Libertus* was used in Opposition to him, whose *Freedman* had obtained his Liberty; and *Libertinus* in Opposition to *Ingenuus*, which signified a Person of free Condition. But whatever is the Meaning of these two Terms, *Appius* not only made some *Freedmen*, or if you will, the Sons of *Freedmen*, Senators; but, according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Poplicola*, he likewise incorporated them in the *Tribes*, and gave them a Right of Suffrage. A Privilege, says he, which had never yet been granted to any *Freedman* but *Vindex*, and to him only by way of Reward for the important Service he did the Republick, by discovering the Conspiracy of the *Aquilii* and *Vitellii*, in favour of *Tarquin the Proud*. But if this be true, whence is it that several Historians of great Authority have told us, that *Servius Tullius* formed four *Tribes* of *Freedmen* in *Rome* itself, and gave them the same Privileges other *Roman* Citizens enjoyed? The Contradiction is no otherwise to be avoided, than by saying, that *Appius Claudius* incorporated the *Freedmen* into the *Country-Tribes*, from which they had hitherto been excluded. And this Opinion is confirmed by what *Livy* says of the disannulling of this Decree, which was so very offensive to the Nobility, by *Quintus Fabius Rullianus*, nine Years after. He adds, that by another Law the *Freedmen* were a second time confined to the four *City-Tribes*. We have two old Inscriptions yet remaining, which both shew the Innovation made by *Appius Claudius*. One of them was found at *Rome*, the other at *Cosmo*, in the *Marquisate of Ancona*, near an old Altar, consecrated to *Æsculapius* and *Hygia*, the Goddess of *Health*. The first bears the Name of one *Quintus Trebonius*, and the other mentions one *Caius Oppius*. The former declares himself to be descended from those *Freedmen* who were made Senators, as appears by the Words of the Inscription: Q. Trebonius Q. F. Cla. Aristo ex Patribus libertinis sibi et suis lib. Libertabusque Posterisque eorum. The latter says he was the *Freedman* of *Claudius*, and incorporated into the *Claudian Tribe*, among the Senators created by *Appius*.

61 The *Fasti Capitolini* tell us, that *Caius Plautius* was surnamed *Venox* the first time, when he was *Censor*. Censor Appius Claudius C. Ap. N. Cæcus. C. Plautius. C. F. C. N. Q. in hoc Honore Venox appellatus est. F. xxvi. *Frontinus* says, the particular Art the *Censor* had of finding out Springs of Water, gained him this Surname. *Ab indagendis aquorum venis Venox dictus est.* It is certain from these initial Letters in the *Fasti*, L. F. xxvi. that he performed the Ceremony of the 26th *Lustrum*, with *Appius Claudius*.

62 There were several Temples dedicated to *Hercules* in *Rome*. That here spoken of, was in the Ox-market, near the Altar dedicated to the same God, and called *Ara Maxima*. It was round,

Title

Year of ROME CCCCXLI.

C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, Dictator.

D. Hal. B. 1.

Title of *Ara Maxima.* This Altar had been erected in *Hercules*'s Life-time, by *Evander*, in Memory of the Defeat of *Cacus*; and every Year after, a young Bull was offered on it, in Honour to this pretended Son of *Jupiter*. And at that very time, the Prieſthood of this venerable Sanctuary was given to an old Man of the *Aborigines*, named [63] *Potitius*; and his Poſterity, which had been perpetuated in *Rome*, had all along enjoyed this ſacred Office, from Father to Son. This moſt noble, and moſt ancient of all the Prieſthoods, was that which the *Cenſor* laboured to diſhonour. He prevailed on the [64] *Potitii*, a numerous Family, divided into twelve Branches, in which there were at leaſt thirty Men at the Age of *Puberty*, to come into his Meaſures; and adviſed them to give up this troubleſome Office to the publick [65] Slaves; that is, to ſuch Slaves as belonged to the Senate and People collectively conſidered, and were employed only in publick Works. The *Cenſor* found Means to inſinuate himſelf ſo far into the Good-will of the *Potitii*, as to be able to induce them to transfer over their ancient Prerogative, to theſe contemptible Men. By this means, *Appius* gave the Nobility a fatal Blow; the Prieſthood being now the only Office which the *Patricians* did not ſhare with the

Val. Max. B. 1. *c.* 1. §. 17. *Liv. B.* 9. *c.* 29.

not comparable to the others for Magnificence, and had nothing to recommend it but its Antiquity. *Plutarch*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, ſay, that Women and Slaves were forbidden to enter this Temple. The Mythologiſts ſay on this Occaſion, that as *Hercules* was returning from *Spain*, and bringing into *Italy* the Oxen he had taken from *Cacus*, he was one Day very thirſty, and deſired a Woman to give him ſome Drink, which ſhe refuſed, (ſays *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 11.) under pretence, that ſhe and her Companions were celebrating a Feſtival in Honour to the good Goddeſs. She urged, as the Reaſon of her Refuſal, that Men were by the Laws of Religion forbidden, to taſte of any thing which had been offered, on that Day, by a Woman. This Anſwer, it's ſaid, made *Hercules* very angry; and he, by way of Reprizal, enjoined the *Potitii*, not to ſuffer any Woman to partake of the Sacrifices made in Honour to him. *Pliny* and *Solinus* relate it, as a Miracle, upon the Credit of a fabulous Tradition, that Dogs and Flies never came into the Temple, of which we are ſpeaking. And they eſtabliſh the Truth of this pretended Miracle, upon another yet more ridiculous. According to them, *Hercules* was much troubled with the Flies, which ſwarmed about a Victim, he was offering to *Jupiter*; and in his Paſſion curſed the God *Myagros*, ſo called from the Name, the *Greeks* give thoſe Inſects. And *Pauſanias* vouches for much ſuch another Story. He ſays, in his *Deſcription of Greece*, that *Hercules* being much moleſted by a Swarm of Flies, had recourſe to *Jupiter* Ἀπόμυος, or *The Fly-chaſer*: and after he had offered Sacrifice to this God, he had the Pleaſure of ſeeing theſe little Animals take their Flight, and retire beyond the River *Alpheus*. To which *Pliny* and *Solinus* add, that the Sight of *Hercules*'s Club frightened away the Dogs, as he was ſacrificing; and that none of them entered his Temple ever after. Theſe Fables, how incredible ſoever, ought to be mentioned, in order thereby to diſcover the Riſe of the Roman Superſtitions. The Reader will, no doubt, be ſurprized at the Extravagancies of ſo monſtrous a Religion, and at the Credulity of thoſe, who could ſolemnly, and deliberately, relate Facts of this nature. As to the Altar at *Rome*, called *Ara Maxima*, it has already been mentioned, *B.* 1. *p.* 8. of the firſt Volume. To which we ſhall only add, that the Romans had ſo great a Veneration for this ancient Monument, that ſeveral of them offered up to *Hercules* the tenth of their Goods, on this Altar. They pretended to imitate thereby, this fabulous Hero, who ſacrificed on this very Altar, the tenth Part of the Oxen he had taken from *Geryon*. But they, generally ſpeaking, thought to get by this Offering. They hoped to have it returned an hundred-fold; and believed, that it would make them very proſpe-

rous. And they founded this Hope, on a pretended Promiſe *Hercules* had made, of greatly enriching thoſe, who ſhould conſtantly give him a Part of their Goods. *Fulvius* mentions an *Hercules* of gilt Braſs, which was dug up, in his time, near the Place, where *The Great Altar*, or *Ara Maxima*, ſtood. *Marlian* ſays, that it was found in the Ruins of an old Temple, which was deſtroyed in the *Pontificate* of *Sixtus* IV. The Statue is yet to be ſeen in the Apartment of *The Conſervatores*. But it does not ſeem to be the ſame Statue of *Hercules* which had been erected in the Ox-market. The Head of this Statue was veiled, according to *Macrobius*; who ſays, *Saturnal. B.* 3. that it was uſual to offer Sacrifice in the Temple of *Hercules*, over-againſt the old Altar, bare-headed, out of reſpect to the God, who was covered. *Cuſtoditur in eodem loco, ut omnes aperto capite ſacra faciant. Hoc fit ne quis in Æde Dei habitum ejus imitetur. Nam ibi operto ipſe Capite eſt.* Whereas, the Statue we now have, has its Head uncovered.

63 *D. Hal.*'s Account of the Prieſthood of the *Potitii*, is this. *Hercules* being acknowledged to be a God by *Evander*, and the People of *Latium*; he himſelf ſettled the Order of the Sacrifices which the Nation engaged to offer him, every Year. He committed the Care of his Worſhip, and gave the Prieſtly Offices, to two of the moſt noble Families in the Country, thoſe of the *Potitii*, and *Pinarii*: and in length of time, the former gained ſome Advantage over the latter. They had, by way of Preference, the Right of beginning the Sacrifices, and ſharing the Fleſh of the Victims among them. The *Pinarii* were not permitted to partake of them: and in all the Ceremonies, at which it was neceſſary both Families ſhould aſſiſt, they were always inferior to the *Potitii*. This Puniſhment was the Effect of their Negligence. They were ordered to be at a Sacrifice very early in the Morning, and did not come till the Entrails of the Victims were conſumed. Nevertheleſs, adds *D. Hal.* this Prieſthood is not continued down, in either of theſe Families, to our time; it is now diſcharged by Slaves, bought with the Publick Money.

64 *Feſtus* ſays, that *Appius Claudius* gave the *Potitii* 50000 *Aſſes* of Braſs, for their Prieſthood, which the *Cenſor* gave to Slaves: and by way of Puniſhment for this Contempt, the whole Race of the *Potitii* was, according to him, extirpated, in the Space of thirty Days. But in this he differs from *Val. Maximus*; who only ſays, that thirty Perſons of that Family, which was divided into twelve Branches, died at the End of the Year.

161 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d. Arbuthnot.*

65 Not only the Senate and People, but the ſeveral Colleges eſtabliſhed in *Rome* by *Numa Pompilius*, kept Slaves at their own Expence.

Year of ROME CCCCXLI. C. Sulpicius Longus, Dictator.

Plebeians. And if we believe that Hiſtorian, who has moſt affected to fill h Hiſtory with wonderful Events, we muſt ſay, with him, that *Hercules* amply revenge himſelf on the *Potitian* Family, which had deſpiſed him. We muſt affirm, as h does, that all the Men, marriageable, or married, of this ancient Race, died in Year's time, with all their Deſcendants. But other Hiſtorians aſcribe this Mortali to the Vengeance of the God *Mars:* So that the Truth of this Miracle becom ſuſpected, even from the different Accounts the Pagans themſelves give us of i *Livy* alſo adds, That *Appius* was, ſome time after, puniſhed for this wicked Attemp againſt the Prieſthood of *Hercules*, with the Loſs [66] of his Sight; and That he w from thence ſurnamed *Cæcus*. But we ſhall, in its proper Place, ſhew what Judg ment ought to be formed of this new Prodigy, from more authentick Teſt monies.

Livy. B.9. c.29. Feſtus, under the Word Potitius.

THUS *Appius* the *Cenſor* caſt a Blemiſh on the Senate and Prieſthood, thro' h Perverſeneſs; but he made his Country amends, by the uſeful Works he undertoo with Succeſs. *Rome* had, till his time, no Water for common Uſe, but what w taken out of Wells which were often dug in marſhy Grounds, and the Water o the *Tyber*, which was not good to drink. Nevertheleſs, the People were infinitel increaſed in the City, and they could neither get Water enough, nor ſuch as wa wholeſome. The *Cenſor* therefore undertook to bring to *Rome* the Water [67] o ſeveral Rivulets, and to furniſh the Citizens with Plenty of the moſt wholſom Water all round the City. The Aqueduct he built, had indeed nothing of th Magnificence of thoſe ſtately Structures, which the *Romans* afterwards erected in order to bring into their City the Waters of the many Fountains, which the conveyed to their *Circus*, their *Amphitheatres*, their *Thermæ*, and their privat Houſes. *Appius* dug his Canal under Ground, and laid it very deep, either becau the Art of Levelling was not then brought to Perfection, or becauſe *Rome* was ye too much expoſed to the Incurſions of her Enemies, who might have deſtroye ſtately Arches, and cut off the Water from the *Romans*. But *Appius*'s Aqueduc began ſeven Miles from *Rome*, and after running a long way under Ground, fir diſcharged Part of its Waters between the Gates [68] *Capena* and [69] *Trigemina*, an then conveyed the reſt quite to the *Campus Martius*. The *Cenſor* gave this Wate with which he preſented the *Romans*, his own Name, and it was long after calle *Aqua Appia*.

Frontinus de Aquæductibus.

APPIUS alſo undertook another Work, which was equally uſeful to the R publick. The Road from *Rome* to *Capua* was unpaſſable, eſpecially for the *Ro man* Armies, which were often obliged to croſs the *Pomptin* Marſhes, to mak War in *Samnium*, and beyond it, in all the Eaſt of *Italy*. The *Cenſor* therefo was the firſt *Roman* who began one of thoſe Works, the Remains of which, a

66 According to *Diodorus Siculus*, *Appius Claudius* confined himſelf to his Houſe, and pretended to be blind. He did not appear in publick, to avoid the Reproaches of the Senators, whom he had exaſperated by the Affront he had offered them.

67 Theſe Rivulets came from ſeveral Places, and united near the Territory of *Tuſculum*, or *Fraſcati*. All the Water of them was conveyed through different Channels to a common Reſervoir, 780 Paces, to the Right Hand of the Road to *Præneſte*, now *Paleſtrina*, between ſix and ſeven Miles from *Rome*. From thence it was carried by an Aqueduct, after long Turnings and Windings, to *The Salt-Pits*, near the Gates *Capena* and *Trigemina*. This ſubterraneous Canal was 11 Miles, and 130 geometrical Paces long: and near *Rome*, it was raiſed aboveground, and carried 60 Paces on Arches. The Waters which were brought ſo far, were conveyed all over *Rome*, by the help of twenty Baſons, or Reſervoirs, made in different Quarters of the City, for that Purpoſe, and eſpecially in the *Circus*, for the *Naumachiæ*. Theſe were Repreſentations of Sea-Fights, and a Part of *The Circenſian Games*. Above 160 Years after, according to *Frontinus*, in his Book *De Aquæductibus*, the Senate ordered *Marcus Titius*, *Prætor of Rome*, to repair this Aqueduct, and ſome others, the Stone-work of which was decayed by Time, and the continual Friction of the Waters. But *Pliny* and *Plutarch* call this *Prætor*, *Quint Marcius*; and the former gives us this Account theſe Repairs. *Appiæ Anienis, Tepulæ Ductus, r ficere Quintus Marcius juſſus a Senatu, novam a mine ſuo appellatam, Cuniculis per Montes actis int Prætoræ ſuæ tempus adduxit.* Lib. 36. c. 15. Som Commentators on *Livy* are miſtaken, in ſayin that the Water conveyed to the City by *Appi* was called *Aqua Marcia*, after its Aqueduct h been repaired by *Marcius*'s Orders. It will her after appear, that this Name belonged only to t Water brought to *Rome*, in a much more magni cent Aqueduct, for which the City was indebted this Magiſtrate.

68 We have already ſpoken of the Gate *Capen B. 15. p. 116.* of this Volume, *Note 75.*

69 Some Moderns have thought, that the thr *Horatii* paſſed through this Gate, when they we to fight the three *Curiatii*, and that it had the Nam of *Trigemina* from thence. But they did not co ſider, that the Gate *Trigemina* was beyond the H *Cœlius*, which was not brought within *Rome*, after the Ruin of *Alba*; and conſequently this Ga could not have been in being, when the *Horatii* we to meet the *Curiatii*. It led to the *Tyber*, and t Road from *Rome* to *Oſtia*; for which Reaſon, was called, *The Naval Gate*, or *The Gate of Oſti* It is now called *St. Paul's Gate*.

the Admiration of all the Nations in *Europe*, to this Day. He levelled a Way with Pickaxes, thro' Rocks and Hills; and built Bridges, over the ſpungy and muddy Places, and Rivulets. This Road, which was called *The* 70 *Appian Way*, was likewiſe long after ſtiled *The Queen* of thoſe Roads, which began at *Rome*, and reached to a great Diſtance from it. It had theſe two Names given it, becauſe *Appius* had firſt invented this Sort of Ways, for the Convenience of the Troops, and of Travellers; and becauſe the Workmanſhip of it was ſo ſolid that it continued entire above 800 Years. The Remains we ſtill have of it give great Delight to the Judicious. Some Authors pretend that *The Appian Way* reached from *Rome* to *Brunduſium*, which was in the extreme Parts of *Italy*, on the *Adriatick* Sea. But this is to be underſtood of After-Ages. *Julius Cæſar* indeed, carried on *The Appian Way* from *Capua* to *Brunduſium*, and gave the ſame Name of *The Appian Way*, to the Addition he made to it; but it is not probable that the *Cenſor Appius* carried this famous Road beyond *Capua*. The Provinces thro' which he muſt have continued this important Work, in order to bring it to the Sea, were not yet under the Dominion of the *Romans*. It is ſufficient therefore for us to obſerve here, That *Appius* carried on this Work to *Capua*, which was an hundred forty two Miles; and That *Julius Cæſar* continued it to *Brunduſium*, which was two hundred thirty eight Miles further. This Road, which is ſo much boaſted of, was fifteen Foot wide, even among the Rocks, which were cut down to level them with the Plains; was paved with ſeveral Beds of great hard Stones; and was bounded on each Side with a deep Ditch, to receive, and carry off, the Water. Theſe magnificent Works were probably what made the *Cenſorſhip* of *Appius* tolerable to the *Romans*, for ſome time; tho' he had uſurped that Office wholly to himſelf, after the Abdication of his 71 Collegue. He held it five Years, tho' hated by the greateſt Part of the Senators.

Year of ROME CCCCXLI. C. SULPITIUS LONGUS, Dictator.

Statius, B. 2. Procop. B. 1. de Bello Goth.

Auct. de Vir. Illuſt.

§. XXI. BUT under the ſucceeding *Conſuls* he received a great Mortification. C. *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Bubulcus*, was now promoted to the *Conſulſhip*, a third time; and *Q. Æmilius Barbula*, his Collegue, a ſecond. Theſe two Magiſtrates were not afraid to undo, in part, what the *Cenſor* had done, in Diminution of the Dignity of the Senate. They actually reformed, or rather cancelled, the Liſt of Senators *Appius* had made. After they had complained of it to the People aſſembled *in Comitia*, they ſhut the Doors of the Senate-houſe, againſt thoſe vile Perſons whom, tho' but one Remove from Slavery, the *Cenſor* had introduced into it; and reſtored the old Liſt, as it ſtood before the laſt *Cenſors*. So that the bold Reformer ſaw his Projects brought to nothing, a ſecond time; and in ſpight of him the Senate reſumed its former Luſtre. On the other hand, the People recovered a Privilege which the *Conſuls* and *Dictators* had uſurped from them. A Law had been made in the Year of *Rome* 393, by which the People aſſembled *in Comitia* were empowered to chuſe a Part

Year of ROME CCCCXLII. C. JUNIUS BRUTUS, Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 9. c. 30.

70 We may form ſome Judgment of *The Appian Way*, from the Deſcription *Procopius* gives us of it in his firſt Book, *Of the Gothick War*. This Way was made, ſays he, 900 Years ago, by the Order and Direction of *Appius Claudius*, who was then *Cenſor*. It reached from *Rome* to *Capua*, which is 142 Miles, or about 47 Leagues, at the rate of three Miles *per* League. It was broad enough for two Chariots to go a-breaſt, without incommoding each other. The Stones with which *Appius* built this great Work, were like the hardeſt Flints. Theſe were brought from a great diſtance, and procured the moſt skilful Workmen to ſquare theſe Pieces of Rock, and make them ſmooth with Chiſels: and with them they made ſo good a Pavement, that the Joints of the Stones were ſcarce perceptible. Theſe Stones were joined ſo artfully together, without Cement, that they looked like one ſingle Stone for ſeveral Miles together. To which *Procopius* adds, that this vaſt Work, conſiſting of ſuch immenſe Quantities of Materials ſo artfully diſpoſed, continued whole in his time, having then received no Injury from Carts and Carriages. But he is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that *Appius Claudius* lived 500 Years before him; it was not ſo much by at leaſt fifty Years. This famous Road began at *The Gate Capena*; and did not, for a great while, reach farther than *Capua*; tho' the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, gives *Appius Claudius* the Honour of having carried *The Appian Way*, from *Rome* quite to *Brunduſium*. *Appiam Viam Brunduſium ſtraviſſe*. But it is certain, from the Hiſtorians, that it reached thither, in the Beginning of *Auguſtus*'s Reign. *Brunduſium longæ finis chartæque viæque*, ſays *Horace*, *Sat. Lib.* 1. *Serm.* 5. Hiſtory has not told us, who was the Author, or Manager, of this ſecond Work. But it was probably done, by the Direction of *Julius Cæſar*. *Plutarch* gives us ſome Proof of this, when he ſays, that the *Roman People* committed the Inſpection of *The Appian Way* to *Julius*. It is very probable, that a *Roman* of *Cæſar*'s Spirit, who formed none but great Deſigns, might reſolve to gain himſelf Reputation and Eſteem, by finiſhing what another had ſo glorioufly begun. And what confirms this Conjecture, is, that *Plutarch* ſays he ſpent great Sums of Money upon *The Appian Way*, the Inſpection of which was committed to him.

71 *Frontinus* and *Diodorus of Sicily*, are both miſtaken; the former, in calling *Appius*'s Collegue, *Caius Fabius*; the latter, in giving him the Name of *Lucius Claudius*. They are both contradicted by *Livy*, and the *Faſti Capitolini*, which aſſure us this *Cenſor*'s Name was *Caius Plautius*.

Year of ROME CCCCXLII. C. Junius Brutus, Q. Æmilius Barbula, Conſuls.

of the *Tribunes* who [72] were to command the *Legions*; and then, the People contented themſelves with naming only ſix, out of the four and twenty *Tribunes*, which were in the *Conſular* Armies: ſo that there remained eighteen, to be nominated by the *Dictator*, or *Conſuls*. Indeed each of the *Conſular* Armies generally conſiſted of two *Legions*, and each *Legion* had ſix *Tribunes* to command it. But afterwards, the Generals aſſumed ſo great an Aſcendant over the Troops they led into the Field, that they took upon them to nominate almoſt all the *Legionary Tribunes* in the Army, without any Regard to the Right of the People. *L. Attilius* therefore, and *C. Marcius*, two *Tribunes of the People*, thought it proper to revive this Right of the Commons, and extend it farther than before. They preſented their Petition, and immediately the *Comitia* determined, that the People ſhould chooſe ſixteen of the twenty four *Legionary Tribunes*: ſo that there remained but eight to be nominated by the *Conſuls* and *Dictators*. But this Law was not of long Duration. We ſhall ſoon ſee it changed, and find the *Legionary Tribunes* choſen, one half by the *Comitia*, and the other by the Generals. And whilſt the People were exerciſing their Authority on the Land-Forces, one of their *Tribunes* excited them to take Care of the Marines. *Rome* had not yet ſignalized herſelf at Sea, either by her Commerce, or her Conqueſts; and it ſeems to have been as needleſs for her to provide a Fleet at this time, as it had been at any other. The Republick had no War to maintain, but with the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*; and Sea-Forces ſeemed to be very little neceſſary, in order to the ſubduing theſe Nations. Nevertheleſs, *Decius Mus*, the *Tribune of the People*, deſired them to nominate two [73] Men, to have the Direction of equipping Fleets, and to take upon them the Care of all Naval Affairs. The wiſe *Romans* extended their Views beyond the preſent time, and made early Preparations for the Conqueſt of thoſe flouriſhing Nations, which poſſeſſed the Eaſtern Coaſts of *Italy*.

§. XXII. Whilst the *Romans* in the City were employing themſelves thus uſefully in making wiſe Regulations, their *Conſuls* prepared to lead their Armies into the Field. *Junius Brutus*, and *Æmilius Barbula* had already drawn Lots, what Province each ſhould take; and it was *Brutus*'s Fate to carry on the War with the *Samnites*; whilſt *Barbula* prepared to ſet out for *Hetruria*. When he arrived there, he found the Enemy ready to lay Siege to [74] *Sutri*, or *Sutrium*, an important Place, but thirty three Miles diſtant from *Rome*. It might have been then looked on as the Key of the *Roman* State, on the Side of *Hetruria*; and the Loſs of it would have been followed with the Plunder and Devaſtation of all the Lands ſubject to the Republick, quite to the *Tyber*. As ſoon as the *Romans* were encamped, the *Sutrini* ſent Proviſions to them. *Sutri* had long been a *Roman Colony*, and was highly pleaſed with the ſpeedy Succours *Æmilius* had brought thither. But the Preſence of the *Conſul* ſpread Terror in the Camp of the *Hetrurians*, and they knew not what Meaſures to take. Their Generals conſulted among themſelves, whether it was beſt for them to give Battel ſpeedily, or to form the Siege, or to ſpin out the War. The *Hetrurian* Army conſiſted of all the *Lucumonies* together; and all their Cantons, except that of *Arretium*, had furniſhed their Contingents of Troops. So that the *Hetrurians* depended on their Multitudes, and choſe to give Battel as ſoon as poſſible. The next Day they marched out of their Entrenchments before Sunriſing, and drew up in Battalia. Upon Notice of this, the *Conſul* gave his Troops the Watch-word, ordered Refreſhments to be given his Soldiers, and commanded

[72] See what we have ſaid of the *Legionary Tribunes*, and their Election, *B.* 6. *p.* 244. of the firſt Volume, *Note* 33; and *B.* 15. *p.* 90. of this Volume, *Note* 26.

[73] The *Roman* Hiſtorians call the two Magiſtrates, who had the Care of naval Affairs, *Duumviri Navales*. But this Office was not common in the Republick. It was a temporary Commiſſion, which the People ſometimes beſtowed on ſelect Perſons, in Exigencies, when it was neceſſary to equip a Fleet, in all haſte. We ſhall hereafter ſee the *Prætors of Rome* diſcharge this Office. *Livy*'s ſaying, that in this Year 442, the People aſſumed a Right of chuſing *Duumviri Navales* for the firſt time, does not incline me to believe, that this Office was then newly created; but rather, that before this time, the *Dictators* or *Conſuls*, had from time to time, appointed Perſons to take care of Commerce and Navigation. The *Romans* indeed knew not, or neglected, the Art of building great Ships, for Fleets at a time when Sea-Armaments would have been of no uſe to them. But it is not to be imagined that the Ports of *Rome*, and *Oſtia*, were without Boats and Barges, and a kind of Merchant-Ships for the Conveyance of Proviſions, and the other Neceſſaries of Life. And *Polybius* muſt therefore miſtake, when he ſays, *B.* 1. that before *The firſt Carthaginian War*, the Republick had not ſo much as a Bark, in all her Ports, on the Coaſts of *Greece*.

[74] See *B.* 13. *p.* 33. of this Volume, *Note* 89.

them to Arms. The *Romans* appeared immediately in the Plain, and their General drew them up in Battalia, in Sight, and within Reach, of the Enemy. Both Armies ſeemed to ſtand in Awe of each other; at leaſt they waited to ſee which would begin the Attack: and Noon was already paſt, before one ſingle Dart was thrown, on either Side. At length the *Hetrurians*, leſt they ſhould ſeem to have made theſe Advances in vain, made a great Shout, ordered their Trumpets to ſound, and began the Battel. They were received by the *Romans* with their uſual Bravery; the latter being ſuperior in Courage, tho' inferior in Numbers. The Action was briſk on both Sides, and many brave Men fell in it. At laſt, the firſt Line of the *Romans*, which conſiſted, as uſual, of the *Haſtati*, was forced to retire towards the ſecond Line, and the *Principes* took their Place. Theſe, who were not fatigued, fought with freſh Ardour; and thereby the *Romans* made the *Hetrurians* ſenſible, what Advantage they had over their Enemies, by the Diſpoſition of their Armies. The *Hetrurians* fought all together, without dividing their Troops into ſeveral Lines, which were to ſucceed one another. So that the *Principes* who were freſh, had a great Advantage over Battalions already harraſſed with the firſt Onſet. The greateſt Part of the *Hetrurians* were killed round their Colours, without being put into Diſorder, or flying. Being obſtinately bent to conquer or die, they did not avoid, but met Death; and the *Romans* would now have made as great a Slaughter as they ever did in a Battel, if Night had not put an End to it. As ſtrange as it may appear, the Conquerors left off fighting firſt. The two Armies parted without Diſorder, and each retiring to its Camp, the *Hetrurians* then perceived how great their Loſs was. All thoſe who had fought in the firſt Ranks, were left dead on the Field of Battel, and their *Corps-de-reſerve* was ſcarce ſufficient to guard their Camp. As to the *Romans*, they had more wounded than killed; and more of their Men died afterwards of the Wounds they had received, than were left dead upon the Spot. Their Victory muſt have been more complete than *Livy* repreſents it. If the Advantages had been well nigh equal, *Æmilius* could not have obtained the Honours of a Triumph. *Livy* indeed robs the illuſtrious *Conſul* of that Glory; but it is nevertheleſs certain, that he entered *Rome* triumphantly, on *The Ides* of the Month *Sextilis*. He returned thither ſoon after his Victory; and no farther Attempts were made on *Sutri*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLII. C. Junius Brutus, Q. Æmilius Barbula, Conſuls.

Feſt. Capit. under this Year.

§. XXIII. The *Roman* Army, which *Junius Brutus* the *Conſul* led againſt the *Samnites*, was as ſucceſsful as that which *Æmilius* led againſt the *Hetrurians*. As ſoon as *Brutus* left *Rome*, he turned his Arms towards *Samnium*, and beſieged a Place which is mentioned by no ancient Geographer. *Livy* calls it *Cluvia*, either through Miſtake, or becauſe his Copyiſts have diſfigured the Name. But however that be, *Cluvia* belonged to the *Romans*, who had placed a Garriſon in it; and being beſieged by the *Samnites*, who could not take it by Force, it was at length reduced by Famine, and had ſurrendered at Diſcretion. The *Samnites* ſhewed no Mercy to the *Romans*, whom they had forced to ſurrender; but firſt ſcourged them, and then cut all their Throats. The Anger of the *Romans* was not to be pacified on ſuch Occaſions as this; and *Brutus* had nothing more at heart, than to execute the Vengeance of *Rome*, on a Place which yet reaked with *Roman* Blood. The City could not withſtand the Ardour of the *Conſul* and his Troops. *Cluvia* was taken the ſame Day it was beſieged, and ſuffered the Puniſhment it deſerved. All the Men in it, who were of the Age of *Puberty*, were put to Death; and to the *Romans* the Pleaſure of the Conqueſt was leſs than that of revenging the Murder of their Fellow-Citizens. But this Conqueſt was only an Introduction to a greater [75]. *Bovianum* was a large and opulent City, which ſome thought the Capital of *Samnium*; others, the chief City of one of thoſe Nations of which the *Samnite* State conſiſted, and which were called *Pentri*. The *Roman* Armies had for ſome Years paſt drawn near to it, and in a manner inveſted it; but it ſtill continued ſteady in its Attachment to the *Samnites*. Its advantageous Situation, at the Foot of the *Apennines*, had poſtponed the Siege of it; but *Brutus* was now in a Condition to attempt it. The *Roman* Generals were convinced, that in order to increaſe the Valour of their Troops, it was neceſſary to animate them by ſome lively Paſſion,

Liv. B. 9. c. 31.

[75] The ancient City of *Bovianum*, now *Boiano*, ſtood at the Foot of the *Apennines*, towards the Head of the *Biferno*, formerly called *Tifernus Amnis*. Its Canton belongs to the *County of Moliſa*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

or

Year of ROME CCCCXLII. C. Junius Brutus, Q. Æmilius Barbula, Conſuls.

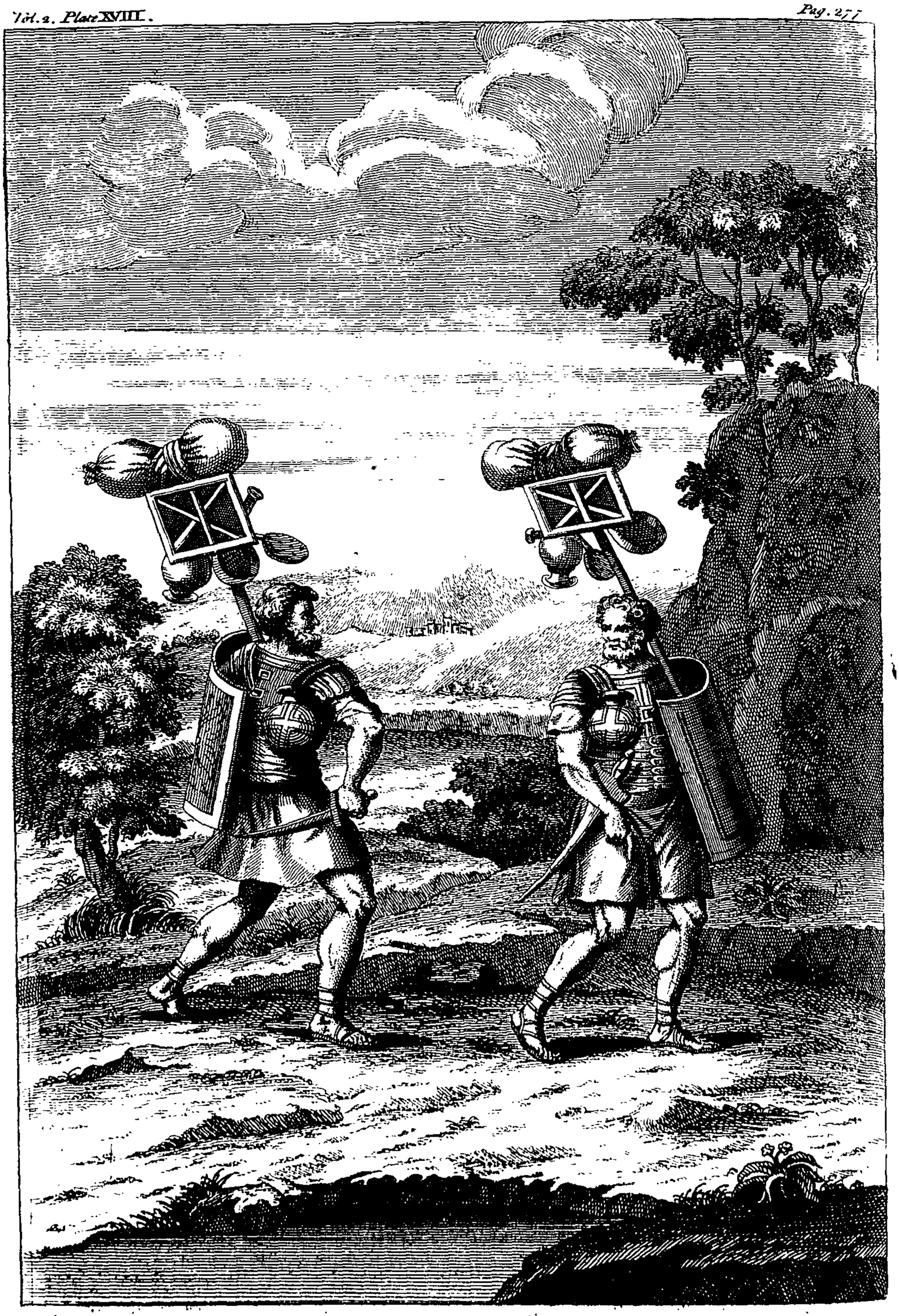
or ſome great Hopes of Gain. Their Rage had enabled them to take *Cluvia*, a the firſt Aſſault: and *Brutus* hoped, that the Love of Booty would haſten the ta king of *Bovianum*; which accordingly happened. As ſoon as he had promiſed hi Soldiers, to give them the Spoils of a rich and well-provided City, they all exerte themſelves, even more than their Duty required. *Bovianum* was taken, but th Lives of the Citizens ſpared. The *Romans* were wholly intent upon the Plunder and ſuffered the Conquered to eſcape. More Riches were never brought from *Samnium*, than at this time; and all the Spoils of this wealthy City were given to the Soldiers.

§. XXIV. And now, the Eaſtern Nations of *Italy* were ſtruck with ſuch Terror at the *Roman* Name, that none of them durſt any longer cope with the *Conſul*. The *Samnites* had therefore no Refuge but in Artifice; and thought of nothing but ſurprizing the *Romans* again in *Caudian Forks*; in which they partly ſucceeded. So very difficult is it, for great Minds to ſuſpect the Snares of an Enemy which they deſpiſe! In *Campania*, there was ſo thick a Foreſt, between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli*, that it is ſaid, the wild Beaſts could ſcarce penetrate into it. In the midſt of this Foreſt was a Lake of ſulphureous Water, which emitted ſo malignant a Vapour, that the Birds which flew over it, were thought to be ſuffocated by the Infection of the Air. The Poets call it *The Mouth of Hell*. The Lake was called 76 *Avernus*, and the Wood which ſurrounded it, *The Foreſt of Avernus*. Thither the *Samnites* endeavoured to draw the *Romans*, in order to their Deſtruction. The Method they took, was to raiſe the Covetouſneſs of the *Legionaries*, who were very greedy of Spoil, ſince the taking of *Bovianum*. They brought Flocks and Herds of all ſorts into the Foreſt, and a great Number of Troops lay in Ambuſh, in theſe almoſt inacceſſible Woods. Then they ſpread Reports in the *Roman* Camp, by their Emiſſaries, That the *Samnites* had hid all their Proviſions in the Foreſt, and That there was a great deal of Booty to be found there. Theſe Reports were confirmed by the Peaſants of the Country, who honeſtly declared, that abundance of Cattel had been brought round about the Lake *Avernus*. The brave *Romans* therefore, ſpurred on by their Intereſt, asked their General's leave, to go and ſeize theſe Proviſions, and even forced them to conſent to it. The *Conſul* led his *Legions* thither himſelf. But the *Romans* were ſcarce entered the thick Parts of the Foreſt in Diſorder, (for no Order could be kept in it) and with their Baggage on their 77 Shoulders, as uſual; but the Enemy, who were yet at a diſtance, made great Shouts. The *Legions* were taught to rally in an inſtant, in caſe of Surprize. They

Liv. B. 9. c. 31.

76 The *Lake Avernus*, which has given Riſe to many Poetical Fictions, is now called *Lago d'Averno*, or *Lago di Trepergole*. *Strabo* looks on what moſt of the Ancients have ſaid of the Water of this Lake, as fabulous. Such contagious Vapours, ſay they, roſe from it, that if any Bird flew over the leaſt Part of it, he immediately fell down dead; and hence the *Greeks* gave it the Name of Ἄορνος. *Virgil* aſcribes this infectious Quality to a deep Cave in the Neighbourhood. The *Avernus* was ſurrounded with Hills, covered with a very thick Foreſt, which the Pagans had ſuperſtitiouſly conſecrated, as a venerable Place. This Lake was not above five *Stadia* in Compaſs, according to *Strabo*; but he ſays it was an Abyſs, and no Bottom could ever be found in any Part of it: And for this Reaſon the Poets fancied it had a Communication with Hell. But nevertheleſs, it was ſounded ſome Ages after, and found to be 3570 Foot deep. According to *Maximus of Tyre*, the fabulous Cave we have been ſpeaking of, uttered Oracles. Before any Perſon was admitted into it, Sacrifices were offered, and Libations made, and certain Prayers addreſſed, to the infernal Gods. After this, he who came to conſult the Oracle, called up the Soul of a dead Relation or Friend: Upon which the Phantom appeared, anſwered his Queſtions, and revealed to him what ſhould happen. Near this Lake, there were ſeveral Springs of warm Water, in which were found ſome little black Fiſh, of a very bad Taſte; and thoſe of the Lake were of the ſame Colour, and ſmelt of Sulphur. Near this Place, are the Remains of a ſumptuous Temple, which is ſaid to have been dedicated to *Pluto*. And *Diodorus Siculus*, *B.* 4. ſpeaks of another Temple built by *Hercules*, in Honour to *Proſerpine*. But the mineral Waters near the *Avernus*, make ſome think that theſe Ruins are the Remains of a magnificent Bagnio.

77 It is difficult to conceive how a *Roman* Soldier, completely armed, could be able to make long Marches, without ſinking under the vaſt Weight he carried. And yet all the *Roman* Hiſtorians poſitively declare, that the *Legionaries* were often obliged to carry Proviſions, as Biſket, ſalt Meat, &c. for fifteen Days, and ſometimes for a Month; beſides their heavy offenſive and defenſive Weapons, and the Utenſils neceſſary for common Uſe, and their military Works; and beſides a certain Number of Stakes for Palliſades for their Camp, and the Inſtruments for cutting Wood, and other Neceſſaries for the Army, as there was Occaſion. Inſomuch, that the *Spaniards* compared *Marius*'s Soldiers to Mules, as *Plutarch* tells us, in his Life of that General. Men born in a City wholly given to War, and who commenced Soldiers as ſoon as they came into the World, muſt be ſuch. This martial Genius was hereditary in a Nation which placed their chief Glory in heroical Actions. It is well known, that all the Nobility, as well as People, were, without any Diſtinction, obliged to ſerve their Country in the *Legions*, a certain Number of Years. Every one conſidered himſelf, in his moſt tender Age, as a Perſon



Roman *Soldiers on a March.*

They therefore got their Arms ready, threw all their Baggage into an heap, repaired to their reſpective Colours, and without waiting for the Word of Command, drew up in Battalia. This was the happy Effect of Diſcipline. The *Conſul* being diſmounted, waited ſome time for the Enemy, placed himſelf at the Head of his Troops, and from a ſmall Eminence, addreſſed himſelf to them, in theſe Words. *I call* Jupiter *and* Mars *to witneſs, that I did not come into theſe narrow Paſſes, in ſearch of Glory. Your Intereſt only, dear Fellow-Soldiers, and your eager Deſires of Booty, made me comply with your Requeſt. I can be reproached with nothing in this Step, but having loved you too well: and your Courage is my only Defence againſt this Diſgrace. Go, attack the Enemy you have ſo often overcome, ſo often driven out of their Entrenchments, and deſpoiled of their beſt Towns: The Enemy whoſe only Hope is in Artifice, and whoſe only Reſſource is in the Advantage of the Ground. But what Difficulties of Ground can be too hard for your Bravery to ſurmount? Remember* Fregellæ *and* Sora; *the Height of whoſe Ramparts, tho' ſituated on Precipices, did not diſcourage you.* At theſe Words, the *Roman* Soldiers forgot all Danger, and fled to the Enemy, who were drawn up in Battalia on a ſteep Rock. They were forced to climb, to come at them; but nevertheleſs, they paſſed through a thouſand Dangers, and reached the Top of the Rock. The *Roman* Squadrons followed cloſe after one another; and when the *Roman* Army had all gained the Summit of the Mountain, the *Samnites* could no longer ſuſtain their Efforts, on equal Ground. They were put into Diſorder, and routed, and ſought an *Aſylum* in thoſe very Woods, which they intended to have rendered fatal to the *Romans*. But the Brambles which had embarraſſed their Enemies, were too thick, to afford them an eaſy Retreat; and being therefore purſued to the Skirts of the Wood, by the *Romans*, they were there maſſacred without Mercy. Twenty thouſand *Samnites* were found dead upon the Spot; the Cattel was carried off: And thus ended a Campaign, which loaded the *Conſular* Army both with Riches and Glory. *Junius Brutus* undoubtedly enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph, at his Return; tho' *Livy* does not mention it. He entered *Rome* in State, on *The Nones* of the Month [78] *Sextilis*.

Year of ROME CCCCXLII. C. Junius Brutus, Q. Æmilius Barbula, Conſuls.

Liv. B.9. c.31.

Liv. ibid.

Faſt. Capit.

Year of ROME CCCCXLIII. Q. Fabius Rullianus, C. Marcius Rutilus, Conſuls.

§. XXV. After theſe Victories [79], new *Conſuls* were choſen; namely, *Q. Fabius*, who was ſo famous for his Exploits, and Diſobedience, in his firſt Campaigns, and who was now choſen a ſecond time; and *C. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Rutilus*. Theſe Men were fit only for War, and therefore bore no Part in the civil

Perſon indiſpenſably obliged by the Laws, to make Arms his Profeſſion. Theſe Sentiments were tranſmitted from Father to Son, and by the Education of the Youth, their natural Genius for War was improved. The young *Romans*, being firſt biaſſed by the Inſtructions and Examples of their Parents, ſoon learned to be content with little, and keep themſelves within the Bounds of Temperance; and being afterwards inured to all bodily Exerciſes, they inſenſibly accuſtomed themſelves to bear the Fatigues and Hardſhips of a laborious and abſtemious Life, and became robuſt Men. With this View, they were continually *exerciſed* in throwing Darts, running, wreſtling, riding, ſwimming, and carrying heavy Burdens: And from hence came the Name of *Exercitus*, which the *Latins* gave to an Army, or Body of Men trained to War. When they were once inliſted, they were often tried with very long and painful Marches, even in Times of Peace; and were employed in the Labours which are not to be avoided in Camps, and Sieges; that is, in reparing of Ground, digging Ditches, making Trenches, raiſing Ramparts, and drawing Lines of Circumvallation, and Contravallation. The *Romans* had no Pioneers, as a diſtinct Body from the reſt of the Soldiers; they were every Man of them as indefatigable in their Labours, as formidable in the Heat of Action. All the Hiſtorians confirm this; *Tully* alſo expreſly does, in theſe Words, *Tuſcul.* L. B. 2. *Noſtri exercitus primum unde nomen habuerint vides; deinde quis labor, & quantus aginis! ut ne plus dimidiati menſis cibaria, ferre ſi quid ad uſum velint, ferre vallum. Nam ſcutum, gladium, galeam, noſtri milites, in onere non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus. Arma enim membra eſſe militis dicunt. Quæ quidem ita geruntur apte, ut ſi uſus foret, abjectis oneribus, expeditis armis, ut membris, pugnare poſſint.* If the *Legionaries* were ſuch, in an Age when *Cicero* complains that the *Romans* were much degenerated from the Virtues of their Forefathers, what are we to think of thoſe Ages which may, by way of Eminence, be called the heroical Ages of the *Romans*? The Plate annexed is taken from *Trajan*'s *Pillar*.

78 That is, *Junius Brutus* triumphed the fifth of *Auguſt*, which was the *ſixth Roman* Month, according to *Romulus*'s Calendar, which began with the Month of *March*: and for this Reaſon it was at firſt called *Sextilis Menſis*. Afterwards it was called *Auguſtus*, from the Name of *Octavius Auguſtus*. Not that this Emperor was born in this Month, for he was born in *September*: but becauſe the Month *Sextilis* was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by the great Events of *Auguſtus*'s Reign. *Auguſt* had 30 Days, in *Romulus*'s Time; *Numa*, who did not love even Numbers, reduced them to 29; and *Julius Cæſar* not only reſtored this Day, but added another to it, and made the whole 31.

79 The *Faſti Capitolini* have given us the Surnames of theſe two *Conſuls*, which had eſcaped *Livy*, or his Copyiſts. The firſt was ſurnamed *Rullianus*; the ſecond, beſides that of *Rutilus*, which he already had, afterwards got that of *Cenſorinus* alſo, as ſhall be obſerved in its proper Place. The *Greek Tables* are therefore faulty, in giving the *Conſul Fabius* the Surname of *Rullus*.

Year of ROME CCCCXLIII.
Q. Fabius Rullianus, C. Marcius Rutilus, Conſuls.
Liv. B.9. c.33.

Adminiſtration. It was determined by Lot, that *Fabius* ſhould take the Command of the Troops in *Hetruria*, and *Marcius* that of the Army, which was to act againſt the *Samnites*. But we will poſtpone our Relation of the Victories of the one, and Misfortunes of the other, till we have firſt given ſome Account of the Diſſentions which aroſe in the City.

THE *Tribunes of the People* had not now oppoſed the Pretenſions of the Nobility, for a great while. The *Plebeians* had been very quiet, becauſe Honours and Magiſtracies had been equally divided between them and the *Patricians*. And during this long uninterrupted Interval of Tranquillity at home, *Rome* had produced as many Heroes, as ever appeared in it at one time. Almoſt all the *Conſuls* the *Comitia* choſe, ſhewed themſelves worthy of the Choice; and the Conqueſt, or weakning of many Nations, in a manner formerly unknown to the *Romans*, was the Fruit of their Harmony and Concord. But now one ſingle Man, of an ambitious Family, and naturally obſtinate, had like to have divided the Members of the State, which owed its Grandeur to their Union. This Incendiary was *Appius* the *Cenſor*; and the *Cenſorſhip*, which he ſingly poſſeſſed beyond the time appointed by the Laws, was the Cauſe of the Tumult he raiſed. It has been obſerved, that when the *Cenſorſhip* was diſmembered from the *Conſulate*, it was ordered, that the *Cenſors* ſhould continue five Years in their Office, which they ſhould not lay down, till after a *Luſtrum*: and this Law was in Force, till the Year of *Rome* 322, when *Æmilius* the *Dictator* reformed it. He then made a new Law, whereby it was enacted, that no *Cenſor* ſhould continue longer in his Office, than 18 Months. This was thought an important Change by Republicans, who feared nothing ſo much, as Magiſtrates continuing long in great Poſts. But nevertheleſs *Appius*, in ſpight of both Law and Cuſtom, obſtinately reſolved to continue in his Office five Years. When he was ſummoned to lay down the *Cenſorſhip*, at the end of eighteen Months, as his Collegue had done long before, he abſolutely refuſed it. Perhaps he depended on the Favour of the People, who were pleaſed with the Water he had brought to *Rome*, and the Way he had levelled from thence to *Capua*. Tho' his Pretenſions were not to be ſupported, his Obſtinacy was invincible; and only one *Tribune of the People*, out of the ten, ventured to withſtand the ambitious *Appius*, and oppoſe this dangerous Infraction of the Laws. His Name was *Sempronius*, and he had acquired the Surname of *Sophus* (i. e. *The Wiſe*) by his Wiſdom, and profound Knowledge of the Laws. This zealous Commoner declared himſelf openly againſt *Appius*, and cited him to appear before the *Comitia*. It was then cuſtomary for the *Tribunes of the People*, to teeze the Accuſed with Queſtions, before they came to inveigh againſt them, in ſtudied Harangues; and *Sempronius* therefore began thus. *Anſwer me*, Appius. *What would you have done, if you had been* Cenſor, *when* Æmilius Mamercinus *the* Dictator *confined the Time of exerciſing that Office to eighteen Months? Would you have imitated* C. Furius *and* M. Geganius, *the* Cenſors *at that time, who thought fit to obey that Law?* This was a perplexing Queſtion, and *Appius* gave a very unſatisfactory Anſwer to it, in theſe Words. *The Law was then new, and it was at that time neceſſary to comply with it. But it was of no Force, any longer than* Æmilius, *who had made it, continued in the* Dictatorſhip. *Sempronius* ſaw by the Indignation which appeared in the Faces of the People, that they were not ſatisfied with the vain Evaſion of the Sophiſt, and he went on in this manner. *This well ſuits the Spirit and Obſtinacy of the* Claudii. *One of this Man's Anceſtors was choſen* Decemvir, *for one Year, and he maintained himſelf in that Office a ſecond; reſolving to perpetuate himſelf in it, if his Incontinence and Tyranny had not brought him to Deſtruction. The Accuſed is exactly of the ſame Character with the ancient* Claudii, *who forced our Forefathers to leave* Rome, *encamp on the* Mons Sacer, *and demand the Creation of* Tribunes, *whoſe Authority ſcreens us from the Oppreſſions of the Great. It was by the* Claudii, *that two of our Armies were forced to go and take Poſſeſſion of the Hill* Aventinus, *and there tarry, till Laws were made for abating Uſuries, and regulating the Diſtribution of the conquered Lands. It was by them, that the Marriages of the* Plebeians *with the* Patricians *were ſo long oppoſed; and the People denied Admittance into the* Curule *Magiſtracies. A Family, which has brought ſo many Misfortunes on the Republick, as to have been more fatal to it, than that of the* Tarquins! *But to confine myſelf to the Anſwer of the Accuſed; how comes it to*

Pomponius de origine Juris.

Liv. B.9. c.33.

Year of ROME CCCCXLIII. Q. Fabius Rullianus, C. Marcius Rutilus, Consuls.

to pass, Appius, *that you are so much wiser, and have so much more Understanding, than the many* Censors *who have gone before you, since* Æmilius's *Time? It is now above a Century since that* Dictator *made the Law which limits the time of the* Censorship; *and has any one of your Predecessors disobeyed it? Yet you say, it was of Force no longer, than while he who made it was in Office. Cast your Eyes then,* Appius, *on the* Twelve Tables, *and see what you find there.* The latter Decrees shall supersede the former; and when two Laws contradict one another, the nearest shall take Place. *Why don't you at least follow the Example of the two most ambitious* Censors *we have had,* Furius *and* Geganius? *They indeed persecuted the* Dictator *who forced them to lay down their Offices, and reduced him to Beggary: But yet they obeyed. Will you be the only Person who is above the Law? Why don't you rather imitate your Collegue* Plautius? *Was not he installed with the same* Auspices, *and had he not the same Prerogatives as yourself? But it seems the haughty* Appius *must be distinguished from all other* Romans. *Had he been created* King of the Sacrifices, *he would have thought himself King of* Rome; *and would have re-established Tyranny. At this Rate, what* Dictator *will ever be content with his six Months? What* President *in an* Interregnum, *with his five Days? Or what* Consul, *with his Year? Why have so many* Dictators *been weak enough to resign, and often even before they had been twenty days in Office? Why did* Sp. Mænius, *ten Years ago, quit the supreme Authority, barely upon being suspected of Male-Administration? Not that we would lay so hard a Burden upon a* Claudius. *We would not deprive him of the Office to which he has been promoted, so much as a Day, or an Hour before his Time. Nor will we insist on the Month he has exercised the* Censorship *longer than the Laws direct. But to endeavour to maintain himself in it three Years and a half longer; and to pretend to exercise it alone; what is this, but to change a temporary Office, into an absolute Sovereignty? As for your Pretence of chusing yourself a Collegue; it is another Infraction of the Laws. Don't they forbid the surviving* Censor *to continue in his Office, after the Death of his Collegue? Did not* Papirius *the* Censor *draw down the heavy Wrath of the Gods upon* Rome, *by chusing himself a new Collegue, after the Death of his former one? During the* Lustrum *in his time,* Rome *was taken by the* Gauls. *And yet his Crime fell very short of yours. He had at least Moderation enough, neither to continue the only* Censor, *nor to remain in Office after the Time prescribed by Law. And no* Censor, *since him, has presumed to retain his* Censorship *after the Death of his Collegue. But these, it seems, are Restraints fit only for groveling Minds.* Appius *has noble Sentiments, and soars much above vulgar Souls. He makes Strength of Mind to consist in despising the Gods, the Laws, and the Republick. Your Obstinacy and Pride,* Appius, *force me to express my self with Warmth, notwithstanding the Magistracy you have been invested with: And if you do not obey the* Æmilian *Law, I will send you to Prison. Shall I suffer you, who cannot be chosen* Censor *by yourself, to exercise that Office alone, when the Laws even disannul the Election of a* Censor *legally chosen, if his Collegue has not likewise* [81] *a sufficient Number of Suffrages?*

Liv. B. 9. c. 34.

Liv. ibid.

Thus spake *Sempronius*; and as soon as he had finished, he ordered the Officers of Justice to carry *Appius* to Prison. Then the proud *Censor* was forced to appeal from him to the whole Body of the *Tribunes*, seven of whom were against him; but three of them took him under their Protection. And as none could be condemned at their Tribunal, unless they were all unanimous, he by this means escaped; kept the *Censorship*, contrary to the Inclinations of the Publick, and to the great

Frontinus, Livy, and *Auth. of Illust. Men.*

80 What *Sempronius* here says, confirms what we have before observed, from the *Fasti Capitolini*, concerning the two *Dictatorships* of *Mænius*; the first, in the Year of *Rome* 433; the second, seven Years after, in the Year of *Rome* 439. *Livy* entirely omits the former, and mentions only the latter. But if *Mænius* had been but once *Dictator*, as that Historian declares, *Sempronius* must have been mistaken, in reckoning ten Years between the Year 439, and this Year, which was the 443d. For want of considering, that *Mænius* was twice *Dictator*, some Commentators have taken much pains to explain the Text of *Livy*; and finding it impossible to make out the ten Years, which *Sempronius* mentions in his Harangue, they have recourse to arbitrary Conjectures. Indeed, it is surprizing, that *Livy* himself should not have perceived the Mistake; or if he did, it is still more so, that he should not have taken care to remove the Contradiction between his Text, and *Sempronius*'s Speech. But after all, this Inadvertency is a Proof of the Faithfulness of the Historian, in giving us the ancient Records entire, and without any Alteration. See above, *p.* 247. of this Volume, *Note* 12.

81 See what we have said in several Parts of this History, concerning the Election of *Censors*, and their Privileges.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIII.

Q. Fabius Rullianus, C. Marcius Rutilus, Conſuls.

Grief of good Men; and continued in it alone, three Years longer. Thus Impudence and Obſtinacy prevailed over the true Intereſt of the Republick.

§. XXVI. But this inteſtine Diſturbance did not ſtop the Progreſs of the *Roman* Arms. *Sutri* was become the Seat of War, on the Side of *Hetruria*; the *Hetrurians* had led a great Army thither, with Deſign to beſiege it. On the other hand, *Fabius* had brought a great Reinforcement to the Army he was going to command; and upon his Arrival, found a prodigious Number of Enemies round the Place. He did not carry all the *Roman* Forces with him; (they were divided into two Armies, one to act againſt the *Hetrurians*, the other to carry on the Conqueſt of *Samnium*) and being therefore the weakeſt in Point of Numbers, and fearing to be ſurrounded, he took a Compaſs, and came to a ſteep and craggy Hill, which was covered with Flints; and in this Poſt, which he thought an advantageous one, drew up his Troops, and faced the Enemy. Leſt he ſhould be ſurrounded by the Multitude of the *Hetrurians*, he made the larger Front, and poſted both the *Principes* and *Haſtati* in the firſt Line; ſo that his Army conſiſted of but two Lines in all. In this Diſpoſition, he waited for the Enemy, who loſt no time in their Approaches; but depending on the great Number of their Men, they were ſo much in Haſte to begin the Attack, that they threw away their Darts, to begin it Sword in hand. They had not conſidered, that the Declivity of the Hill made it difficult for them to come up with the *Romans*; ſo that, for want of their Darts, they could not hurt the *Legions*, which poured down upon them prodigious Numbers of Darts from above. Beſides, the *Romans* had another Advantage from their Ground, by its being ſtony; they gathered up the Flints, threw a Shower of them down upon the Enemy, broke the Bucklers and Helmets of the *Hetrurians*, and at leaſt ſtunned thoſe whom they did not wound. This put the *Hetrurians* into Diſorder; they were tottering, and unſteady, and ſome of their Battalions already loſt Ground. Upon which *Fabius* ordered his firſt Line to advance, and attack the Enemy Sword in hand; and they, already wavering, and unable to withſtand ſo furious an Onſet, were over-powered, diſperſed, and fled towards their Camp for Refuge. Then the *Conſul* detached his Cavalry, who were poſted, as uſual, in the Wings, and they inſtantly croſſed the Plain, to intercept the Fugitives, and prevent their reaching their Camp; upon which the *Hetrurians*, covered with Wounds, immediately diſperſed, and hid themſelves in the [82] *Ciminian* Foreſt. In this firſt Action, the *Roman* General took thirty eight Colours from the Enemy, made himſelf Maſter of their Camp, and ſeized the Booty in it.

But the brave *Fabius* did not think his Victory complete, whilſt the Enemy continued concealed in this thick Wood, which ſerved them for a Retreat; and he propoſed, in a Council of War, to purſue the Conquered, even into the moſt impenetrable of the Thickets to which they were fled. But no Officer, except himſelf, was for marching in queſt of the *Hetrurians*, at the Hazard of finding *The Caudian Forks* of *Samnium*, in *Hetruria*. Indeed, the *Ciminian* Foreſt might then be compared with the famous [83] *Hercinian* Foreſt in *Germany*; and, according to one Hiſtorian, the [84] *Caledonian* Foreſt in *Scotland* was ſcarce as large as this. No Body, not even the Merchants, had ever entered it; nor had any one, in all Probability, paſſed thro' it, ſince the Creation: So that, the Officers ſent to *Rome* to complain of *Fabius*'s Boldneſs, who would have them to paſs where it was utterly impracticable. But the *Conſul* had taken his Meaſures, and informed himſelf of the Situation of

Florus, B. 1.

82 *Ciminus*, or *Ciminia*, is a common Name the ancient Geographers give a Foreſt, a Mount, and a Lake. The *Ciminian* Hill, or *Ciminus Mons*, is now called *Monte di Viterbo*, or *Monte Fogliano*, between *Viterbo*, and *Ronciglione*. The Lake is now called *Lago di Vico*, or *Lago di Ronciglione*; but there are now no Remains left of the Foreſt. The Country is very open, except near the Mount, where there are ſome Woods. *Virgil* mentions the Mount and Lake *Ciminus*, *Æneid.* 7.

Et Cimini, cum Monte, Lacum, Lucoſque Capenos.

The Lake is but ſmall; yet it is very rough, at ſome Seaſons. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *B.* 17. tells us, that the ancient City of *Succinium* was ſwallowed up by it; and that the neighbouring Country was much ſubject to Earthquakes. The Fables *Servius* relates of the Lake *Ciminus*, are not worth the Readers notice.

83 *The Black Foreſt*, and *The Foreſt of Bohemia*, were formerly Parts of the *Hircinian*. See above, *B.* 13. *p.* 4. of this Volume, *Note* 17.

84 *Ptolomy* and *Florus* ſpeak of this Foreſt, which covered a great Part of the Country of the *Caledonians*, an ancient People of *Scotland*, who poſſeſſed this Country with the *Picts*, and gave it the Name of *Caledonia*. Hence that Part of the *Britiſh* Ocean, which reaches from the North-Coaſts of *Great Britain*, to the South-Coaſts of *Ireland*, was called *The Caledonian Ocean*: but *Ptolomy* calls it, *The Deucaledonian Sea*.

the Country. One of his Brothers, named *Cæſo Fabius*, or as others, one *C. Claudius*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, had voluntarily offered to go and examine the Foreſt, and Places about it. This brave Officer had been bred up in *Hetruria*, at a Friend's Houſe there; it being then cuſtomary to ſend young *Romans* to ſtudy in *Hetruria*, as they were afterwards ſent to *Athens*, to make themſelves Maſters of the *Greek* Learning. During his Abode in *Cære*, *Claudius* had learned the *Hetrurian* Tongue, which differed from the *Latin*; and it muſt be confeſſed, that this young Man, who had uncommon Talents, was very prudent, as well as very bold. He took only one Slave with him, who had ſerved him in his Youth, and had learnt the Language of the Country as well as himſelf; and diſguiſing themſelves like Shepherds, each took a ſhort Javelin, ſuch as the Peaſants uſed, and two Darts, with Scrips, by their Sides. They tarried but a little Time in a Place, for fear of being diſcovered by their Pronunciation; and very expeditiouſly informed themſelves of the Nature of the Country they ran through, and of the Names of the Princes who governed it. But after all, their chief Security in their Journey was the Perſuaſion of the *Hetrurians* that it was impoſſible for Foreigners to croſs the *Ciminian* Foreſt, and come at them that way. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* and his Slave paſſed thro' it, went as far as to the [85] *Camerini*, or *Camertes*, in *Umbria*; and there *Claudius* ventured to diſcover himſelf to be a *Roman*. Being well received at *Camerinum*, he attempted a Negotiation with Succeſs. The Senate of the City was aſſembled, *Claudius* treated with them in the Name of the *Conſul*, and at length obtained a Promiſe, That if the *Roman* Army came into that Country, they would furniſh it with Proviſions for thirty Days; and, That the Youth of *Camerinum* ſhould join the Auxiliaries of the *Romans*. Upon *Claudius*'s Report, the General had reſolved to enter the Foreſt, and carry the War that way into the very Heart of *Hetruria*: and he executed this Deſign, which was worthy of a *Fabius*, with a great deal of Addreſs. He ordered all his Baggage to be removed out of the Camp in the Evening, commanded the Infantry to follow it, and they marched all Night to the Place where he reſolved to enter the Foreſt. The General himſelf continued in his Entrenchments, with only his Cavalry; and very early in the Morning marched them to the Skirts of a Wood, where the *Hetrurians* had lodged ſome Centinels, and placed ſome Guards. By this means, he kept the Enemies, which were hid in the Thickets of the Foreſt, in Play; and after ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes, he returned to his Camp; but only with Deſign to march out of it again at another Gate, and join his Infantry, which had gone before him. He came up with them before Night; entered the narrow Paſſes of the Wood, on the oppoſite Side to the Enemy; and, before Sun-riſing, gained the Summit of the Hill *Ciminus*, which gave Name to the Foreſt. From thence, he ſurveyed with Pleaſure, the vaſt and fruitful Plains of *Hetruria*; was charmed that he had broken through a Barrier, which had hitherto been impenetrable to the *Romans*; and promiſed himſelf much Spoil, and many important Conqueſts. After this Expedition, *Fabius* returned again to his Camp; and in the mean time, two *Tribunes of the People*, followed by fifty other Deputies, arrived there, to forbid the General, in the Name of both Senate and People, to enter the Foreſt. This was occaſioned by the Complaints the Council of War had ſent to *Rome*, of the *Conſul*'s Raſhneſs; and the Deputies repreſented the whole Republick, which had intereſted herſelf in thwarting his Enterprize; perhaps becauſe apprehenſive of meeting with a ſecond Refuſal from a *Fabius*. But the Deputies finding, That their Prohibition came too late, and That the Succeſs of the Project had put an End to the publick Fears, returned well ſatisfied, to ſee a Paſſage opened into *Hetruria*, and *Fabius* in a Condition to ſpread the Fame of the *Romans* there. Thus Men of Speculation, who are ſafe in the Cabinet, do often, upon a ſuperficial Knowledge of Things, ſtop the Progreſs of Generals, and thereby render their Zeal uſeleſs.

WHILST *Fabius* continued upon the Hill *Ciminus*, he had ſent Detachments into *Hetruria*, to lay it waſte, and carry off the Booty; the Inhabitants not being upon their Guard, in a Country where they thought themſelves ſecure from all Inſults. For want of regular Troops therefore, the chief of the Country armed the Peaſants,

Year of ROME CCCCXLIII.
Q. FABIUS RULLIANUS, C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, Conſuls.

[85] *Camerinum*, an ancient City of *Umbria*, beyond the *Tyber* and *Apennines*, was above two Days Journey from *Sutri*, from whence *Claudius* ſet out.

Year of ROME CCCCXLIII. Q. Fabius Rullianus, C. Marcius Rutilus, Conſuls.

ſants, to defend their Eſtates: But this diſorderly and undiſciplined Company was ſoon routed, and had very like to have fallen a Prey themſelves, to thoſe who had pillaged their Lands. However, the Terror the *Romans* ſpread in a Place where they were not expected, ſerved at leaſt to multiply the Number of their Enemies; and all *Hetruria*, and the People on the Confines of *Umbria*, taking the Alarm, theſe two Nations took the Field together, and came to *Sutri*. Nor did the Addition of theſe New-comers only increaſe the Number of the *Hetrurians*, who were fled for Refuge into the Foreſt; they were likewiſe very earneſt to fight, and ventured to appear in the Plain. They firſt drew up in Battalia, leaving an empty Space of Ground for the *Romans* to do the ſame; but the artful *Fabius* ſeemed to decline fighting. This feigned Fear gave the Enemy Encouragement, and made them reſolve to attack the *Romans*, in their Entrenchments; and *Fabius*, to tempt them the more to it, ordered his Advanced-Guards, which uſed to watch without the Ramparts, to retire into his Camp. Theſe Appearances of Dread were a Snare laid for the raſh *Hetrurians*, who unwittingly fell into it, and with great Clamours demanded Leave of their Generals to inveſt the Camp, and to have Proviſions brought them to the Place on which they were poſted. They promiſed to make the Attack upon the *Conſul's* Entrenchments the next Night, or at fartheſt by break of Day. The *Romans*, on the other hand, were no leſs ardent to fight; and all *Fabius's* Authority was little enough to reſtrain them. However, he only commanded them to be ready upon the firſt Signal, whether given in the Day, or Night; and told them, That the *Samnites* were much better Soldiers than the *Hetrurians*; That the Victories ſo often gained over the former, ought to encourage them to hope for ſtill greater Advantages over the latter; and That he was contriving to give the Enemy a Blow, which they did not expect, and which it was not proper for him to mention at that time. This made his *Romans* conclude that he kept a ſecret Correſpondence with the Enemy's Army; raiſed the Courage of the *Legions*, which might have been damped by the innumerable Multitude of the *Hetrurians*; and tho' it was only a Feint, on the Part of *Fabius*, it was thought very probable, from the little Precaution the Enemy took in intrenching themſelves. The *Romans* refreſhed themſelves, took ſome Hours Reſt, and about three in the Morning appeared under Arms, upon the firſt Signal, and drew up in Battalia, on the ſame Ground on which their Camp was pitched. The *Conſul* had ordered the Pioneers to level the Ramparts, and fill up the Ditch, on one Side at leaſt; and after he had left a choſen Body of Men to guard the Gates which remained entire, he ſilently marched out his Army, thro' this great Breach. It was now Summer-time, and as in this Seaſon the Morning-Sleep is uſually the ſoundeſt, he found ſome of the *Hetrurians* faſt aſleep on the Ground, and others not out of their Beds. Some took to their Arms, and were killed, whilſt others attempted to rally; but as they had neither Colours, nor Commanders, they were all diſperſed and fled. Some gained the Foreſt; others retired to the Camp they had fortified in the Plain, which was taken and plundered the ſame Day; and the Gold and Silver found in it, being brought to the *Conſul*, the reſt of the Booty was given up to the Soldiers. In ſhort, it is affirmed, that the Enemy had near 60000 Men killed, and taken Priſoners. All Hiſtorians are not agreed about the Place where this important Victory was won; ſome contending that it was beyond Mount *Ciminus*, near [86] *Perufia*. But be that as it will, the Overthrow was ſo great, that all *Hetruria* was alarmed at it; and the *Lucumonies* of [87] *Cortona*, *Aretium*, and *Perufia*, which were the chief, immediately ſent Deputies to *Rome*, to deſire a Suſpenſion of Arms, which was granted them for thirty Years. Thus the brave *Fabius* finiſhed a War, the Succeſs of which gave the *Romans* Hopes of conquering all *Hetruria*, in due time.

§. XXVII. But the *Roman* Arms had not the ſame Succeſs againſt the *Samnites*

86 This was a conſiderable City in *Old Hetruria*, when it was divided into twelve *Lucumonies*. The Ancients ſay it was built by the *Achivi*, or *Pelaſgi*, long before the *Trojan* War. It is now called *Peruggia*, and ſtands in *The Eccleſiaſtical State*.

87 The ancient City of *Cortona*, the Capital of one of the twelve *Hetrurian Lucumonies*, ſtood fourteen Miles South of *Aretium*. It belonged to the *Umbri*, who poſſeſſed the fineſt Provinces of *Hetruria*, till driven out of them by the *Pelaſgi*. The latter introduced their own Language and Cuſtoms into this City. Even in *Herodotus's* time, as he himſelf declares, *B.* 1. the Inhabitants of *Cortona* ſpoke a different Language, from that of the neighbouring Countries.

C. Marcius

Year of ROME CCCCXLIII. Q. Fabius Rullianus, C. Marcius Rutilus, Conſuls.

C. Marcius who commanded the Troops on that Side, gained ſome Advantage at firſt over theſe old Enemies of *Rome*. He took [88] *Allifæ*, a conſiderable Place on the [89] *Vulturnus*, and made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Caſtles, and many Villages in *Samnium*, which he razed; but he had the Mortification to hear of the Misfortunes which befell the *Roman* Fleet, which coaſted along *Campania*, in order to make Deſcents and Incurſions, in the Country of the *Samnites*. *P. Cornelius* commanded this Armament, which I believe was the firſt the Republick had ever ſent to Sea. The new Admiral landed at [90] *Pompeium*, beyond *Cape* [91] *Palinurus*, near [92] *Herculaneum*; made a Deſcent there, and ſuffering his Troops to diſperſe themſelves abroad upon the Coaſt, and pillage it, their eager Deſires of Booty carried them too far. After they had ravaged the Places neareſt the Sea, they penetrated as far as [93] *Nuceria*, and thereby gave the Inhabitants of the Country time to aſſemble together. Whilſt the *Romans* were ruining the Country indeed, no Enemy appeared to oppoſe them; but at their Return, when they were almoſt at their Ships, the Militia of the Country fell upon them, and were too powerful to be reſiſted. The *Romans* were forced to give up their Booty; ſeveral of them were left dead upon the Place; and the reſt got on board their Ships, after an unfortunate Repulſe. This News gave the *Samnites* Joy; but what raiſed their Courage, was a Report ſpread among them, that *Fabius* had met with *Caudian Forks* in *Hetruria*, had raſhly ſuffered his Army to enter the *Ciminian* Foreſt, and was there inveſted by the *Hetrurians*. This News was brought from *Rome*, where it had ſpread univerſal Terror; and theſe Reports, which were looked upon as true, made the *Samnites* form grand Deſigns. There was indeed a Mixture of Jealouſy in their Joy. They were uneaſy to ſee the *Hetrurians*, their Rivals in Glory, ſucceed better than themſelves. And in order therefore to ſhare in the Victory, they were already preparing to give the *Conſul Marcius* Battel; and, in caſe they ſucceeded, or he refuſed fighting, to croſs the Countries of the [94] *Marſi* and *Sabines*, paſs the *Tyber*, and join their Forces to thoſe of *Hetruria*. And they obtained a Part at leaſt of what they deſired. *Marcius* met the *Samnites*, and gave them Battel, which is allowed to have been bloody, and to have coſt both Parties dear. Nay, the *Roman* Hiſtorians add, that the Succeſs of it was doubtful; and it is certain, that at *Rome*, the *Romans* were thought to have loſt it. News was brought from the Camp, and with Truth, That a great Number of the *Roman Knights*, and ſeveral of the *Legionary Tribunes*, were killed; That one of the Lieutenant-Generals was left dead upon the Field of Battel; and, which was ſtill worſe, That the General himſelf was dangerouſly wounded. And in order therefore to prevent the Misfortunes

88 We have already ſpoken of the City of *Allifæ*, *B.* 17. *p.* 210. of this Volume, *Note* 65. and ſhall ſpeak of *Aretium*, now *Arezzo*, in the 21ſt Book. *Feſtus* makes the former, one of thoſe *Præfectures*, to which *The Prætor of Rome* ſent Commiſſioners every Year, to adminiſter Juſtice in his Name. Father *Briet* ſpeaks of another City of *Allifæ* in *Campania*, which retains that Name to this Day.

89 The River *Vulturnus*, now the *Volturno*, watered a Part of *Old Campania*. It ſeparated the Territory of *Capua* from that of the *Samnites*; and from thence it paſſed on to *Capua* itſelf, and running by *Caſilinum*, diſcharged itſelf into *The Tyrrhenian Sea*, near a City, which had the ſame Name of *Vulturnus*. *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 36. *c.* 26. that this River produced a ſort of fine Sand, which was of great uſe, in making Glaſs. *Agathias*, *B.* 2. *Of the War of the Goths*, gives the River *Vulturnus* the Name of *Caſilinus*, becauſe it ran near *Caſilinum*.

90 The City of *Pompeium* was a maritime City of *Campania*, near Mount *Veſuvius*, upon the Banks of that Part of the *Sarno*, which the Natives now call *Scafati*; where there is a City of the ſame Name, which has taken the Place of the old *Pompeium*. *Solinus* ſays, *c.* 8. that the latter was ſo called, from the Oxen which *Hercules* led through *Italy* in *Pomp*, as he returned this Way from *Spain*, laden with the Spoils of *Geryon*. *Ab Hercule in Campania Pompeios quia Victor ex Hiſpania* POMPAM BOUM *duxerat*. The Territory of *Pompeium* was famous for its moſt excellent Wines. *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 14. *c.* 6. that they not only continued good, without degenerating, for ten Years together, but even grew better and better, all that while. *Pompeianis Vinis ſummum decem annorum incrementum eſt, nihil ſenecta conferente.* *Strabo* ſays, this City was firſt inhabited by the *Oſci*, then by the *Hetrurians*, who were driven out by the *Pelaſgi*, and after this by the *Samnites*, who kept Poſſeſſion of it, till they were conquered by the *Romans*. *Tully* ſpeaks of it, as a *Roman Colony*.

91 There being an ancient Tradition, that one of *Æneas*'s Pilots, named *Palinurus*, died, and was buried, on the neighbouring Shore; this gave the Promontory the Name of *Palinurus*, which it retains to this Day. The Natives call it *Capo di Palinuro*; and a little City not far from it, is alſo called by the Pilot's Name.

92 See *B.* 17. *p.* 205. of this Volume, *Note* 55.

93 The *Nuceria* here ſpoken of, ſtood on the Banks of the *Sarno*, in a Valley, formed by Mount *Veſuvius*, and Mount *Lactarius*, now *Monte Letteri*, nine Miles from the Sea. It was on the Confines of *Campania*, and is diſtinguiſhed from two other Cities of the ſame Name, by the Surname of *Alphaterna*. It afterwards became a *Roman Colony*; and it is now called *Nocera*.

94 We have ſhewn the Origin of the *Marſi* and *Sabines* in ſeveral Places.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIII. Q. Fabius Rullianus, C. Marcius Rutilus, Conſuls.

which were thought imminent, the Republick judged it neceſſary to chuſe a *Dictator*, and caſt her Eyes on *Papirius*. It was his Fate to be his Country's Refuge in Times of publick Danger; but there were Difficulties in getting him promoted. It is well known, That *Dictators* were then nominated by the *Conſuls*; and That it was neceſſary, one at leaſt of the *Conſuls* for the Time being, ſhould appoint the new Governour. As for the *Conſul Marcius* indeed, he would eaſily have been prevailed on to nominate *Papirius*, *Dictator*; but beſides that the People of *Rome* were apprehenſive that he was not alive, the *Samnites* ſtoped up all the Avenues to his Camp, and it was no eaſy Matter to come at him. So that *Papirius* could only be nominated by the *Conſul Q. Fabius*; and it was well remembered, what Injuries *Papirius* had done him in his Youth. *Papirius* had been exceſſively ſevere to him. For one Act of Diſobedience, and that attended with Succeſs, he had condemned *Fabius* to be put to Death; had cauſed him to be ſtripped, in order to his being beaten with Rods in the Camp, as preparatory to his Execution; and upon his eſcaping to *Rome*, had purſued him thither, and had not pardoned him, but at the earneſt Requeſt of the *Roman People*. This barbarous Treatment had made deep Impreſſions on *Fabius*'s Mind: Nevertheleſs it was of Importance to the Republick to ſend no General againſt the *Samnites*, but *Papirius*, on whom alone ſhe could ſafely depend, for repairing her Loſſes. And on the other hand, it was not certain, that *Papirius* would accept of this Dignity from the Hands of his old Rival in Glory. Under theſe Difficulties therefore, the Senate thought fit to paſs a Decree, commanding *Fabius* to nominate *Papirius* to the *Dictatorſhip*; and enjoining *Papirius* to accept it upon *Fabius*'s Nomination. The latter was more difficult than *Papirius* to be brought to a Compliance; and indeed he was the Perſon injured. So that in order to ſooth his Reſentments, and to move him, the *Conſcript Fathers* ſent their Decree to him, to his Camp at *Samnium*, by a Deputation of their own Body, which conſiſted of ſuch Perſons as had all been *Conſuls*. Theſe were inſtructed not only to admoniſh him ſeriouſly, as publick Perſons inveſted with Authority for that Purpoſe, but to intreat him earneſtly, as his Friends and Acquaintance, to ſacrifice his Reſentments to the Good of his Country. When they came to the Camp, after making a Speech very proper for the Occaſion, they preſented him with the Decree of the Senate. Upon this, the *Conſul*'s Surprize and Confuſion were inexpreſſibly great; but he was Maſter enough of himſelf not to fly out into Invectives. He expreſſed himſelf with Moderation and Temper; yet ſo as to leave the Deputies in Uncertainty whether he would obey the Order, or reject it; and in the Evening he retired into his Tent, without coming to any Determination. But the Love of Duty, and the publick Weal, had, in all probability, more Weight with him, than the Danger that might ariſe from a ſecond Act of Diſobedience. *Fabius*, according to the ſuperſtitious Cuſtom of always nominating *Dictators* in the Middle of the [95] Night, (which was thought ſo neceſſary, that without it the Nomination was deemed null) declared *Papirius Dictator* at Midnight. Indeed he ſhewed by his Carriage, what Violence he had offered to himſelf, in order to get the better of his Reſentments: when the Deputies congratulated him on the Victory he had gained over himſelf, they could not get one Word from him. His Silence was expreſſive; and ſhewed that nothing but the Love of his Country could have extorted from him a Conſent, which his perſonal Hatred would not have ſuffered him to have given, in favour of ſo cruel an Enemy.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIV. L. Papirius Cursor, Dictator. *Faſt. Capit.*

§. XXVIII. Then the Republick, thinking *Papirius* able enough of himſelf to govern the State, during his *Dictatorſhip*, choſe no *Conſuls* all the Year. Nevertheleſs, *Q. Fabius* was not deprived of the Command of the Army; but continued in the ſame Poſt; not indeed in Quality of *Conſul*, as [96] *Livy* ſays, but with the Title of *Proconſul*. This great Man had well deſerved ſome Diſtinction, both by his

95 The Republick, in order to gain her Magiſtrates the more Reſpect, never proceeded to elect them, till the *Augurs* had firſt formally conſulted the *Auguries*. And we have already obſerved, that the *Romans* had Recourſe to ſome ſuperſtitious nocturnal Ceremonies, of the Ridiculouſneſs of which they were afterwards ſenſible. A *Dictator* eſpecially, was never to be choſen, according to the Law, but in the dead of the Night. An Affair of this Conſequence required mature Deliberation, and conſequently an Attention of Mind uninterrupted by any external Objects.

96 *Livy* falſly ſuppoſes, upon the Authority of ſome imperfect Annals, that *Lucius Papirius Cur-*

his Struggle with himſelf, in ſacrificing his Revenge to the Wants of the Publick, and by the moſt glorious Victories: and (before we return to *Papirius*, whom we ſhall ſee revenge the Loſſes of the *Romans*, in *Samnium*) let us firſt ſee, with what Succeſs he carried on the War in *Hetruria*. *Fabius* being confirmed in his Generalſhip, probably at the Requeſt of *Papirius*, who would not ſuffer himſelf to be overcome in Acts of Generoſity, would not give his Troops time to languiſh in Inaction; but carried the War into *Umbria*, which was in Alliance with *Hetruria*. There he fought a Battel, which was memorable only for the Rout of the *Umbri*, whoſe Heat abated upon the firſt Attack, and who were not able to ſtand before a *Roman* Army. They retired, almoſt without any Loſs, and appeared no more in the Field. But in the mean time, the moſt numerous, and moſt formidable Army the *Hetrurians* ever had, aſſembled on the Banks of a little Lake, called 97 *Vadimonius*, near 98 *Viterbo*. The Soldiers of which it conſiſted, had made a Vow, never to return home, till they had conquered; or at leaſt, this is one Conſtruction that may be put upon *The Sacred Law*, by which they are ſaid to have bound themſelves. Others indeed pretend, that the Governors of the Nation had commanded all their Youth, who were of Age to bear Arms, to come into the Army; and had declared, that if they failed, their Heads ſhould be devoted to *Jupiter*, and it ſhould be lawful for any Man to kill them. But whatever we underſtand by it, it is certain, that the *Hetrurians* ſhewed, both by their Numbers, and their Obſtinacy in maintaining the Fight, how much Power their 99 *Sacred Law* had over their Minds. And what helped to promote Unanimity, and create an Emulation among their Soldiers, was the Leave which was given to every private Man, to chuſe himſelf a Companion to fight by him, and with whom he was either to conquer, or die. But *Fabius* was not afraid of engaging even with Enemies, whom a religious Engagement had brought together, and had determined not to give way. Both Parties were ſo warmly bent upon the Engagement, that they both neglected to begin it as uſual; and without loſing time in throwing Darts, by way of Prelude to the Battel, both Armies drew near one another, Sword in Hand. The Equality of the Strength and Courage of the two Armies, made the Succeſs long doubtful; and this Uncertainty increaſed their Ardour. The *Romans*, during the Action, thought they had changed their Enemies, and could ſcarce imagine themſelves contending with a Nation they had ſo often conquered. Neither Party gave way. On the Side of the *Romans*, their firſt Line was cut in pieces, and the ſecond took its Place; which was alſo ſucceeded by the third; for the *Proconſul* was forced to bring his *Triarii* to engage; which was never done, but in great Extremities. And theſe being ſupported by the *Roman* Cavalry, who diſmounted, and marched over Heaps of dead Bodies and Arms, to fight in the firſt Line, the *Hetrurian* Battalions were then broken through. The *Roman* Infantry, ſhattered as they were, followed the Example of theſe brave Horſemen; and returning to the Battel, both together, put the *Hetrurians* into Diſorder, and filled them with Conſternation. They retired, were overpowered, and as ſoon as the foremoſt fled, the reſt were ſoon routed. A memorable Day for the *Romans*, which gave a terrible Wound to the Power of the *Hetrurians*, whom a long Continuance of Proſperity had made formidable! All their moſt valiant Men periſhed in the Action; and the *Romans* inſtantly ſeized, and plundered, their Camp.

Year of ROME CCCCXLIV.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

's *Dictatorſhip* ended with the Year 443, in which *Junius Fabius* was *Conſul*. It evidently appears from the *Faſti Capitolini*, That he was not promoted to that ſupreme Dignity, till towards the Cloſe of the Year 443; and That he alone governed the Republick, in the Quality of *Dictator*, all the next Year 444.

97 We have deſcribed the Lake *Vadimonius*, now *Lago di Baſſano*, *B.* 21. *p.* 415. of this Volume, Note 18. *Volaterranus* and *Fabricius*, take it for the Lake of *Viterbo*; and *Blondus* confounds it with that of *Monte-Roſe*. But we follow *Pliny*, who places this Lake at the lower end of the City of *Interamna*.

98 The City of *Viterbo*, is in *The Patrimony of St. Peter*, at the Foot of a Hill of the ſame Name, formerly called Mount *Ciminius*. Some Authors have thought it the Remains of *Old Vetulonia*, and would make it paſs for a City founded ſeveral Ages ago. But whatever *Ammius of Viterbo* may ſay of it, in order to do Honour to his Country; it would be difficult to produce any ſolid Proofs of the Antiquity of this City.

99 By *The Sacred Law*, the Ancients generally mean, a Treaty, or ſolemn Engagement, accompanied with Oaths and Execrations againſt thoſe who broke their Promiſes. By virtue of this Law, perjured Perſons were proſcribed, and it was lawful for any one to kill them.

Year of ROME CCCCXLIV.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

§. XXIX. NOR was *Papirius* without Succeſs againſt the *Samnites*. But before he left *Rome*, it was neceſſary to get his Nomination to the *Dictatorſhip*, and that of *Junius Brutus*, whom he had choſen for his General of Horſe, confirmed by the aſſembled *Curiæ*. The *Dictators* themſelves were ſo far dependent on the People. For all Generals complied with [100] this Cuſtom; the Ceremony of which was as follows. On the Day appointed, the *Curiæ*, that is, the Inhabitants of *Rome*, were aſſembled in the *Comitium*. Neither the *Roman Citizens* in the *Rural Tribes*, nor thoſe in the *Municipia*, and *Colonies*, tho' they had a Right of Suffrage in all other Caſes, were admitted into the *Comitia by Curiæ*. They conſiſted only of the Citizens of the different Quarters, or if I may ſo ſpeak, of the different Pariſhes, in *Rome*. The [101] *Prerogative* of the *Curiæ* among one another, that is, the Right of Precedence in the Order of going into the Voting-place, and of voting, was determined by Lot. Theſe *Curiæ* had been confined by *Romulus*, to the Number of thirty, and no [102] Addition was made to that Number, even when the City was exceedingly enlarged, and the People greatly multiplied. As ſome Superſtition or other prevailed in all the juridical Aſſemblies of the *Romans*, that concerning the *Curiæ*, was this, That ſome of them were deemed unlucky; and when the *Prerogative* fell to them, and they were to vote firſt, this was thought to forebode ill, as to the Succeſs of the Campaign, which the General they were confirming in his Office, was going to begin. Of theſe unlucky *Curiæ*, that called *Faucia* was moſt dreaded; becauſe it had been obſerved, that the *Prerogative* had fallen to it, both in the Year that *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, and in that, when the *Romans* were inveſted in *The Caudian Forks*. And it unluckily happening, that this *Curia* had likewiſe the *Prerogative*, when *Papirius* was to be confirmed in the *Dictatorſhip*; he, either becauſe ſuſceptible himſelf of vulgar Prejudices, or becauſe he would not diſcourage his Soldiers by a Preſage which they thought diſadvantageous, adjourned the Aſſembly to the next Day. Then the *Prerogative* falling by Lot to another *Curia*, *Papirius* was inveſted with his Power and Authority, in an auſpicious manner, and ſet out for *Samnium*. He found an Army ready raiſed in *Rome*. When News was brought thither, that *Fabius* had penetrated into the *Ciminian* Foreſt, he was given up for loſt, and new Levies were haſtily made. The *Dictator* put himſelf at the Head of theſe Troops, which were ready to march, and advanced towards *Longula*, on the Frontiers of the *Volſci*, not far from *Terracina*. There he likewiſe took the Command of the battered *Legions*, which had continued there ever ſince the laſt Blow *Marcius* had received; and then he was not long, before he took the Field. At firſt the Enemy ſeemed willing to fight; but as neither the *Samnites*, nor *Romans*, cared to be the Aggreſſors, the Night ſeparated the two Armies, which returned each to its Poſt. They mutually watched one another, for ſome time, without making any Attempt, and without any Fear of each other; and during this quiet Interval, the *Samnites* adorned their

Varro de Ling. Lat. B. 4.

100 We have nothing to add, concerning the Place where the *Comitia by Curiæ* was aſſembled, or their Privileges. See *B.* 8. *p.* 396. of the firſt Volume.

101 We have already explained the Nature of this *Prerogative*, *B.* 8. *p.* 367. of the firſt Volume.

102 The Ancients agree, that the Number of the *Curiæ* was always fixed to thirty; and *Feſtus* is the only one that ſays, five others were added to thoſe eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*. *In quas* (Curias) *Romulus populum diſtribuit, numero triginta, quibus poſtea additæ ſunt quinque.* And it may be preſumed, that he confounded the *Curiæ* with the thirty five *Roman Tribes*. But however that be, there were never reckoned to be more than thirty *Curiæ*; only they grew larger and more populous, as the City and its Inhabitants increaſed in Extent, and Numbers. Indeed the City became ſo populous at laſt, that there was a Neceſſity of building larger Temples, and enlarging the Pariſhes, in order to enable them to contain the prodigious Multitude of Citizens which were incorporated into each *Curia*. The old Chapels, erected and conſecrated by *Romulus*, were therefore deſerted; and they were no longer looked on as ſacred Places, after the *Curiones* had made uſe of the Ceremonies of *Evocation*, to prevail on the Gods who were in Poſſeſſion of theſe old Oratories, to leave them, and go to the new Habitations which had been built for them. There were only four preſerved, which, according to *Feſtus*, belonged to the *Curia Foreníis*, the *Curia Rapta*, the *Curia Velienſis*, and the *Curia Velitia*. The Author ſays very gravely, that it was not poſſible to get the Tutelary Gods out of theſe four Sanctuaries; they obſtinately perſiſted in keeping to the old Habitations. It was in vain to conjure them to remove, they withſtood all the Intreaties and Prayers of their Miniſters; and, if we may ſo ſpeak, had no regard to a kind of *Exorciſm*, which the Pagan Prieſts pronounced with a loud Voice on theſe Occaſions. *Novæ Curiæ proxime Compitum Fabricium ædificatæ ſunt, quod parum ampla erant veteres a Romulo factæ, ubi is populum & ſacra, partes triginta diſtribuerat, ut in iis ea ſacra curarent; quæ cum ex veteribus in novas evocarentur quatuor Curiarum per religiones evocari non potuerunt. Itaque Foreníis, Raptæ, Velienſis, Velitia, divinæ fiunt in veteribus Curiis.*

Troop

Troops, to make them more proud, by the Finery of their Arms and Habits. They divided their Army into two Bodies, one of which wore Bucklers [103] gilt, the other ſilvered; and theſe Bucklers being all broad enough at the top, to cover the Breaſts and Shoulders of the Soldiers, and terminating in a Point at the bottom, were the more eaſy to manage. Inſtead of *Cuiraſſes*, the *Samnites* covered their Breaſts with Spunges, or if you will, [104] with a kind of quilted Bodices. On their Left Legs they wore a kind of [105] Boot, of ſtrong Leather; and the Creſts of their Helmets being very high, they gave them a majeſtick Air, by making them appear the taller. Thoſe who wore gilt Bucklers, were clothed in Stuffs of many Colours; thoſe who wore the ſilvered ones, in white Cloth; and the latter were in the Right Wing, the former in the Left.

THIS Change of Arms and Habits, was ſoon known in the *Roman* Camp; the Officers informed their Soldiers of it, leſt the Novelty of the thing ſhould ſurprize them. *The true Dreſs of a Soldier*, ſaid they, *is a Sword, and Valour. Gold and Silver are of no uſe in Battels, but to increaſe the Covetouſneſs of the Enemy, who are greedy of rich Spoils. Men may be fine, before the Action; but in it, the richeſt Ornaments are ſoon ſullied with Blood and Duſt. Make true Glory to conſiſt in martial Courage, and not in an effeminate Dreſs. Thoſe who are pooreſt when they begin a Fight, are often richeſt at the end of it: Victory crowns them with thoſe Ornaments, which they had deſpiſed.* After theſe Words, which preſerved the *Romans* from Jealouſy, and quickned their Courage, with the Hopes of the Booty; *Papirius* drew up his Army in the Plain. He commanded the right Wing himſelf, and committed the Care of the left to his General of Horſe. They were both Men of uncommon Bravery; and an Emulation is ſaid to have ariſen between them, which ſhould firſt gain an Advantage over the Enemy. *Junius Brutus*, who commanded the left Wing of the *Romans*, faced the white Troops of the *Samnites*, gave them the firſt Blow; and ſaid, *I devote all theſe white Men to the black Pluto.* At which Words, he inſtantly advanced with his *Legions*, preſſed hard upon the Enemy, and gained a great deal of Ground of them. This the *Dictator*,

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIV.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

[103] *Livy* and *Horace* ſay, that ſome of the Bucklers of the *Samnites* were chaſed with Gold, others with Silver. But is it probable, that theſe Metals ſhould have been then ſo common in *Samnium*? Beſides, it is difficult to reconcile this Magnificence with what *Livy* himſelf, and moſt Authors, ſay of the *Samnites*; whom they repreſent as a barbarous People, accuſtomed to an auſtere Way of Life, in the midſt of their Mountains, and conſequently great Strangers to Finery. We therefore thought it neceſſary to qualify the Expreſſions of theſe two Hiſtorians, in order to make their Relation the more probable; and inſtead of Gold and Silver Bucklers, we have only given the *Samnites* gilt, and ſilvered Bucklers. The Reader is to form what Judgment of it he pleaſes; only we thought it neceſſary to inform him, how far we differ from the *Latin* Hiſtorians. *Livy*'s Words are theſe. *Duo Exercitus erant, Scuta alterius Auro, alterius Argento cælaverunt.* And *Florus* ſeems to think, that Arms adorned with Gold and Silver, were common among the *Samnites*. *Populus Romanus Samnites invaſit, gentem, ſi opulentiam quæris, aureis & argenteis Armis, diſcolori Veſte, uſque ad ambitum armatam.*

[104] Others underſtand by this Spunge, a Coat of Mail, or Veſt of Flax, well quilted; like that uſed by the *Macedonians*, *Thracians*, *Spaniards*, and *Faliſci*. Such was that worn by *Amaſis* King of *Egypt*; every Stich of his Tunick conſiſted, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 15. *ch.* 1. of 365 Threads. It was kept as a Curioſity in the Temple of *Minerva*, in the Iſland of *Rhodes*. Some by the Word *Spongia* underſtand, a Tunick made of Felt, or Wool worked cloſe together, as in our Hats, to make it the more hard and impenetrable. *Pliny* ſays, that this ſort of Cuiraſs, ſoaked in Vinegar, was Proof againſt Darts and Swords.

[105] *Polybius*, ſpeaking of the offenſive and defenſive Arms of the *Roman* Soldiers, gives thoſe in the *Legions*, only one Boot a-piece; and *Vegetius* confirms it, adding, that this Boot was to be worn by them only on the Right Leg; whereas the *Samnites*, as *Livy* obſerves, wore it on the Left. Regard was had in it, to the different Situation of the Combatants. The Boot was of moſt Uſe, when worn after the *Samnite* manner, in the Skirmiſhes between the Armies, wherein they fought only with their Arrows; for which *Vegetius* gives this Reaſon. When a Soldier, ſays he, put himſelf into a Poſture to ſhoot his Arrow, he was forced to ſhorten his Right Arm, and put his Left Leg forward, that he might ſend it with the more Violence, and be the more ſure to hit his Mark: and in this Poſition, his Right Leg was ſcreened, and his Left only in Danger, and in Want of a Defence. Whereas, adds he, it was juſt the contrary, in Attacks that were made Sword in Hand. *Virgil* repreſents the Soldiers of the *Hernici*, as having only one Boot each, and that on the Right Leg.

Veſtigia nuda ſiniſtri
Inſtituere Pedis, crudus tegit altera pero.
Æneid. 7.

Theſe Boots were ſometimes guarded with Iron or Braſs; whence the Epithet ſo often repeated in *Homer*, καλκοκνημῖδας Ἀχαιούς. They reached but half way up the Leg; the upper Part of it, to the Knee, was ſufficiently guarded by the Length of the Buckler. On the ancient Monuments, we ſee ſome of this ſort of Buskins, which are bored through, and made of Plates of Iron or Braſs, or Straps of Leather, which are bound croſs the Leg, like a Ligature. In imitation of theſe, the Buskins of our modern theatrical Heroes were made; only the latter are lighter, and leſs troubleſome. But whatever *Vegetius* may ſay to the contrary, the *Bas-reliefs*, and antique Statues, ſhew, that in After-times at leaſt, theſe military Boots were worn on both Legs: and the Hiſtorians ſeem to ſuppoſe it.

Year of ROME CCCCXLIV.

L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

who was in the right Wing, obſerved; and cried out, *What! will you who fight under the Command of your* Dictator, *ſuffer the chief Glory of the Action to be gained by another? Will you permit any but yourſelves to be the chief Authors of the Victory?* This ſaid, he preſſed his Soldiers to advance; and then both Horſe and Foot made a general Onſet, in which the two Lieutenant-Generals, who were both Officers of Reputation, behaved themſelves as bravely as the *Dictator* and his General of Horſe. One of them was *M. Valerius*, who commanded in the right Wing, under *Papirius*; the other *P. Decius*, who fought under *Brutus*, in the left. They had both commanded Armies in chief, as *Conſuls*; for it was not then thought diſhonourable to become a Subaltern, after having been a General. Both, as if by Conſent, left their Infantry, put themſelves each at the Head of the Cavalry in their reſpective Wings, and after having exhorted them to behave themſelves with Bravery, ſuddenly fell on the Enemy in Flank. Then the *Samnites* were ſeized with Terror, and being ſurrounded on all Sides, had no Hopes of eſcaping, but by Flight. Indeed the *Roman* Infantry repeated their Shouts, as if they had begun a new Battel; upon which the Enemy quitted their Ranks and Colours, and ran with Speed to regain their Camp. All the Plain was covered with gilt and ſilver'd Arms, and with dead Bodies in white Cloth, and Stuffs of various Colours. The Victory was ſo complete, that the *Samnites* durſt not continue in their Camp; it was taken and burnt, before Night. Thus *Papirius* recovered the Glory of the *Roman* Arms, which had declined under *Marcius*. An illuſtrious Campaign, ſignalized by Providence with two great Victories, perhaps to reward the Virtue of two famous Enemies, whom their Love for their Country had reconciled! *Fabius* and *Papirius* returned to *Rome*, one from *Hetruria*, the other from *Samnium*; they both triumphed, but in different Months; the latter on *The Ides of October*, and the former on *The Ides of November*, in the ſame Year. The Triumph of the *Dictator* was more ſplendid than that of the *Proconſul*; but the *Proconſul* was more applauded than the *Dictator*. No Body had ſhared *Fabius*'s Glory with him; it was wholly his own: His Officers had even oppoſed his moſt glorious Enterprize. Whereas *Papirius* owed his Victory in part to his Lieutenant-Generals *Valerius*, and *Decius*; and eſpecially, to his General of Horſe. But he had this Diſtinction at leaſt, that the fine Arms he had taken from the *Samnites* embelliſh'd his Proceſſion. They were depoſited in the Hands of the 106 chief Bankers, to adorn the *Forum Romanum* with them; and hence came the Cuſtom of adorning it with Spoils, on thoſe ſolemn Days, when the Gods were carried 107 through the Streets of *Rome*, on Biers. The *Capuans*, in Deriſion of the *Samnites*, whom they hated, ordered ſuch Bucklers as the *Samnites* had worn in the Battel, to be made, and adorned thoſe 108 Gladiators with them, who fought for their Entertainment, during their Repaſts. This Triumph was the laſt with which *Papirius* was honoured. Whether he was now grown too old, or whether it was now time for him to diſappear, in order to leave all the Glory of

Faſt. Capit.

106 Theſe chief Bankers had Journeymen under them, whom they hired: and for their uſe *Numa Pompilius* ordered Shops to be built in the *Forum Romanum*, as we have already obſerved. See what we have ſaid of the Bankers, *B.* 15. *p.* 112. of this Volume, *Note* 67.

107 *The Circenſian Games* were uſhered in with this Ceremony, of carrying the Statues of the Gods, dreſſed in the moſt magnificent manner, through the Streets; and all Orders of Men in the Republick, aſſiſted at the Ceremony, and walked according to their Ranks, adorned with all the Marks of their Dignity. We ſhall ſpeak of this Proceſſion, which was the fineſt Sight to be ſeen at *Rome*, in another Place.

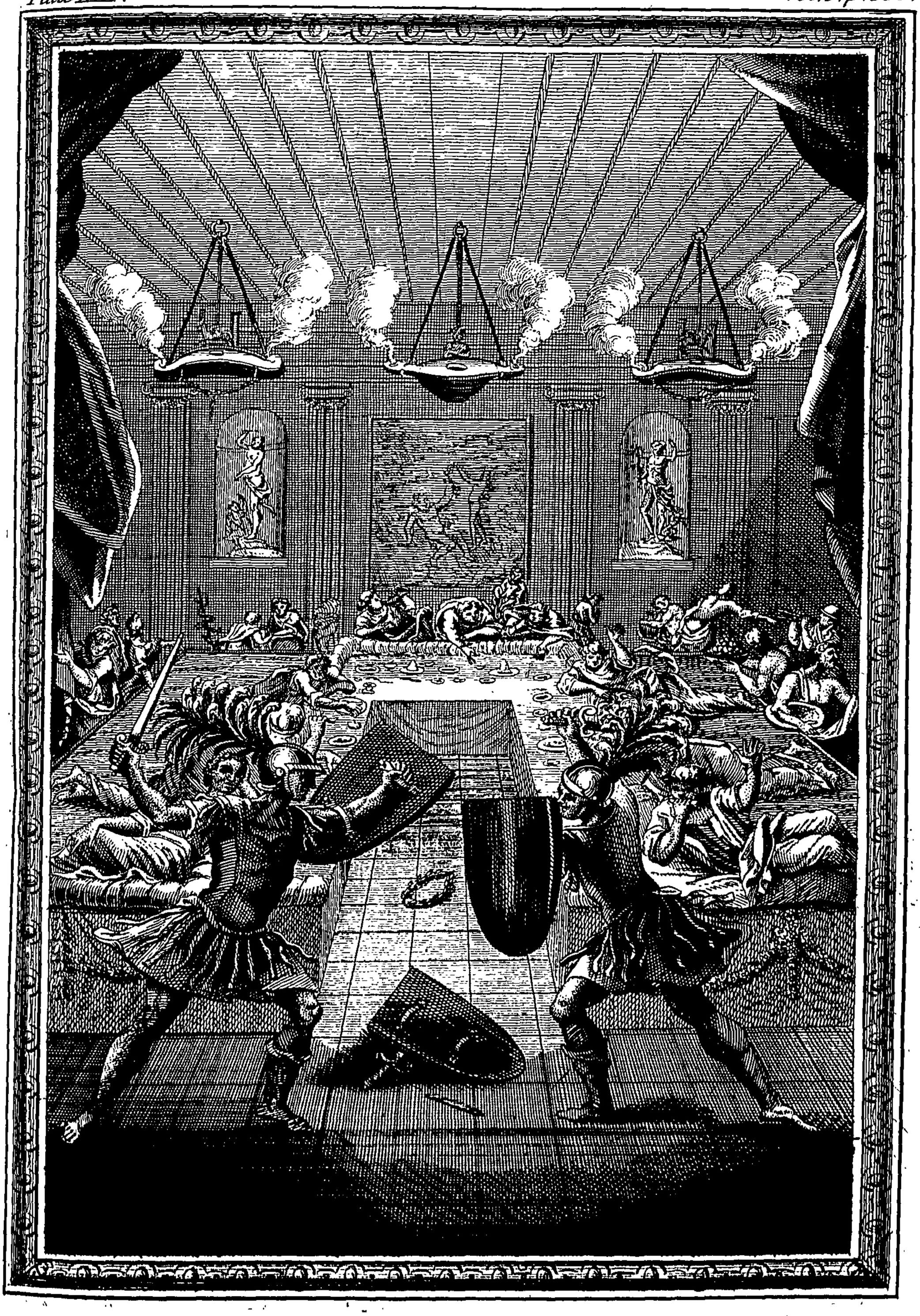
108 The *Romans* gave this Name likewiſe to other Gladiators, who were armed after the *Samnite* manner. Private Perſons often hired them at their own Expence, to entertain Strangers with their Fighting, in Times of Feaſting, and publick Rejoicings. But they then fought only with falſe Arms, or a ſort of Foiles. *Pliny*, *B.* 7. *ch.* 20. upon the Teſtimonies of *Varro*, and *Solinus*, *ch.* 1. ranks one *Tritanus* among thoſe, which were called *Samnite* Gladiators, who was grown famous for his great Strength of Body, and ſurprizing Activity, at all the Arts of Defence. *Varro*, ſays *Solinus*, *in Relationem prodigioſæ Fortitudinis annotavit Tritanum Gladiatorem ornatura Samnitem fuiſſe.* *Lucilius* ſpeaks of one *Quintus Velocius*, who was a famous Gladiator.

Quamvis bonus ipſe
Satis in Indo, ac rudibus cuivis ſatis aſper.

Horace mentions the *Samnites*, *B.* 2. *Ep.* 2. and ſays, that they fought ſoberly, and without Precipitation, in the Hall where the Feaſt was kept.

Lento Samnites ad Lumina prima Duello.

They gave each other many Blows; but their Wounds were not mortal, becauſe their Weapons were blunted. The Reader may judge of their Dreſs, by the Plate annexed.



Samnite Gladiators.

heroical Exploits to *Fabius*, who gained the Aſcendant, whatever were the Cauſe; we ſhall ſee him appear on the Stage no more. The Circumſtances and Time of his Death are unknown, the *Latin* Hiſtorians mentioning only the moſt ſhining Exploits, and publick Actions, of their Heroes. So that it would now be very difficult to draw perfect Characters of them. What may be obſerved of the two greateſt Men in *Rome* at that time, is this; that *Papirius* had more Prudence and Temper; but *Fabius* was more bold and enterprizing. If the one would have put a Stop to *Alexander*'s Progreſs, had he come into *Italy*; the other would have been another *Alexander*, had he been a King, and commanded an Army abſolutely dependent upon him. In ſhort, the one was born to be the Support of his Country; the other to be a rapid and indefatigable Conqueror.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIV. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, Dictator.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XIX.

§. I. THE Republick ſtill continued to have two of the moſt powerful Nations in her Neighbourhood, the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*, her Enemies; and it is ſcarce conceiveable how the latter ſhould be able to raiſe ſo many Troops among themſelves, and ſupply ſo many Loſſes. Their Territory was ſcarce ſo large as the ſmalleſt Provinces in *France*; and yet we ſee their Soldiers as it were riſing out of the Ground, in order to furniſh them every Year with great Armies, which were often defeated, and ſometimes cut in Pieces, by the *Romans*. *Italy* muſt then have been exceeding populous, as well as *Greece*, and thoſe Parts of *Aſia*, and *Africa*, which were neareſt to *Europe*. And as the latter eaſed themſelves of the too great Numbers of their Inhabitants, by Navigation, which made it eaſy for them to tranſplant *Colonies* into diſtant Regions; ſo in the in-land Parts of *Italy*, it was neceſſary that War ſhould conſume that Multitude of Men, which the Country was not able to ſupport. The *Roman* Generals returned to the Territories of *Samnium*, and *Hetruria*, which abounded ſo much with Warriors; and thither we will now follow them.

WHEN *Papirius*'s *Dictatorſhip* was expired, new *Conſuls* were choſen in the *Campus Marcius*. But whether the *Dictator* continued a whole Year in Office, may be queſtioned. It ſeems moſt probable, that he laid it down at the End of ſix Months, as the Law directed; tho' he is generally reckoned to have poſſeſſed that Dignity a whole Year. It has been already obſerved, that little Streſs is to be laid on the Computation of Time by *Conſular* Years: But nevertheleſs, we will, for want of better Guides, fall in with the Stream of our modern Chronologiſts, leſt by too ſcrupulous an Exactneſs, we ſhould throw the *Roman* Hiſtory into Diſorder and Confuſion.

Year of ROME CCCCXLV. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, P. DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

PERHAPS *Rome* never made a more juſt and more judicious Choice of *Conſuls*, than in the Year 445. *Q. Fabius* had been only a *Proconſul*, the laſt Year; and as ſuch, had triumphed over the *Hetrurians*. But he was now elected *Conſul*, the third time; and the Collegue the Republick gave him was *P. Decius Mus*, who had ſo lately ſignalized himſelf in the Battel with the *Samnites*, in which he had commanded the left Wing, as General of Horſe. He was now raiſed to the *Conſulate*, a ſecond time; and upon aſſigning the Generals their Provinces by Lot, *Hetruria* fell to him, and *Samnium* to *Fabius*. It ſeemed at firſt, that the latter would find little Employment for his natural Activity. He came before that *Nuceria*, which was likewiſe called *Alfatena*; was the laſt City in *Campania*, beyond Mount *Vegarius*; and had ſome time ſince joined the *Samnites*. It was here that the *Romans* had lately met with a Repulſe; the firſt Marines the Republick had ever ſent out had juſt now been defeated and beaten by the *Nucerians*, on whom *Fabius* found it no difficult Matter to make Repriſals. As ſoon as he appeared before *Nuceria*, it ſurrendered; and this Conqueſt was followed by a Battel with the *Samnites*; but ſo inconſiderable a one, that it would never have found a Place in the *Roman* Story, if it had not raiſed up new Enemies againſt *Rome*. *D. Sic. B.* 19.

Liv. B. 9. *c.* 41. Theſe were the *Marſi*, a little Nation bordering on the Lake *Fucinus*, and adjoining to the *Samnites*; and their Example was followed by the *Peligni*, whoſe Territory lay a little Eaſtward to that of the *Marſi*, but joined to it. However, this

this Increaſe of Enemies did not hinder *Fabius* from gaining ſome Advantage over them; tho' not enough to ſatisfy his martial Ardour.

As for *Decius*, he made ſome Progreſs in *Hetruria*. The *Tarquinienſes*, one of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies*, had been forced to furniſh the *Conſul* with Proviſions, who had granted them a Truce for forty Years: and thus he drew off the ſeveral Members of the *Hetrurian* Body by degrees; till at length, he ſtruck ſuch Terror into the whole Country, by his military Incurſions, that he forced all *Hetruria* to deſire an Alliance with the *Romans*. But the Republick was too ambitious to be content with the Offer of the *Hetrurians*. The Way was now open for making this important Conqueſt: and *Rome*, who intended to ſubdue them, thought it not enough barely to have this great Nation her Ally. The *Conſul* only granted the *Hetrurians* a Truce for one Year, in conſideration of their Submiſſion; and even that coſt them dear. *Decius* made them pay his Troops, and furniſh every Soldier with two Suits of Clothes; and by this means, all was quiet in *Hetruria*, at leaſt for a time. But in the mean while, the *Umbri* began to be in Motion, and they ſeemed to be within *Decius*'s Province, ſince they took up Arms wholly on account of the *Hetrurians*. The *Romans* had not indeed begun to ſubdue any Part of *Umbria*; but they had entered it, in order to make themſelves a Way into *Hetruria*. The *Umbri* ſeemed to be more formidable than they really were. They were ſaid to be deſcended, for the moſt part, from thoſe *Gauls* who had ſettled in *Italy*; the *Senones*, who had conquered the *Romans*, were their Neighbours and Allies: and therefore the Republick thought this new War was not to be deſpiſed. She remembered, that *Rome* had not been able to withſtand the Valour of the *Gauls*. She was under ſome Apprehenſions, upon being informed, That all the *Umbrian* Youth were in Arms; That without concerning themſelves about the *Conſuls*, one of whom was on their right Hand, and the other on their left, they had formed a Deſign of marching directly to *Rome*; and That they ſpoke of the *Romans* with the uſual Contempt and Confidence of Conquerors. And this News put the two *Conſuls* in Motion. They both took proper Precautions to ſave their Country, but each in his own Way. The prudent *Decius* marched his Army by the Road between *Umbria* and *Rome*, to cover *Latium* with it; encamped in a Place called [1] *The Pupinian Field*, which gave Name to *The Pupinian Tribe*, and which lay near *Gabii*; and there he waited quietly for the Arrival of the new Enemies. But *Fabius*, as ſoon as he had received Orders from the Senate, immediately left *Samnium*, croſſed *Sabinia*, entered *Umbria*, and encamped in the Heart of the Territory of the *Umbri*, near a City called [2] *Mevania*, on the Banks of the [3] *Clitumnus*. The *Umbri* were ſurprized at the Expedition of a General, whom they did not expect

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLV. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

1 *The Pupinian Field*, of *Pupinienſis Ager*, lay between *Scaptia* and *Pedum*, near the *Anio*, and the *Aqua Crabra*, at leaſt eight Miles from *Rome*; ſo that its Boundaries were *The Latin* and *The Lavican Ways*; and the Way that led to *Præneſte*. *Varro*, *Cicero*, *Columella*, and *Valerius Maximus*, ſay it was a barren Soil, which could not without difficulty be made to produce the common Neceſſaries of Life.

2 Geographers place the ancient City of *Mevania*, below *Fulginium*, now *Fulgino*, near the Place where the *Topino*, formerly the River *Tinia*, and the *Clitumnus* join, in the Duchy of *Spoleto*. *Columella*, ſpeaking of *Mevania*, *B.* 3. *ch.* 1. ſays, that its Territory abounded with Paſtures, in which ſeveral Herds of Oxen were fed. It was ſituated in the Bottom, where *Bevagna* now ſtands. *Strabo* ranks this City amongſt the moſt conſiderable in *Umbria*; and *Tacitus*, *Hiſt. B.* 2. ſpeaks of it, as a very ſtrong Place. There was another *Mevania* near The *Ronto*, or the River *Bedeſis*; but the latter was neither ſo famous, nor ſo large, as the former; and for this Reaſon, it was called *Mevaniola*. It appears this Name in an ancient Inſcription, which is this, Decurioni Mevanioiæ.

3 The *Clitumnus*, now *il Clitonno*, is one of the Rivers of ancient *Umbria*, which joins the *Topino*, formerly the *Amnis Tinia*, and then falls into the *Tyber*. The Deſcription *Pliny the Younger* gives of it, *B.* 8. *Ep.* 8. is worthy of the Reader's Notice.

At the Foot of a little Hill, loaded with a Wood of thick-ſpreading Cypreſs-trees, riſes a Spring, the Water of which is firſt divided into ſeveral unequal Streams, and afterwards forms a great Baſon, which is ſo clean and clear, that Pieces of Silver, and Pebbles, which are thrown into it, are eaſily diſtinguiſhed at the very bottom of it. It runs with Rapidity from thence, not ſo much on account of any Declivity it meets with, as its own Quantity and Weight. It runs but a very little way from the Spring-head, before it becomes a great River, which bears Boats; and is ſo rapid, that it will carry them down the Stream, of itſelf; and it is not without Difficulty, that they go up it, even with the Help of Oars, and Poles. The Banks of the Clitumnus *are covered with Aſh-trees and Poplars, which ſeem to multiply in the Stream, but appear ſo diſtinctly in it, that you may count them. The Water of it is almoſt as cold, and altogether as white, as Snow. Near it is a Temple much honoured, as well as very ancient; in which ſits the River-God* Clitumnus *himſelf in a Robe. He is a very helpful God, and foretels future Things, as appears by the Apparatus in his Temple. Round this Temple are ſcattered about a great Number of Chapels, each of which has a Statue of the God, and ſome Ceremonies peculiar to it; and ſome of them have likewiſe Springs of their own. For beſides the principal one, which is as it were the Mother of the reſt; there are ſeveral others which have different Heads,*

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLV. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

pect, and who came to make War with them out of the Province aſſigned him He had already penetrated into their Territory, at a Time when they thought him ſufficiently embarraſſed in *Samnium*; and his ſudden Appearance among them ſo terrified them, that ſome retired into their fortified Places, and others were for renouncing a War they had ſo raſhly undertaken. But in the mean time, a Body of Troops, which formed a 4 ſquare Battalion, inſpired the *Umbrian* Army with new Courage, and animated it, by their Example, to advance towards the Enemy. *Fabius* was buſy in fortifying his Camp, when he ſaw the Enemy preſſing haſtily forwards to fall upon his Workmen; and he immediately called off his Soldiers, ordered them to leave the Works they had begun, and harangued them, as much as the Time and Place would permit. *Remember*, ſaid he, *your Exploits in* Samnium, *and* Hetruria. *The People you are going to ſubdue, are but a weak Part of thoſe numberleſs* Hetrurians, *who have not been able to withſtand your Valour. Chaſtize the* Umbri *for their inſolent Diſcourſes, and make them lay aſide the Thoughts of beſieging* Rome. Theſe Words were interrupted with the Acclamations of the *Romans*, whoſe Ardour would admit of no Delay; and upon the firſt Sound of the Trumpet, without waiting for further Orders, they ruſhed upon the Enemy. But they fought in an unheard of Manner; they ſcarce made any Uſe of their Swords; and diſperſed and beat down the Enemy's Battalions, with only their Bucklers, and their Shoulders. They took the Standards from thoſe who guarded them, and carried the Standard-Bearers to the *Conſuls*. They ſurrounded whole Bodies of the Enemy, and made them lay down their Arms; and in ſhort, treated theſe vapouring Hectors with ſuch Contempt as might teach them more Wiſdom. There was ſo little Blood ſpilt in the Battel, that it looked as if the *Romans* had been fighting with Women, or diſarmed Men. They contented themſelves with taking a great Number of Priſoners; and this Moderation made them Maſters of all the *Umbrian* Army. As ſoon as the Words, *Lay down your Arms* were heard in the Ranks, all obeyed, and the Authors of the War themſelves ſurrendered to the *Romans*. The reſt of the Nation alſo followed the Example of the Troops, and all ſubmitted to the Republick. But the Inhabitants of *Ocriculum* were moſt favourably treated. *Ocriculum* 5 was as it were the Key of *Umbria*, on the Side of *Rome*; and *Fabius* promiſed this City, that it ſhould be received into the Friendſhip and Protection of *Rome*; which was all he could do, of his own Authority. Thus ended a War, in which *Fabius*'s Preſence alone was enough to defeat the Enemy; and then he returned to his old Camp, to keep the *Samnites* within Bounds, and oppoſe their Enterprizes. But in the mean time, the Year of his *Conſulſhip* was juſt expiring; and it was neceſſary for the *Centuries* to proceed to a new Election. *Appius Claudius* was then *Cenſor*; and notwithſtanding that he had exerciſed that Office, near about five Years, in direct Defiance to the Laws, yet h

Heads, but all loſe themſelves in the River. Over the River is a Bridge, which ſeparates the ſacred Places from the prophane. Above the Bridge, no Boat can paſs; below it, is a Bathing-place. The Hiſpellates, *to which* Auguſtus *gave this Country, furniſh all things neceſſary for Bathing*, gratis. *Many Houſes are built all along by the River-ſide; and in a word, nothing is wanting, that can add to the Pleaſure of the Place. We there find ſeveral Inſcriptions engraven on all the Columns, by all ſorts of Perſons, in Honour to the Fountain, and the Divinity, which preſides in theſe delightful Places.* Ancient Authors ſay, that the Water of this River had this Quality, that the Oxen which drunk it, loſt their natural Colour, and turned white. For this reaſon, the white Victims, which the *Romans* uſed to ſacrifice on ſolemn Occaſions, as in a Triumph, were brought from the Meadows about the *Clitumnus*; as we are told by *Virgil*, in theſe Lines.

Hinc albi, Clitumne, *greges, & maxima taurus*
Victima, ſæpe tuo perfuſi flumine ſacro,
Romanos ad Templa Deûm duxere triumphos.

4 The following obſcure Paſſage in *Livy*, is interpreted two different Ways. *Plaga una* [*Materinam ipſi appellant*] *non continuit modo cæteros in Armis, ſed confeſtim ad certamen egit.* We have adopted *Glarean*'s Interpretation, who makes the Word *Plaga* to ſignify a ſquare Battalion, becauſe the *Greeks* uſed it in that Senſe. And yet it is natural enough to believe, that *Plaga* imports no more than *Pagus*, and only ſignifies that Canton of *Umbria* which had ſent the new Reinforcement of Troops againſt the *Romans*. But to determine what *Livy* means by the Word *Materinam*, whether it be the Name of a City, a Territory, or of that Body of Men which began the Action, is indeed a Matter both of more Curioſity, and Difficulty. It is however certain, that no ancient Authors mention any City of *Umbria* which bore the Name of *Materina*; and ſome conjecture, that we ought to read *Matilicam* inſtead of *Materinam*. *Frontinus* in his Book *Of Colonies*, and *Pliny*, mention a City called *Matilica*; which ſtood in the Territory of the *Umbri*, near the Extremity of *Picenum*, at the Foot of the *Apennine*, and above the River *Æſis*, now *Eſino Fiume*. It was afterwards honoured with the Rank of a *Municipium*.

5 *Ocriculum* was one of the laſt Cities in the Southern Part of *Umbria*, which was neareſt to *Rome*. Ancient Geographers place it a little beyond the *Nar*, now the *Nera*, near the Place where *Otricoli* now ſtands.

ventured to ask for the *Conſulſhip* for the next Year. What cannot an enterprizing Man do, when ſupported by the Populace, whom he has attached to him by obliging them in a very ſenſible manner? Indeed *Appius* was no Soldier; and it ſeemed very improper at that time to place the *Conſulſhip* in any Hands but thoſe of a great Commander; but the Water he had brought to *Rome*, and the Conveniencies of the Way he had levelled, from *Rome* to *Capua*, ſerved him inſtead of Exploits and Triumphs. And in caſe he ſhould not obtain the *Conſulſhip*, he ſtill pretended to keep in his Office of *Cenſor*; but *L. Furius*, one of the *Tribunes of the People*, oppoſed that Pretenſion with Warmth. When his Petition to be one of the Candidates for the *Conſulſhip*, came to be examined, *Furius* would not accept it, till he had laid down the *Cenſorſhip*; and *Appius*, in hopes of the new Dignity, reſigned the old, and was content to be no longer *Cenſor*, in Expectation of being made *Conſul*. Which Expectation was anſwered, by a Majority of Suffrages in the *Campus Martius*; he was now promoted to the *Conſulate* for the firſt time, and *L. Volumnius Flamma*, who was alſo ſurnamed *Violens*, was appointed his Collegue.

Year of ROME CCCCXLV. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

§. II. But *Rome* did not find *Appius* qualified for the Command of Armies, and therefore obliged him to continue in the City, where he was carrying on Intrigues in order to aggrandize himſelf; whilſt *Volumnius* went to acquire Glory in the Territories of the new Enemies. The *Romans* of the preſent Age differed very much in Conduct from thoſe of the preceding ones. Whilſt they had been confined within the Limits of *Latium*, they durſt not venture to engage in more than one War at a time. But ſince their Conqueſts in the Eaſt of *Italy*, they made Head againſt all the Nations who were their Enemies, together; and chaſtiſed all who openly declared againſt them. The moſt obſtinate of their Enemies were the *Samnites*. Tho' *Fabius* had made War with them with Succeſs, the laſt Year, and had likewiſe entered, conquered, and quieted, a Diſtrict which did not properly fall within his Province; yet his Preſence was again neceſſary in *Samnium*, to command thoſe *Roman* Troops there, with which he had always been victorious, and which placed their Confidence in him. And it was therefore propoſed to him to command his own Army in Quality of *Proconſul*; which was the more proper, becauſe one of the *Conſuls* was confined to *Rome*, without any Command in the Army. But the reſtleſs *Appius* endeavoured to diſconcert theſe Meaſures, tho' the Hiſtorians have not told us upon what Motives. Perhaps he would not have been diſpleaſed to have had the Command of the Army himſelf; (for who is not partial to himſelf?) and to have tried his Talents for War. But, whatever his Reaſon was, he did his utmoſt to prevent *Fabius*'s having the ſole Command of thoſe Armies which had before been under his Conduct. How ſtrangely unjuſt are the Ambitious! This very *Appius*, who had uſurped the *Cenſorſhip*, and exerciſed it alone four Years together, contrary to Cuſtom, could not bear to ſee *Fabius* command the Troops without a Collegue, tho' it was very common to commit the Command of each Army to a ſingle General. However, the Senate deſpiſed his Oppoſition, and continued *Fabius* in his *Proconſulſhip*, without an Aſſociate; and this Great Man made the Campaign with much Succeſs. The *Samnites* were advanced as far as *Allifa*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*, in the Neighbourhood of *Campania*; and the *Proconſul* attacked them, and obtained an unqueſtionable Victory over them. The *Romans* did not indeed take Poſſeſſion of the *Samnite* Camp, on the Day of Battle; towards the Cloſe of the Day, they were forced to leave off fighting. But they inveſted it all Night long, guarded it ſo well that no Body eſcaped out of it; and early the next Morning the *Samnites* capitulated with the *Proconſul*, and ſurrendered upon Articles. The chief of them was, That all the Natives of *Samnium* ſhould have their Lives ſpared, and be ſent home; but That they ſhould march out of the Camp with only one Garment, and ſhould *paſs under the Yoke*. As for the Effects of the *Samnites*, *Fabius* made no Terms with them; they were made Slaves, and ſold by Auction, to the Number of ſeven thouſand. Thoſe who declared themſelves *Hernici* by Birth, were ſeparated from the reſt, and ſent to *Rome* to be tried. The Senate examined them, whether they acted as Voluntiers, or had joined the *Samnites* by a publick Order of their Nation; and the *Conſcript Fathers* did not condemn them to Death, but kept them Priſoners of War, and diſtributed them in the Villages, and *Municipal* Towns, near *Rome*.

Year of ROME CCCCXLVI. Appius Claudius, L. Volumnius Flamma, Conſuls.

Auth. of Illuſt. Men, c. 34.

Liv. B. 9. *c.* 42.

Year of ROME CCCCXLVI. APPIUS CLAUDIUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA, Conſuls.

WHILST *Fabius* was ſubduing the *Samnites*, the *Conſul Volumnius* made War on the [6] *Salentini*, who inhabited the very fartheſt Part of *Italy*. It is almoſt incredible, that the Republick ſhould have penetrated ſo far already; but ſhe began now to make Conqueſts with Rapidity. *Volumnius*'s Campaign, in a Country ſo far diſtant from *Rome*, was not an unprofitable one. He fought ſome Battels there and always with Succeſs; he took ſome Cities; and in ſhort, was the firſt Man who ſpread the Terror of the *Roman* Name there, and paved the Way for his Succeſſors to do more. His Sweetneſs and Liberality were ſuch, that his Troops adored him. He reſerved none of the Spoils of the Enemy to himſelf, but gave all to his Soldiers; and therefore none of them declined any Labour or Danger. As *Volumnius* treated his Troops with Humanity and Condeſcenſion, he always found them ready to ſecond his Deſigns; and ſometimes they were even beforehand with him.

Faſt. Capit. Caſſiodorus.

IN the mean time, the Republick had choſen two *Cenſors* to ſupply the Place of *Appius*, who had reſigned the *Cenſorſhip*, for the *Conſulate*; and they were both eminent, as well for their Merit, as their Employments. *M. Valerius*, ſurnamed *Maximus*, and *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Bubulcus*, had been advanced to the higheſt Stations; and they now exerciſed the Office of *Cenſor* together, and ſignalized themſelves in this important Poſt. They not only made a *Cenſus*, which ended with the twenty ſeventh *Luſtrum* ſince their Inſtitution, but likewiſe levelled the Ways croſs the Fields near *Rome*, and made magnificent Roads, at the publick Expence; which made it the more eaſy for the Country-People to carry on a Commerce with the City. *Junius Brutus* alſo now performed the Vow, which he had made in a War with the *Samnites*, of erecting a Temple to the Goddeſs of [7] *Health*; but he did not conſecrate the Temple, till he became [8] *Dictator*.

Year of ROME CCCCXLVII. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS, P. CORNELIUS ARVINA, Conſuls.

§. III. IN this Interval, *Q. Marcius*, ſurnamed *Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius*, who was alſo called *Arvina*, were choſen *Conſuls* together; and *Appius*, from being *Conſul* the laſt Year, was, either this, or the [9] next Year, made *Prætor*, which was the moſt proper Poſt that could be given him. He had ſecured it in his *Conſulſhip*; but no body was better qualified for it. Being an able *Civilian*, and learned Orator, he knew how to clear up, and explain, the moſt intricate Points of Law, with great Skill and Judgment: and whilſt he is trying Civil Cauſes, we will follow the *Conſuls* to their military Employments, which were aſſigned them by Lot. *Rome* had drawn new Enemies upon her, by the Puniſhments ſhe had inflicted on the *Hernici*, in their Captivity. Their National Diet was aſſembled in a *Circus*, called *The Maritime Circus* [10]; (but for what reaſon is utterly unknown, ſince their Territory was an inland Country) and the Inhabitants of [11] *Anagnia* expreſſed moſt Zeal to revenge the Affront offered to their Nation. But they in vain endeavoured to draw the whole Country into their Revolt; the [12] *Aletri-*

Liv. B. 9. c. 43.

6 See our Deſcription of the Country of the *Salentini*, *B.* 21. *p.* 429. of this Volume, *Note* 51.

7 See our Account of the Goddeſs of *Health*, *B.* 22. *p.* 498. of this Volume, *Note* 70.

8 *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 11. *c.* 9. adds, that the two *Cenſors*, *Marcus Valerius*, and *Caius Junius*, degraded one *Lucius Antonius* a Senator, for having divorced his Wife, without firſt bringing her to a Trial. But this ſeems inconſiſtent with the ſame Author's affirming, *B.* 11. *c.* 1. that it appears by the ancient *Annals*, that there was no Inſtance of any *Roman*'s divorcing his Wife before the Year of *Rome* 520. And *D. Hal.* had before ſaid the ſame thing, in the ſecond Book of his *Antiquities*. He ſays, that one *Spurius Carvilius* was the firſt who put away his Wife about the 137th *Olympiad*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Pomponius*, and *Caius Papirius*: and he remarks, that this firſt Divorce was made by the Conſent of the *Cenſors*, after *Servilius* had made Oath, that his Wife's Barrenneſs was his only Motive to it.

9 It is certain, that *Appius Claudius* was Maſter of the chief Qualifications proper for a Magiſtrate, whoſe Buſineſs it was to adminiſter Juſtice; which was the Caſe of a *Prætor*. Together with a Knowledge of the *Roman* Laws and Privileges, he had a Penetration of Mind, ſufficient to guard him againſt being impoſed on by Chicanery and Artifice. Which makes *Lucius Volumnius* ſay, in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, that it were to be wiſhed, for the Republick's ſake, that *Rome* had always had *Prætors*, as eloquent, and as well verſed in the Law, as *Appius Claudius*. We have fixed his firſt *Prætorſhip* to the Year 447, or 448, for want of Memoirs, to inform us of the exact Time, when he firſt exerciſed that Office.

10 Perhaps this *Circus* was ſo called from its Neighbourhood to ſome Lake; or by way of Compariſon with ſome other *Circus*, which was farther diſtant from the Sea.

11 See our Account of *Anagnia*, *B.* 21. *p.* 446. of this Volume, *Note* 78.

12 The ancient City of *Aletrium*, according to ſome, or *Alatrium* according to others, was ſix Miles, or thereabouts, from *Anagnia*; to the Eaſt of *Ete*, at a little diſtance from the Springs of the *Liris*. *Frontinus* makes it a *Roman Colony*.

Aletri-

Year of ROME CCCCXLVII. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS, P. CORNELIUS ARVINA, Conſuls.

nates, the [13] *Ferentini*, and the [14] *Verulani*, all refuſed to enter into their Measures; ſo that there was only a ſmall Part of the *Hernici* who took up Arms againſt the *Romans*; and the *Conſul Q. Marcius* received a Commiſſion to go, and bring them to their Duty, whilſt his Collegue *Cornelius* continued the War with the *Samnites*. The *Hernici* were Neighbours to the *Samnites*, ſo that the two *Conſular* Armies might have been mutually aſſiſtant to one another; but the Rebels made it their Buſineſs to prevent it, and ſo effectually ſtopped up all Communication between them, that *Marcius* and *Cornelius* were not able to keep up any Correſpondence with each other. This Step therefore embaraſſed the *Conſuls*, and even terrified *Rome*. But as no Precaution was there neglected, it was reſolved to raiſe two new Armies in the City, to be ready to march, as there ſhould be Occaſion; and the Fears of the *Romans* were immediately diſperſed. *Marcius*, by his Wiſdom and Valour, ſoon reduced this Company of Mutineers to Reaſon, who were little able to reſiſt their Sovereigns. The *Hernici*, who were formerly ſo formidable, ſeem to have been now degenerated from the Bravery of their Anceſtors; three Camps were taken from them in a few Days, and they were forced to ſend Deputies to *Rome*. They offered to give the Army *Marcius* commanded, two Years Pay, to ſupply it with Proviſions, and to give every Soldier in it, one Suit of Clothes. But the Senate referred the Petition of the Rebels to the *Conſul*, empowered him, by a Decree, to diſpoſe of them as he pleaſed; and *Marcius* treated them with Severity, and forced them to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

§. IV. AFTER having finiſhed the War with the *Hernici*, *Marcius* had nothing to do, but to join his Forces to thoſe of his Collegue, who wanted his Aſſiſtance. *Cornelius*'s Army was indeed ſuperior in Number to that of the *Samnites*; but he had ſuffered it to be inveſted in narrow Paſſes, where all his Proviſions were intercepted. He had often offered the *Samnites* Battel; but they were obſtinately bent on ſtarving him in his Camp, without running the hazard of a Battel; and were much ſurprized at the Approach of *Marcius*, who with precipitate Marches, haſtened to deliver his Collegue. For them to ſuffer the two Armies to join, was to loſe all; ſince they were ſcarce able to reſiſt *Cornelius*'s Forces alone: and they therefore ſoon reſolved to give Battel to *Marcius*'s Troops, which were haraſſed with long Marches, and were advancing towards the inveſted Camp, in ſome Diſorder. But as ſoon as the *Samnites* appeared, the *Romans* rallied in haſte; and after throwing their Baggage in a heap in the Center, inſtantly repaired to their Colours, and drew up in Battalia. The Battel began, with the uſual Fury of Men under a Neceſſity of conquering, or loſing their Lives; and though the Attack was made at ſome diſtance from *Cornelius*'s Camp, he judged that his Collegue was engaged with the *Samnites*, by the Shouts he heard, and the Cloud of Duſt he ſaw. Upon which, he immediately ordered his Troops to Arms, commanded them to march out of their Entrenchments, and fell upon the Enemy in Flank, while they were wholly taken up with defending themſelves againſt the *Legions* which attacked them in Front. *Cornelius* endeavoured likewiſe to raiſe an Emulation in his Troops. *What!* ſaid he, *ſhall* Marcius's *Army alone get the Victory which was deſigned only for us? Shall we have no Share either in the Battel, or the Glory of it?* And at theſe Words he broke through the Body of *Samnites* who oppoſed him, ran directly to their Camp, which he found empty, and defenceleſs; entered it, and ſet it on fire. At the Sight of the Flames, the *Samnites* loſt Courage, and *Marcius*'s *Legions* were inſpired with new Vigour. The Enemy broke their Ranks, fled, and diſperſed, without finding any Refuge; for they were inveſted on all Sides; and in ſhort, the *Romans* killed thirty thouſand *Samnites* on the Spot, and were tired with Slaughter. Nevertheleſs, the *Legions* of the two Armies were no ſooner united, and the two *Conſuls* began to congratulate one another; but they were obliged to renew the Slaughter. News was brought the *Roman* Generals, that a new Body of *Samnites* appeared, near the Field of Battel, which were new

13 We have before ſpoken of the ſeveral Cities of *Italy*, which formerly bore the Name of *Ferentina*. This we are here ſpeaking of, belonged to the *Volſci*. Afterwards the *Romans* made themſelves maſters of it, and ſurrendered it up to the *Hernici*. See B. 14. *p.* 60. of this Volume, *Note* 16.

14 The ancient City of *Verulum*, or *Verulæ*, now *Veroli*, ſtood in *New Latium*, which is now a Part of the *Campagnia di Roma*. *Verulæ* was about five thouſand Geometrical Paces North of *Alatrium*; and *Frontinus* ſays, it afterwards became a *Roman Colony*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLVII. Q. Marcius Tremulus, P. Cornelius Arvina, Conſuls.

Levies, raiſed all over *Samnium*, and they were coming to enlarge the vanquiſhed Army. Upon this Intelligence, the victorious *Legions* forgot the Fatigues of the Day, aſſembled, before they had receiv'd the *Conſul*'s Orders, drew up in Battalia, and marched towards the Enemy. The Generals gave way to this martial Ardour, and let them try the Fate of a new Battel. The Soldiers ſaid to one another, *Come on, let us try what theſe New-comers can do, and make them pay for their firſt Trial of Skill with us, with their Blood:* And their Hopes were not vain. Had this new Company joined the firſt Army, it could ſcarce have been able to reſiſt the two *Conſuls* Forces: And it was entirely routed. Thoſe of the New-Comers who eſcaped, ſaved themſelves on the neighbouring Mountains, whither ſome of the vanquiſhed in the firſt Battel had already fled for Refuge. The *Romans* purſued them, and obliged them to come down into the Plain, where they began to talk of Peace. But it belonging to the Senate, or *Roman* People, and not to the *Conſuls*, to grant this, they ſent the Suppliants to *Rome*; firſt requiring the vanquiſhed to ſupply the *Roman* Armies with three Months Proviſions, give them a Year's Pay, and furniſh every Soldier with one Habit, by way of Preliminary. After this glorious Campaign, *Marcius* returned to *Rome*, where he obtained the Honours of a Triumph, on *The Eve of the Calends of July*. This laſt Victory was without doubt chiefly owing to him. Without him *Cornelius* his Collegue would have been worſted; and there was therefore this remarkable thing in his Triumph, that it was decreed him only on account of his Victory over the *Hernici* of *Anagnia*. This was doubtleſs done with a View to *Cornelius*, who neither had deſerved, nor obtained a Triumph, though he had behaved himſelf very well in the important Battel wherein the *Samnites* had been defeated. The *Romans* wiſely declined granting any Triumph for the Victory over the *Samnites*, and at the ſame time found Means to do *Marcius* Juſtice, who had as good a Right to triumph on account of the *Samnites*, as on that of the *Hernici*. A Statue was erected to his Honour, over-againſt the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which was ſtanding in *Cicero*'s time, but deſtroyed in *Pliny*'s; who ſpeaks of it as a Monument not then in being. Poſterity has always reckoned *Marcius Tremulus* to have been one of the greateſt Commanders who lived in theſe happy Ages of the Republick. He confirmed the Cuſtom of ſparing the publick Treaſury the Charges of Wars, and making them at the Expence of the vanquiſhed Enemy; which was much more frequently practiſed by the Generals of *Rome* afterwards, than it before had been. After his Time, nothing was more common, than to force the ſubdued Nations to furniſh the *Roman* Armies with Proviſions, Cloaths, and Pay.

Faſt. Capit.

Cicero. Philip. 6.

Plin. B. 24. *c.* 6.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLVII. P. Cornelius Barbatus, Dictator.

§. V. Whilst the *Conſuls Marcius* and *Cornelius* were yet in the Field, that is, before the Month of *July*, the time came for electing new Magiſtrates in the *Campus Marcius*; and *P. Cornelius*, ſurnamed *Barbatus*, was nominated *Dictator* to preſide in the *Comitia by Centuries*, in the Abſence of the *Conſuls*. He choſe the famous *Decius Mus* for his General of Horſe; and the People choſe *Poſtumius*, ſurnamed *Megillus*, and [15] *Tib. Minucius*, ſurnamed *Augurinus*, to be their next *Conſuls*. But before they entered upon their Office, the Senate determined the Fate of the *Hernici*. They had hitherto been upon the Foot of Allies to the *Romans*; but *Marcius* had juſt now reduced them to the State of Subjects. Three of their Cities indeed, *Alatrium*, *Ferentinum*, and *Verulum*, had continued faithful to the *Romans*, and the Republick ſhewed them Marks of Diſtinction. She gave them their Choice, either to continue to be governed by their ancient Laws, or to enjoy the Privileges of *Roman Citizens:* And they preferred their old Laws to new Honours. But one Privilege at leaſt was given their Inhabitants, which was that of intermarrying with one another, and which all the Allies of *Rome* did not enjoy. The Republick often denied ſome Cities this Privilege, leſt their Union ſhould be too ſtrict, and become prejudicial to the Intereſts of the Conquerors. The three faithful Cities were the only ones that preſerved it, for ſome time, in all the Country of the *Hernici*. The Inhabitants of their other Cities, eſpecially thoſe of the rebellious *Anagnia*, were forced to ſubmit to be governed by *Roman* Laws, and declare themſelves *Citizens of Rome*, without the Right of Suffrage. They were forbidden to hold any Aſſemblies, or marry out of their own City; and all their

15 The ancient Annals agree, that *Minucius* had the *Prænomen* of *Tiberius*; but *Livy*, *Marianus*, and *Caſſiodorus*, have given him that of *Titus*, inſtead of it.

Magiſtrates were put under an Interdict, except thoſe whoſe whole Province related to Religion.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLVII. P. CORNELIUS BARBATUS, Dictator.

AT the ſame time Deputies arrived at *Rome* from *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* were the only People beyond the Seas, with whom the *Romans* had hitherto kept up any Sort of Correſpondence. Some Hiſtorians ſay, they now entered into a third Treaty with them. But however that be, the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors had an honourable Reception; the Republick accepted their Preſents, and made them others in Return. The further the *Romans* extended their Conqueſts in *Italy*, the more they were reſpected on the Coaſts of *Africa*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLVIII. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS, TIB. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, Conſuls.

§. VI. IN the mean time, *Poſtumius Megellus*, and *Tib. Minucius*, entered upon their *Conſulſhip*. The *Samnites*, notwithſtanding their Loſſes, had ſpread themſelves in *Campania*, between the *Vulturnus* and the [16] *Savo*; and had pillaged the fine Country of *Falernum*, towards the North, in a Plain called [17] *Stellates Campus*. Upon which the *Conſuls* were both ordered to enter *Samnium*, each at the Head of a *Conſular* Army, that is, an Army conſiſting of two *Legions*; and to make War there. Accordingly, *Poſtumius* marched towards the City of *Tifernum*, ſituated upon a River [18] of the ſame Name; and *Minucius* came and encamped near *Bovianum*, a City formerly conquered from the *Samnites*, but lately returned to the Dominion of its old Maſters. *Poſtumius* firſt entered upon Action; and ſome Hiſtorians ſay his Victory was complete. They tell us he killed thirty thouſand *Samnites* in the Engagement: But it is more probable, That the Succeſs of it was equal, and That *Poſtumius* even pretended to have been worſted, in order to put a Cheat upon the Enemy the more effectually. He decamped the next Night, retired to the Mountains, and there fortified himſelf in an advantageous Place. The *Samnites* believing that the *Romans* were afraid, followed the *Conſul*, and poſted themſelves within two Miles of his Camp. *Poſtumius* therefore made all Haſte to complete his Entrenchments, furniſhed his Camp with all Sorts of neceſſary Proviſions with the utmoſt Diſpatch, left a ſufficient Number of Troops there to defend it, and with the reſt of his Army marched out at Midnight, and took the neareſt Way to his Collegue. *Bovianum* was not far from *Tifernum*, and he quickly joined *Minucius*, who was in ſight of a Body of *Samnites*, which only wanted an Opportunity to give Battel. Upon his Arrival, *Poſtumius* adviſed his Collegue to offer Battel before the Enemy knew of the Reinforcement the *Romans* had received; and accordingly, *Minucius* marched into the Plain, with his Army alone, and let the Enemy ſee only his two *Legions*. The Victory was long diſputed with Warmth on both Sides; but after a tedious Fight, after many Wounds had been given and received, and the Soldiers in both Armies were much fatigued, *Poſtumius* and his Troops renewed the Action on a ſudden, with freſh Fury, and then the *Samnites* could no longer hold out againſt the two *Conſuls*. They were too much fatigued, and had received too many Wounds, to fly faſt enough to ſave their Lives; and as they could only make a faint Struggle for Victory, they fell on the Field of Battel. The *Romans* took one and twenty Colours from the Enemy in this Action, which was only a Prelude to this glorious Campaign. The *Conſuls* joined their victorious Troops without Delay, led them to *Poſtumius*'s Camp, and from thence flew upon the Body of *Samnites*, which was poſted near it. This Battel was warmer, and more bloody than the former; and *Minucius*, one of the *Conſuls*, loſt his Life in it. He was wounded in the Action, and died before he arrived at the Camp. But the Loſs of this General was immediately ſupplied by *M. Fulvius Pætinus*, who being immediately nominated *Conſul* at *Rome*, finiſhed the Cam-

Liv. B. 9. c. 44.

16 The River *Savo*, now called *Savone* by the Natives, watered that Part of *Campania*, which lay between *Sinueſſa*, and the City of *Vulturnum*. It is a very ſlow River, and makes ſeveral Marſhes in the Neighbourhood. We have ſpoken of the *Vulturnus* already.

17 The Plain *Stellates* was divided from the *Falernian Fields* by Mount *Callicula*, which *Polybius* calls Mount *Eribanus*. This is the Hill which commands the City of *Carinola*, in *Campania*, and the Place now called in *Italian*, *Tore di Francoleſe*. So that the Territory of *Stellates* was bounded, on the North, by that of *Falernum*; and the South, by the Plain of *Cales*. It was watered with two Rivers, the *Savo*, and the *Vulturnus*. We have already ſpoken of another little Canton in *Hetruria*, lying between *Capena*, *Veii*, and *Falerii*, which ancient Authors call *Stellatinus Ager*. This Canton gave Name to *The Stellatine Tribe*. See *p.* 36. of this Volume, *Note* 97.

18 The River *Tifernus*, now *Biferno*, watered the Country of the *Frentani*, now a Part of *The Nether Abruzzo*, and the *Capitanata*; and it gave Name to a neighbouring City, which *Cluverius* thinks to be the ſame, which the Natives now call *Moliſe*.

Year of ROME CCCCXLVIII. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS, TIB. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, Conſuls.

paign in that Quality. It is probable, that he had had the beſt Share in the Glory of the laſt Action; in which the General of the *Samnites*, named *Statius Gellius* was made Priſoner, with a great Number of his Soldiers; and twenty ſix Colours were taken from the Enemy. *Marcius*'s firſt Deſign had been to beſiege *Bovianum*; but after the two Victories, that City ſoon ſurrendered to his Succeſſor. It is likewiſe probable, that *Fulvius* retook *Sora*, [19] *Arpinum*, and [20] *Cerſennia*, from the *Samnites*; or at leaſt, it is certain that *Fulvius* triumphed alone. Why *Poſtumius*, who ſeems to have deſerved the ſame Honour, did not triumph with him, is hard to ſay. The *Faſti Capitolini* don't allow him this, tho' *Livy* does; but the latter makes him triumph with *Minucius*, who was now dead. We ſhall therefore adhere to the *Faſti Capitolini*, which place *Fulvius* only among the triumphant Victors; perhaps in order to ſhew a Mark of Diſtinction to that General, who had ended the Campaign with the taking of four Cities of Importance. He made his triumphal Proceſſion three Days before the *Nones of October*.

Faſt. Capit.

Year of ROME CCCCXLIX. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS, P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO, Conſuls.

§. VII. THE ſucceeding *Conſuls*, who were *P. Sempronius*, ſurnamed *Sophus*, and *P.* [21] *Sulpicius*, ſurnamed *Saverrio*, found the *Samnites* much fatigued with the War, and very deſirous of a Peace. They were no ſooner entered upon their Office, but Deputies came to *Rome* from the *Samnite* Nation, to deſire a Renewal of the ancient Confederacy, whereby they were formerly allied to the *Romans*. But how could the latter believe them upon their bare Words? How could they diſcover whether their Return was ſincere; or whether they only wanted to get a little Time to breathe? What Dependance was to be had on a faithleſs Nation, which had ſo often brought Diſhonour upon herſelf, by a ſudden Breach of Treaties? It was therefore thought neceſſary to have ſome Proofs of their Sincerity from their Behaviour, and not to judge of it only by their Supplications. The Ambaſſadors were ſent back, and aſſured, That the *Conſul Sempronius* ſhould follow them with an Army; That he was a Man of Penetration, and would be able, in the Viſit he was going to make the *Samnites*, to diſcover their real Sentiments, and whether they were ſincerely diſpoſed for Peace. Accordingly, *Sempronius* ſet out for *Samnium*, where his Troops were received in all Places with the Marks of a ſincere Reſpect; they were plentifully ſupplied with all ſorts of Proviſions; and the Change which there appeared to be in the Hearts of theſe old Enemies, altered the Diſpoſitions of the *Romans* towards them. The Republick entered into an Alliance with them, on the ſame Foot as ſhe had done before the Wars.

Liv. B.9. c.45.

AND as the *Romans* were thus mild in their Treatment of the Nations which ſubmitted, ſo they were no leſs ſevere in puniſhing the leaſt Act of Unfaithfulneſs, in thoſe which left their Alliance. The *Æqui*, thoſe ancient Enemies of the Republick, had long continued faithful in their Subjection to her; but as ſoon as they ſaw the *Hernici* their Neighbours go over to the *Samnites*, they likewiſe, ſeduced by this bad Example, declared openly againſt *Rome*. Without keeping any Meaſures as formerly, they had ſent Succours to the *Samnites*, and declared that their Revolt had been univerſally reſolved on by the whole Nation. *Rome* therefore thought it neceſſary to ſend *Feciales* to them, to require them to give an Account of this unjuſt Proceeding, and make Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done the Republick. But the *Æqui* proudly anſwered, That their Deſign in coming to de-

19 The City of *Arpinum*, in the Country of the *Volſci*, between the *Melſis* and the *Liris*, is yet in being, and bears the Name of *Arpino*. It gave Birth to *Marius* and to *Cicero*. The latter had a *Villa* near it, which he calls, in ſeveral Parts of his Works, his paternal Inheritance. His Brother *Quintus* had alſo an Eſtate in the Neighbourhood, called *Arcanum*. It lay in the Diſtrict, in which the City of *Arco* now ſtands. We have mentioned the Situation of *Sora* above, *B.15. p.131.* of this Vol. *Note 106.*

20 *Cerſennia*, which formerly belonged to the *Marſi*, ſtood on the Eaſtern Shore of the Lake *Fucinus*, near the Place, where a little River, called by the Ancients *Amnis Pitonius*, diſcharged itſelf into the Lake. *Cluverius* places it near *Caſtel Venere*; but *Holſtenius* contends, it was about the Place called *Li Colli*. It may not be improper to remark here, that this City has different Names, in the different Editions of *Livy*; in ſome it is called *Cenſennia*, in others *Ceſſentia*. But we know of no Cities in *Italy* of thoſe Names. Several conjecture, that we ought to read *Coſentia*; but they don't conſider, that this laſt City ſtood in the extreme Parts of *Bruttium*, and conſequently was very far from *Samnium*, and the Countries bordering upon it, in which the *Romans* made this Campaign. *Cluverius* corrects the Text, and reads it *Æſernia*, a City of the *Samnites*; but this laſt City was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, within the Territory of *Samnium*; whereas the City ſpoken of in the Text, only belonged to the *Samnites*, by Right of Conqueſt.

21 *Pliny*, *B.* 33. *c.* 1. changes the *Prænomen* of *Publius*, (which the *Faſti Conſulares*, and the Hiſtorians, give *Sulpicius*,) into that of *Lucius*; and he alſo gives *Sempronius* the Surname of *Longus*, contrary to the *Annaliſts*, who give him that of *Sophus*,

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIX. P. Sempronius Sophus, P. Sulpicius Saverrio, Conſuls.

mand Satisfaction, was only to ſee whether they were cowardly enough to ſurrender themſelves up to the Republick. *The* Hernici, ſaid they, *have given us but too plain a Proof, what Treatment we are to expect from the* Romans, *after a voluntary Submiſſion. You offered a Part of their Nation, that they ſhould be governed by your Laws, which they refuſed. You have forced another Part of it to receive them; and they think it a Puniſhment to be declared* Citizens of Rome. This Anſwer, ſeveral times repeated in the Aſſembly of the *Æqui*, obliged the *Romans* to declare War with them; and the two *Conſuls* entered their Country, and encamped four Miles from their Army. But the *Æqui* were now no longer thoſe formidable Enemies, between whom, and the *Romans*, the Victory had often been doubtful. Their firſt Subjection, and long Inaction, had enervated their Courage; and they had unlearnt the Art of War, during the Peace. Confuſion and Diſorder reigned among their Troops; and as they had no fixed Commander, the Soldiers lived without any Diſcipline, or Subjection; whence proceeded Uncertainty in their Councils. Some embraced one Opinion, others the contrary; and none had Authority enough, to bring Matters to a Determination. Some were for marching into the Field, and coming to a Battel; others were for continuing in their Camp, and waiting till they were attacked in it. The greateſt Number were terrified with the Apprehenſion of the pillaging of their Fields, which would ſoon become a Prey to the *Romans*, and of the approaching Deſolation of their Cities, in which they had left but few Troops to defend them: and this Diſagreement in Opinion, ended in their taking the moſt pernicious Meaſures of any propoſed, which were for every one to neglect the publick Intereſts, and return home, to take care of his own private Affairs. Accordingly, they all left the Camp in the middle of the Night, every one took his neareſt Road home, and not a Man was left to defend the Entrenchments; but all the *Æqui* diſperſed, and returned to the ſeveral Cities in which they had lodged their Effects. At Day-break, the *Conſuls*, knowing nothing of the Departure of the Enemy, marched out of their Camp in good Order, to give them Battel; and were ſurprized at their Silence and Inaction. They neither ſaw any Advanced-Guards poſted round the Camp, nor Centinels on the Ramparts; which made the *Romans* at firſt ſuſpicious of an Ambuſcade; and the Fear of being ſurprized, made them cautious. Indeed they obſerved the Footſteps of the Fugitives, and knew by them, that the *Æqui* had divided themſelves into ſmall Parties, had taken different Roads, and croſſed the Fields; and they followed them ſome time; but the *Æqui* had too much the ſtart of them. Beſides, theſe ſcattered Parties had likewiſe divided themſelves into ſeveral leſſer Bodies, which were not eaſily to be overtaken, or to be purſued, without Danger. The *Roman* Generals therefore reſolved to beſiege the Cities, which ſerved for a Retreat to theſe diſperſed Troops. It is probable, That *Sempronius* and *Sulpicius* marched ſeparately, each at the Head of his own *Legions*, to force theſe Towns of the Enemy; and That *Sulpicius* penetrated as far as to the Territory of the *Marſi*. At leaſt it's certain, that they beſieged, and made themſelves Maſters of, forty-one Cities, or Towns, in fifty Days; and thereby almoſt exterminated the whole Nation of the *Æqui*. And theſe rapid Conqueſts ſpread Terror among the neighbouring Nations; ſo that the *Marſi*, the *Peligni*, the *Frentani*, and the *Marrucini*, who dwelt on the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea, all ſent to *Rome*, to deſire Peace, and an Alliance with the Republick, which they eaſily obtained. By this memorable Expedition, the *Conſuls* merited the Honours of a Triumph, which *Rome* granted them, but at different Times, and upon different Accounts. *Sempronius* triumphed over the *Æqui*, on *The ſeventh of the Calends of October*; and *Sulpicius* over the *Samnites*, on *The fourth of the Calends of November*. It may indeed be objected, that *Sulpicius* could not make War with the *Samnites*, who were already reconciled to *Rome*; and the beſt Anſwer to be given to it, is, that *Sulpicius*'s Title to his Triumph, was, his having forced the *Marſi*, and other neighbouring Nations, to deſire a Peace. Now it is well known, that the *Marſi*, the *Peligni*, the *Frentani*, and the *Marrucini*, were all originally, and by Inclination, *Samnites*, tho' they did not inhabit *Samnium*, properly ſo called.

Faſt. Capit.

§. VIII. And here it is neceſſary that we return again to the famous *Q. Fabius*, whom we may well be ſurprized to ſee ſo much forgotten by the Republick, after ſo many Victories; but he was not abſolutely reduced to a private Life. For a time

Strabo, Pliny, and others.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIX.

P. Sempronius Sophus, P. Sulpicius Saverrio, Conſuls.

time indeed we don't ſee him ſhining at the Head of the *Roman* Armies, or entering the City in a triumphant Manner; but Cares of a different kind, which related to the good Order of the State, and the Reformation of the Abuſes crept into the publick Adminiſtration, found him as honourable Employment as if he had been commanding the Troops. *Rome* had juſt choſen him *Cenſor*; and made that illuſtrious *Plebeian P. Decius Mus*, who almoſt equalled him in Valour, and ſurpaſſed him in Virtue, his Collegue. *Fabius* made his *Cenſorſhip* memorable by reforming the Abuſes the ambitious *Appius* had introduced into the State, when he was *Cenſor*. He had made two Innovations, which tended to give him great Power, both in the Senate, and among the People. In order to make himſelf Maſter of the Decrees of the *Conſcript Fathers*, he had brought the Sons of *Freed-men* into the Senate, whom Meanneſs of Spirit, and the Greatneſs of the Benefit, made Slaves to his Will: But the Republick had already rectified this Diſorder, which laſted but one Year. The Senate had been purged, and reſtored to its ancient Luſtre, by the Excluſion of theſe mean Perſons. In order to enable himſelf to govern the Elections in the *Comitia*, as he pleaſed, *Appius* had likewiſe incorporated ſome of the *Freed-men* in all the *Roman Tribes*. As theſe were factious and intriguing Men, they eaſily commanded the Votes of their reſpective *Tribes*. By his Power over theſe Men, who had ſold themſelves to him, he influenced the Aſſemblies to act according to his Humour. This gave Birth to civil Broils, and corrupted all Orders of Men in the State; and this Miſchief continued till *Fabius* was *Cenſor*. But as ſoon as he entered upon his Office, he made it his Buſineſs to re-eſtabliſh Peace, and the Freedom of Elections. In order to this, he again incorporated the Rabble into the four *City-Tribes*, which had been diſmembered from thoſe *Tribes*, and diſtributed among the *Country-Tribes*, in which they had had the Aſcendant. After this, as the *Romans* voted by *Tribes*, the *Freed-men* could carry on their intrigues in four *Tribes* only, and in them their Party was not the ſtrongeſt. This Reformation which *Fabius* made, was ſo agreable to the Republick, that ſhe gave him, for this ſingle Act, the Surname of *Maximus*, or *The Greateſt*; a Title which he had not acquired by ſubduing the *Hetrurians*, the *Samnites*, and the *Umbri*, and which he and his Deſcendants ever after preſerved, in their Branch of the *Fabian* Family.

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 2. §. 9. Liv. B. 9 c. 46.

Plut. Life of *Pompey.*

A new Inſtitution was alſo made in his *Cenſorſhip*, which entertained the City with a new *Shew*, and introduced Order and Regularity into an illuſtrious Body of Men. The *Roman Knights* had celebrated the Feaſt of the [22] *Lupercalia*, on *The Fifteeenth of the Calends of March*, ever ſince the Foundation of *Rome*; and there

22 *Ovid. Faſt. B.* 2. founds the *Lupercalia*, in an Adventure which he ſuppoſes to have happened between *Hercules*, *Omphale*, and the God *Pan*; and his Account of it, ſhews us the infamous Practices of the Pagans, and the Licentiouſneſs of the Poet, who deſcribes them. He there repreſents theſe Perſons in ſuch Lights, as are ſhocking to modeſt Readers and yet not at all entertaining; it is therefore beſt to draw a Veil over theſe laſcivious Fictions, which are unbecoming the Gravity of an Hiſtorian. *D. Hal.* makes *Evander* eſtabliſh the *Lupercalia* in *Italy*, after the *Arcadian* manner. The Shepherds then offered up a Sacrifice to *Pan*, the tutelary God of their Flocks; after which, they ran round the Villages, covered only to the Waiſt, with the Skins of the Victims juſt ſacrificed; and made the Air reſound with their Shoutings. This, according to that Hiſtorian, was a ſort of *Luſtration*, or Expiation, in uſe among the Country-People, and practiſed in his own Time. It continued till the Reign of the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*, about five hundred Years after *Chriſt*, and was at laſt aboliſhed by Pope *Gelaſius*, according to *Baronius*. This Feſtival was ſolemnized at *Rome*, on the Hill *Palatinus*, becauſe *Evander* had erected a Temple to the Honour of *Pan Lycæus*, at the Foot of this Hill. The Magiſtrates, and young Men of the higheſt Nobility, were not aſhamed to ſhew themſelves to the whole City, in the moſt indecent Poſtures, with Whips or Thongs in their Hands, and naked to the Waiſt. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that *Romulus* and *Remus* gave Riſe to this Mummery. The two Brothers had ſacrificed Goats to the God *Pan*, at *Fauſtulus*'s Perſuaſion; then, when their Heads were hot with drinking to Exceſs at the Feaſt, in which *Fauſtulus* ſerved up the ſacrificed Victims, they ſtaggered about, and run headlong upon the Company: and the Goat-Skins which were about them, and the groteſque Contortions of their Bodies, making a ridiculous Figure, which raiſed the Laughter of the Spectators, the *Romans* made it a Law, that they would every Year imitate *Romulus* and *Remus*, in theſe things, in Honour to the God *Pan*. But *Plutarch* gives us a different Account of this Matter. He ſays, that the two Brothers were wreſtling naked, when they were told, that ſome Robbers were going to carry away their Flocks. Upon which, they immediately invoked the God *Pan*, ran after the Thieves, without tarrying to put on their Clothes, and forced them to relinquiſh the Spoils they had taken. And whatever was the Origin of the *Lupercalia*, the Tradition of which was very uncertain among the *Romans*; this at leaſt is ſure, that it was made Matter of Religion to celebrate this Feſtival. During this odd Solemnity, they ſacrificed Goats and a Dog, Animals which were conſecrated to *Pan*, to whoſe Honour the Feſtival was kept. Then they practiſed all thoſe fantaſtical Ceremonies, which we have mentioned above, *Vol.* I. *p.* [illegible] *Note* 69. This was done in ſeveral Cities, which belonged

there was ſomething both very ludicrous and indecent in this Ceremony, which was more ancient than *Rome* itſelf, and had been brought into *Italy* by *Evander*. The illuſtrious *Knights* appeared with Whips in their Hands, made of the Skins of the Victims, which had been ſacrificed on that Day; ran ſtark naked thro' the City, whiping all they met, as it were by way of Expiation of their Crimes; and the new-married Women threw themſelves in their way, to receive their Stripes, which they thought Preſervatives againſt Barrenneſs. It was not indeed in the Power of the *Cenſors* to aboliſh a Cuſtom which was conſecrated by an ancient Superſtition; but they eſtabliſhed another Ceremony, which in ſome meaſure retrieved the Honour of the *Roman Knights*, and ſerved to introduce Order and Diſcipline in this honourable Body. *Fabius* and his Collegue ordered, that the *Roman Knights* ſhould every Year, on *The Ides of July*, appear [23] on Horſeback, dreſſed in Purple, and crowned with Olive, and march in Proceſſion from the Temple [24] of *Mars* to the *Capitol*. After this pompous Cavalcade, the *Cenſors* reviewed [25] theſe fine Troops, gave them Inſtructions how to regulate their Conduct, and informed themſelves of the Quantity of Land each poſſeſſed, and how many Years he had ſerved. By which it appears, how great Authority the *Cenſors* had in *Rome*, ſince they could make

Year of ROME CCCCXLIX.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS, P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO, Conſuls.

belonged to the *Romans*, particularly at *Præneſte*, and *Niſmes*, as appeared by ancient Inſcriptions. There were two Colleges of *Luperci* at *Rome*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to run about the Streets, in the manner before deſcribed, *B.* 1. One of theſe Societies took its Name from the *Fabii*, and the other from the *Quintilii*. Hence the Diſtinction of *Luperci Fabiani*, and *Luperci Quintiliani*; becauſe the *Fabii* and *Quintilii* were the moſt conſiderable Perſons in theſe two Companies, the former of which belonged to *Remus*, the latter to *Romulus*. Theſe two were the only Colleges of *Luperci*, till *Julius Cæſar*'s time; but he added a third, which were called *Luperci Juliani*, from the Name of their Founder. *Tully* ſpeaks with Contempt, of the Prieſthood of the *Luperci*, in his *Oration for Cœlius*, in theſe Words. *Quædam ſodalitas & plane paſtoritia atque agreſtis germanorum Lupercorum, quorum coitio illa agreſtis ante eſt inſtituta, quam humanitas, et leges.* In his ſecond *Philippick*, he reproaches *Anthony* for having run about the Streets of *Rome*, as a *Lupercus*. *You ought to have remembered*, ſays he, *that this Buffoonery was beneath the Gravity of a* Conſul. *Ita eras Lupercus, ut te Conſulem eſſe meminiſſe deberes.* Nevertheleſs, we find that Magiſtrates, and Perſons of noble Birth, were not aſhamed to act ſo unworthy a Part, in the Sight of all the Citizens. Women of the firſt Quality did not bluſh to appear in this ridiculous Shew, and throw themſelves in the Way to receive the Stripes the *Luperci* gave them, with the Whips they had in their Hands. Being prepoſſeſſed with an Opinion, that theſe Stripes were Preſervatives againſt Barrenneſs, and the Pains of Child-bearing, they thought themſelves happy to be ſtruck by the Miniſters concerned in this abſurd Ceremony. During the whole time of the Feſtival, the God *Pan* was dreſſed in a Goat-Skin, and both Men and Women paid their Vows and Homage to him. The *Lupercalia* was fixed to the fifteenth Day of *February*, becauſe it was reckoned as one of the *Luſtrations* and Expiations which were made in that Month.

23 We have ſpoken of this magnificent Cavalcade, which ancient Authors ſay was inſtituted in Memory of the Battel of *Regillus*, which gave the finiſhing Stroke to the *Tarquins*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 259. *Note ſſ.* This pompous Proceſſion was chiefly made in Honour of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. Upon the Credit of an ancient Tradition, it was ſaid, that they appeared in the Action, and fought for the *Romans*. This Story, fabulous as it was, found Credit at *Rome*, and *Fabius* would have *Roman Knights* celebrate the Anniverſary of this Apparition, in a Body, by way of Thankſgiving; becauſe the *Roman* Cavalry were thought to have experienced the Protection of theſe two Divinities. The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, is the only one who ſays, that *Fabius* required every *Knight* to appear on a white Horſe. If according to *D. Hal.* there were ſometimes no leſs than five thouſand in this Cavalcade, it would doubtleſs have been difficult to have found ſo many Horſes of the ſame Colour. But Hiſtorians agree, that they were all dreſſed in the *Trabea*, and crowned with Olive. *Pliny* mentions this Cuſtom, *B.* 15. *ch.* 4. *Oleæ honorem Romana Majeſtas magnum præbuit, turmas Equitum, Idibus Juliis, ex ea coronando.*

24 The *Knights* divided into *Centuries* and Troops, or Companies of thirty Men each, began their March from the Temple of *Mars*, and not the Temple of *Honour*, according to *D. Hal.* And in this he agrees with the other Hiſtorians; in as much as the two Temples were near one another, and both without the Gate *Collina*. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that the moſt conſiderable Citizens of *Rome*, walked before the *Knights*, in their Proceſſion.

25 In this general Review, the *Cenſors* exerciſed a judicial Power over the Cavalry, with ſo abſolute an Authority, that they had a Right of publickly reprimanding thoſe *Knights*, who had behaved themſelves ill; and ſometimes the *Cenſor* even degraded them. In this Caſe the Offender was thought deprived of the Rank of a *Knight*, and loſt the Horſe, which had been maintained for him, at the Expence of the Publick. Nor was this all; in order to keep this honourable Body under a continual Dread of Diſgrace, Informers, or any of their Enemies, were allowed to take hold of the Opportunity of the Cavalcade, to ſeize any *Knight*, and carry him to the Tribunal of the Judge. But *Suetonius* ſays, in his *Life of Auguſtus*, *c.* 38. that that Emperor aboliſhed this Cuſtom, when he revived *Fabius*'s Inſtitution, which had been long laid aſide. In this Review, it was often with ſome of the Members of this honourable Body, as with ſome Country-Gentlemen, when ſummoned to the *Arriere-ban*, where they make but an aukward Figure, and are the Ridicule of the Spectators. And in order to ſpare thoſe *Knights* this Confuſion, whom Age, or ſome natural Defect, hindered from making a good Appearance, *Auguſtus* left it to their own Choice, whether they would march in the Cavalcade. He only obliged them to produce their Horſes, and appear on Foot themſelves, to anſwer to their Names, when called upon, as uſual. And it is with a View to this Law, that *Ulpian* ſays, *c.* 2. *de in jus vocatione*, that no *Roman Knight* could be cited to appear upon a Trial, on the Day appointed for the Cavalcade, which was annually made to the *Capitol*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIX. P. Sempronius Sophus, P. Sulpicius Saverrio, Consuls.

themſelves Maſters of the Senate, the *Knights*, and the People, whenever they pleaſed.

§. IX. But in ſpight of all the Care of the *Cenſors*, the *Curule Ædileſhip* fell into the Hands of very contemptible Men. One *Q. Anicius*, a Native of *Præneſte*, who had, a little time before, been an Enemy to the *Romans*, was choſen to fill this conſiderable Poſt; and his Collegue was a Man of meaner Birth than himſelf. This was one [26] *Cn. Flavius*, whoſe Grandfather was only a *Freed-man*, and whoſe firſt Profeſſion was that of a Writing-Maſter, from which he afterwards roſe to be a ſort of *Apparitor* [27] to the *Ædiles*. Nor was his Fortune very great; but being aſſiſted by *Appius*, who had made him his [28] Secretary, when he was *Cenſor*, he was not aſhamed to aſpire at the moſt important Offices in the Republick. Nature had given him all that Induſtry, Cringing, and Inſinuation, which is common in Men of his Rank; and as he was blindly devoted to the Intereſts of *Appius* his Patron, and entered into his Meaſures, he made his Court to the People, by betraying the Nobility. It belonged only to the *Pontifices*, who were all of *Patrician* Families, to know on what Days [29] Cauſes might be heard before the *Prætors*, and on what Days all Decrees were forbidden to be made; as alſo to obſerve the riſing of the New-Moon, and give Notice of it to the *King of the Sacrifices*, who aſſembled the People, both of the City and Country, and declared to them on what Days the *Nones*, the *Ides*, the [30] *Feriæ*, and the *Pleading-Days* fell, in the enſuing Month. This was ſome Remains of Authority which the *Patricians* reſerved

Plin. B. 33. c. 1. Macrob. Saturnal. B. 1. c. 1.

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 5. §. 2. Aul. Gel. B. 9.

26 *Cicero*, *de Oratore*, *B.* 1. and *Pomponius* the *Civilian*, give *Flavius*'s Father the *Prænomen* of *Cneius*: but *Aul. Gellius* calls him *Annius*.

27 The *Romans* called thoſe inferior Officers *Apparitores*, who were hired to ſtand by the Magiſtrates, and proclaim their Ordinances. They generally walked before the Magiſtrates, and did much the ſame Office, as the *Huiſſiers* among the *French*, [or the *Tipſtaffs* among us.] None but *Freed-men*, and their Sons, were put in theſe Offices; the *Romans* thought them ſervile; and they were therefore diſliked by a People who gloried in their Independence. *Aul. Gellius*, *B.* 12. *c.* 3. ſays, that the *Apparitores* tied up their Robes with a Piece of Linen-Cloth, probably to ſhew, that they were always ready to execute the Magiſtrates Orders. *Licio tranſverſo, quod Linum appellatur, qui magiſtratibus præminiſtrabant, cincti erant.*

28 Every Magiſtrate in *Rome* had his *Scribæ*, or *Secretaries*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ſet down in Writing, the Decrees paſſed at his Tribunal, the Laws which were revived, the Proceedings of the Court, and in ſhort, every thing relating to his Adminiſtration. And this Office, at the time we are ſpeaking of, was coveted by none but Men of mean Extraction, *Freedmen*, Mercenaries, and Slaves. But it was otherwiſe among the *Greeks*, who admitted none into this Employment, but Perſons of an honourable Family, and known Fidelity. Theſe Qualifications were made neceſſary for ſuch, as were to be entruſted with the moſt important Secrets of State, as we learn from *Cornelius Nepos*, in his *Life of Eumenes*. Indeed this was not always thought a contemptible Employment by the *Romans*. Several *Roman Citizens* gloried in it, and zealouſly canvaſſed for it, in *Cicero*'s time; as he himſelf tells us, in his *Third Oration againſt Verres*. *Ordo eſt honeſtus, quod eorum hominum fidei tabulæ publicæ, periculaque Magiſtratuum committantur.* The *Scribæ* were, according to the *Roman Orator*, a conſiderable Order of Men in the Republick; for which he gives this Reaſon, That they were the Keepers of the publick Regiſters; and That being the Confidents of the Magiſtrates, they were in ſome meaſure the Arbiters of their Fortune. They multiplied exceedingly in *Rome*, after the Republick began to decline; inſomuch that they were divided into as many *Decuries*, as there were Tribunals, or Magiſtrates, at *Rome*, who wanted their Aſſiſtance. Moſt of them got themſelves incorporated into ſome of the Companies, generally by Money. *Suetonius* tells us, that when *Horace* had laid aſide the Profeſſion of Arms, he bought the Office of *Secretary*, or *Greffier*, to the *Quæſtors*. *Scriptum Quæſtorium emit.* Under the Emperors, this Office became a Step to the *Roman Knighthood*. As the *Scribæ* were thought verſed in the Knowledge of the *Civil*, and other Laws, the *Prætors*, and Judges of the *Municipia*, were choſen out of them. *Horace*, in the fifth *Satyr* of his firſt Book, laughs at the fooliſh Vanity of one *Auſidius Luſcus*, the *Prætor* of *Fundi*, who having exerciſed the Office of a *Scriba*, aſſumed to himſelf the ſame Honours which belonged to the chief Magiſtrates of *Rome*.

Fundos, Auſidio Luſco Prætore, libenter
Linquimus, inſani ridentes præmia Scribæ,
Prætextam, & Latum Clavam, Prunæque batillum.

30 We have already ſpoken of the Difference of the Days in the old *Roman* Calendar, *B.* 2. *p.* 72. of the firſt Volume, *Note* 84; *B.* 9. *p.* 395. of the firſt Volume, *Note* 27; and *B.* 13. *p.* 15. of this Volume, *Note* 60. We ſhall have occaſion to exhauſt this Subject, in our Hiſtorical, Critical, and Aſtronomical Obſervations, on the three Calendars of *Romulus*, *Numa Pompilius*, and *Julius Cæſar*, which we will annex to this Hiſtory.

30 Thoſe Days were called *Feriæ* by the *Romans*, which were ſet apart by Religion, either for offering up ſome Sacrifice, or for Feſtivals in Honour to the Pagan Divinities. The Courts of Juſtice were all ſhut up, on theſe Days; and the Citizens obliged to abſtain from all ſervile Work, unleſs in Caſes of Neceſſity; as to avoid ſome imminent Danger, to ſave a Man's Life, or to prevent ſome conſiderable Loſs. When the *Pontifex Scævola* was conſulted on this Subject, he authorized theſe Exceptions. His Anſwer, as ſtated by *Macrobius*, *Saturnal. B.* 1. was this. *Scævola conſultus quid Feriis agi liceret, reſpondit, quod prætermiſſum noceret; ſi bos ſpecum cecidiſſet, eumque Paterfamilias adhibitis operis liberaſſet, non eſt viſus Feriis polluiſſe; nec ille, qui trabem tecti fractam ſuleiendo, ab imminenti vindicavit ruina.* And to the ſame Purpoſe, an ancient Interpreter of the Laws, quoted alſo by *Macrobius*, determines, that in the Actions forbidden by the *Pontifices*, they did not deſign to include thoſe which relate to the Worſhip of the Gods, or the neceſſary Wants of Life. Several of

reſerved to themſelves, without ſharing it with the *Plebeians*; and this Cuſtom continued from the Time of *Romulus*, till *Appius* was made *Cenſor*. But he formed a Deſign of robbing the Nobility of this their only diſtinguiſhing Prerogative; and in order thereto, directed his Secretary *Flavius*, to be frequently asking the *Pontifices* Queſtions about the Calendar, which it was their ſole Privilege to ſettle, and to get out of them the Secret of the Days when Pleadings were allowed, and when forbidden. And after *Flavius* had ſufficiently informed himſelf by theſe Enquiries, he compoſed [31] *Faſti*, or, if you will, a Calendar, which he tranſcribed, and fixed up in the *Forum*; and by this means he ſo wrought upon People, who were now free from that Dependence on the Nobility, in which the *Patricians* had hitherto kept them, that they declared both for *Appius*, and his Secretary, whom they looked on as their Deliverer. The Nobility were ſo deeply affected with this Uſurpation of their Rights, that they laid aſide their Ornaments, and in particular, their [32] Gold-Rings, which they had lately begun to wear. But *Flavius* having now ſecured the Protection of the Commons, roſe by degrees, even to the *Curule* Magiſtracies. His firſt Office was that of [33] *Triumvir*, which was twice given him; once to command the Watch, which guarded the City by Night; and once to conduct a *Colony*, to

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIX.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS, P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO, Conſuls.
Pomponius de origine Juris. Liv. B. 9. c. 46.

of theſe *Feriæ* were not ſet down in the Calendar, as we have already obſerved; and theſe eſpecially, were notified to the People by the *Pontifex Maximus*. On every *Feria*, the *King of the Sacrifices*, and the three *Flamines* of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Quirinus*, were always preceded, in their Paſſage thro' the Streets of *Rome*, by that ſort of inferior Officers whom *Feſtus* calls *Præclamitatores*, or *Prætiæ*. Their Buſineſs was, to give the Artificers and Slaves, whom they met, notice to leave off their Work; becauſe, according to the Superſtition of thoſe Times, it was thought a Pollution to a *Flamen*, if he, by Accident only, caſt his Eye on any Perſon at work for Hire. It was indeed a ſort of involuntary Irregularity; but it diſabled him from the Exerciſe of his Office, till he had purified himſelf, according to the Pagan Rites. *Servius*, in his *Commentary on the firſt Georgick*, *Line* 268. gives the ſame Employment to the publick Heralds, whoſe Buſineſs it was, to publiſh the Orders of the *Pontifices*, concerning Feſtivals, and to aſſemble the People to the Sacrifices appointed by the Magiſtrates; and who were therefore called *Calatores*. We ſhould not eaſily conceive, how rigorous the *Romans* were, in obliging the People to abſtain from all Work, on the *Feriæ*, if we had not *Macrobius*'s Teſtimony in the Caſe. He ſays, that any Perſon who acknowledged himſelf to be guilty of the leaſt Breach of this Rule, either through Ignorance, Levity, or Surprize, was obliged to ſacrifice a Swine to the Gods, by Way of Expiation of his Fault, tho' involuntary. And thoſe who had been guilty of breaking the *Feriæ* deliberately, and deſignedly, were thought guilty of Sacrilege, and the greater Acts of Irreligion. They were thought the Objects of the Wrath of the Gods, and their Crimes judged irremiſſible, and not to be atoned for by any Satisfaction. This rigorous Law, concerning the Obſervation of the *Feriæ*, came from the *Hetrurians* to the *Romans*; and in all probability was firſt derived from *Moſes*. It is well known, that among the *Jews*, he who broke the Sabbath, was puniſhed with Death, without Redemption; and that nothing was more preſſed upon them, than the ſtrict Obſervation of their Feſtivals, but with reaſonable Limitations. Such are thoſe which the Saviour of the World preſcribes in the 12th *chap.* of St. *Matthew*. On ſome *Feriæ*, as in the *Saturnalia*, the *Romans* were ſcrupulous of committing any Act of Hoſtility, unleſs forced to it, by Way of Self-Defence againſt the Attacks of an Enemy. And this Cuſtom likewiſe ſeems borrowed from the *Jews*, who held their Sabbath ſo ſacred, that they forbad all military Acts upon it, even in the moſt preſſing Difficulties, and when under a Neceſſity of ſtanding to their own Defence.

[31] *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Murena*, and *Pomponius* the *Civilian*, in his Work entituled *De origine Juris*, tell us, that *Flavius* ſtole from *Appius*, his Collection of the *Roman* Civil Laws; and adds, that he made it Matter of Merit with the Citizens of *Rome*, to divulge what had been hitherto an impenetrable Myſtery to them. This new Collection was put into the Hands of the People, and was ever after called *The Flavian Code*. *Appius* had probably been ordered to make a Collection of the Laws relating to Proceedings at Law, and had in order to it been ſhewn the Regiſters, which were depoſited with the *Pontifices*; and he doubtleſs digeſted them into Order, under proper Heads, and made a Body of Laws, which *Flavius* made uſe of to gain the Suffrages of the People. By his Publication of them, *Flavius* freed the Citizens from the Authority of the *Pontifices*, who had till that time been the abſolute Interpreters of the abſtruſe Points of the *Civil Law*. Recourſe was no longer had to them, as before, to conſult the Law-Books; which they ſo carefully preſerved in their own Archives, that they had been all along kept ſecret from the Publick, ever ſince the Foundation of *Rome*.

[32] Gold-rings came very late in Uſe among the *Romans*. Even the Example of *Tarquin the Firſt*, who wore one, did not ſo far prevail, as to aboliſh the Uſe of Iron ones. Such expenſive Toys were little liked by a warlike Nation, which was an Enemy to Luxury and Effeminacy. Only Ambaſſadors were at firſt permitted to wear them; which they never did, but on Days of Audience, as a Mark of their Dignity. Afterwards, the *Knights* and the *Patricians* aſſumed the Right of wearing this Ornament, which the *Roman* Ladies had long uſed. And laſtly, in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*, it became common for all Perſons of free Condition, to wear Gold-rings, the *Freed-men* not excepted. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the different Sorts of Rings, and the Diſtinctions annexed to them by the *Romans*, hereafter.

[33] The Buſineſs of theſe *Triumviri*, whom the *Romans* called *Triumviri Nocturni*, was only to take the Rounds in the Night, through all Quarters of the City. They marched at the Head of a Company of Men, who were under their Command, and hired by the Republick. Their only Care, according to *Paul The Civilian*, was to prevent, and put out, Fires. *Apud vetuſtiores, incendiis arcendis* Triumviri *præerant, qui ab eo, quod excubias agebant*, Nocturni *dicti ſunt*. It belonged to the People aſſembled *by Tribes*, to elect theſe Magiſtrates. *Tacitus*, *Annal. B. 5.* ſpeaks of ſome of theſe *Triumviri*, who were fined for having come too late into *The Sacred Street*, where a Fire had already done a great deal of Miſchief.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXLIX. P. Sempronius Sophus, P. Sulpicius Saverrio, Conſuls.

the Place where it was to be planted; and after this he was choſen *Tribune of the People*. Nor did theſe Honours ſatisfy the Ambition of a Man whoſe Birth ought to have excluded him for ever from them. He was aſpiring enough to aim at the *Curule Ædileſhip*; an Office which had been created only for the Nobility, tho' it had lately been divided between one *Patrician*, and one of the moſt conſiderable *Plebeians*. He was a Competitor with *C. Poetelius*, and *Cn. Domitius*, both Sons of *Conſuls*; and by the Favour of the People, carried the Poſt from them. There was indeed ſome Oppoſition made to this Attempt; the Magiſtrate who preſided in the *Comitia* in which he was elected, refuſed to admit him as a Candidate, and gave this Reaſon for it, that *Flavius* [34] yet did the Office of a Secretary, under the *Ædiles*. But *Flavius*, to remove all Obſtacles out of the way of his Riſe, broke his Utenſils to pieces, ſwore that he for ever renounced his former Trade; and this Expedient ſatisfied the People, who were diſpoſed to oblige him. He was choſen *Ædile* with *Anicius* (a Man of much the ſame Stamp,) and when elected, behaved himſelf with the uſual Haughtineſs of Men of no Condition, when in Dignities which they acquire by Artifice and Intrigue. *Anicius* fell ſick, and *Flavius* going to pay him a Viſit, found a great Company of the young Nobility of *Rome* at his Collegue's Houſe, who all kept their Seats, and none of them roſe up to do him Honour. But the *Ædile*, tho' touched to the quick, kept his Temper, and revenged the Contempt ſhewn to his Perſon, by aſſuming an Air of Superiority. He ordered his *Curule* Chair to be brought into the ſick Man's Apartment, placed himſelf in it, and continued his Viſit, with the Diſtinction due to his Office. Nor was it enough for him to have mortified the Nobility who had affronted him; he carried his Ambition yet further. He was greedy of Honour, and had a Deſire to be the Conſecrator of a new Temple [35] of *Concord*, which ſtood in the Court of the Temple of *Vulcan*. By ancient [36] Cuſtom, the Honour of performing theſe Conſecrations had not been granted to any but *Conſuls*, or Generals of Armies; and therefore *Cornelius Barbatus* the *Pontifex Maximus*, at firſt rejected the Petition of the ambitious *Ædile*. But he was forced to comply. What could he do againſt a Man born upon the Wings of the popular Faction? The Commons obliged the *Pontifex* to draw up and dictate the Form of the Dedication which *Flavius* pronounced. The Senate indeed afterwards reformed the Abuſe by a Decree, which enacted, That no Perſon ſhould for the future conſecrate any Temple, without the Approbation of the Senate, and the Conſent of the major Part of the *Tribunes of the People*; and the *Comitia* confirmed the Law. But it came too late; *Flavius* had already obtained the Honour he deſired. Theſe little Incidents may perhaps be thought below the Dignity of the Hiſtory I write; but they may at leaſt ſerve to ſhew us the great Extent of the Authority of the People; and to what a Pitch of Grandeur they raiſed the meaneſt Perſons, either out of mere Capriciouſneſs, or when they would reward their Services.

Liv. B. 9. c. 46.

Cic. pro Muræna; & B. 6. ad Attic. Ep. 1.



Silver.

34 According to *Licinius Macer*, an old Annaliſt, quoted by *Livy*, *Flavius* had long renounced the Profeſſion of a *Scribe*, when he ſtood for the *Curule Ædileſhip*: and in Proof of it, this Author ſays, he had been made *Tribune*, and twice *Triumvir*, before he was raiſed to the Dignity of *Ædile*.

35 The *Romans* repreſented *Concord*, as a beneficent Divinity; and under this Perſuaſion erected ſeveral Temples to her. The ancient Monuments repreſent this Goddeſs, under the different Symbols of two Right Hands joined, with a *Caduceus* between them; of two Serpents twiſted round an Altar; of an Harp, whoſe Strings are unharmonious, unleſs it be tuned to an Uniſon; of two *Cornuopiæ*, to ſhew that *Concord* is the Source of all good things; and laſtly, of two Hearts, united in one. On an old Silver Medal of the *Fonteian* Family, we find the Head of *A Concord*, with this Inſcription; P. Fonteius Capito. Triumvir. Concordia.

36 We have already mentioned the Ceremonies obſerved by the *Romans*, in the Dedication of Temples, ſeveral times. See *B. 5. p.* 218. of the firſt Volume, *Note* 71.

§. X. AND now, the Republick having no more Enemies which appeared formidable to her, ſince a Peace was ſettled with the *Hetrurians*, and the *Samnites* kept the Alliance they had made with her; ſhe no longer gave herſelf any great Trouble, about chuſing ſuch *Conſuls* as were Men of Ability in the Art of War. *Serv. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Genucius Aventinenſis*, were placed at the Head of Affairs, and almoſt the whole time of their Adminiſtration was ſpent in Works of Peace. *Colonies* were ſent to *Sora*, a City of *Latium*, on the Confines of *Campania*; and to [37] *Alba*, a City in the Territory of the *Marſi*, which was a very different Place from the *Alba Longa* in *Latium*. The *Romans* who were ſent to people and defend *Alba*, were in Number ſix thouſand; and thoſe ſent to *Sora*, four thouſand. The latter City had formerly received a *Roman Colony*, had put it to the Sword, and had ſurrendered itſelf up to the *Samnites*. But the *Romans* ſecured it ever after this time; the ſtrong Garriſon they now placed in it, kept the *Samnites* in Awe. At the ſame time, the Inhabitants of [38] *Arpinum*, and [39] *Trebula*, one in the Country of the *Volſci*, the other in *Campania*, had the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip* granted them; whilſt thoſe of [40] *Fuſino*, another City of the *Volſci*, were puniſhed according to their Deſerts. They were deprived of a third Part of their Lands, for having (as was well known) ſollicited the *Hernici* to revolt; and the Authors of the Revolt, after proper Informations had been brought againſt them by the *Conſuls*, were beaten with Rods, and beheaded. *Rome* had not now, for a long time, enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity; and juſt began to taſte the Sweets of it, when a ſudden Storm aroſe, which was neither long nor dangerous; but the Preſence of a *Roman* General was neceſſary to lay it. A Troop of Robbers had aſſembled together in *Umbria*, and ravaged the Country far and near. Their Retreat was a deep Cave dug in the Rock, into which there were only two Entrances, which were both narrow, and pretty difficult to find out. However, the *Romans* ſecured the principal Entrance into the Grotto, and marched into it in good Order; but were driven back with Stones, and retired with Wounds, which were not much to their Honour. Nevertheleſs, the Beſiegers did not give over; they were ſo diligent, that they at length found the ſecond Avenue, which was the Gate thro' which the Robbers went in and out at Pleaſure; and then it was no difficult Matter to deſtroy them, without ſuffering one to eſcape. Great Fires were lighted at both Mouths of the Cave, and ſome of theſe Wretches, who were no leſs than two thouſand in Number, were ſtifled with the Smoke, others threw themſelves into the midſt of the Flames, and periſhed in them.

Year of ROME CCCCL. SERV. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS, Conſuls.

Velleius Paterculus, B. 1.

Liv. B. 10. c. 1.

§. XI. THIS trifling Expedition was followed by a War as inconſiderable. The *Romans* had ſent out a *Colony* of ſix thouſand Men to *Alba*, the laſt Year; and the *Æqui*, as much weakened as they were by the Victories of *Sempronius* and *Sul-*

Year of ROME CCCCLI. M. LIVIUS DENTER, M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Conſuls.

37 *Ptolomy*, and *Antoninus*'s *Itinerary*, give the City of *Alba*, here ſpoken of, the Name of *Alba Fucentia*, or *Alba Fucentis*, to diſtinguiſh it from the old *Alba Longa*, and two other Cities of the ſame Name in *Italy*. It ſtood on the Side of an Hill, three Miles from the Lake *Fucinus*, and conſequently in the Country of the *Marſi*, in the Center of which this Lake lay. *Cæſar*, *Feſtus*, and moſt ancient Geographers, give it this Situation. It did not therefore belong to the *Æqui*, as *Livy* pretends; tho' *Strabo* ſeems to favour his Opinion, when he ſays, that *Alba* which bordered upon the Territory of the *Marſi*, was the fartheſt up in the Country of any of the *Latin* Cities. We have the Teſtimonies of the greateſt Number of Hiſtorians, to ſet againſt them. Beſides, *Livy* may have deſignedly confounded the *Marſi* and *Æqui*, becauſe theſe two Nations, which bordered upon one another, and often joined together againſt *Rome*, were thought to be but one People. *Appian* ſays, that the *Romans* made *Alba* a ſtrong Place, when it came under their Dominion; tho' he at the ſame time ſpeaks of it, as a little City, conſiderable for nothing, but its advantageous Situation. The Republick afterwards made it a ſecure Place, in which ſhe kept Priſoners of War; and it to this Day retains its old Name, with the ſmall Variation of being now called *Albe*, or *Albi*.

38 See above, §. VI. of this Book.

39 Several Cities in *Italy* had the Name of *Trebula*. One of them, called *Trebula Muſtuſca*, was in *Sabinia*, ſeven Miles, and five hundred geometrical Paces from *Reate*, where *Monte Leone* now ſtands. Another, which ſtood likewiſe in *Sabinia*, tho' we don't know exactly where, was diſtinguiſhed from the former, by the Name of *Trebula Suffena*. *Pliny* mentions both theſe Cities, *B. 3. c. 12. Trebulani qui cognominantur Mutuſcæi, & qui Suffenates.* Ancient Authors ſpeak of another City of this Name, whoſe Inhabitants were called *Trebulani Balinienſes*; and place it in *Campania*, on the Right Bank of the *Clanis*. It is conjectured, that it was not far from the Place, where *Trentola* now ſtands. *Cicero* had a *Villa*, in the Neighbourhood of this City, and it was from thence called *Trebulanum*. Tho' we can't be certain, to which of theſe three Cities, the *Roman* Republick granted the Right of *Citizenſhip*; yet it is probable, that *Livy* underſtood it of the latter. The *Romans* were then making War in theſe Parts, and probably were willing to gain the Good-will of the Nations newly conquered, by granting them theſe Privileges.

40 The City of *Fruſino*, now *Fraſelone*, ſtood in the Country of the *Volſci*, near the River *Coſa*. Its Inhabitants are called *Fruſinates*, by the *Latin* Authors.

Year of ROME CCCCLI. M. Livius Denter, M. Æmilius Paulus, Conſuls. *Liv. B.* 10. *c.* 1.

picius, took Umbrage at this neighbouring City, which the *Romans* ſeemed to have fortified ſo well, only to keep them in Awe. No ſooner were the new *Conſuls*, *M. Livius Denter*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus* [41], entered upon their Office but the *Æqui*, forgetting their preſent Weakneſs, and conſidering only their paſt Glory, mutinied, and took Arms. This raſh Reſolution gave *Rome* ſome Apprehenſions; the weaker the *Æqui* were, the more ſurprizing it was to the *Romans* that a ſubdued Nation ſhould dare to riſe. They believed the Revolt had been concerted with the neighbouring Nations, and expected to ſee them take Arms on a ſudden, and fall on the Republick when they imagined ſhe thought herſelf moſt ſecure. But perhaps no Republick ever neglected proper Precautions leſs than the *Roman*. Upon the firſt News of the Motions of the *Æqui*, ſhe nominated the famous *Junius Brutus Dictator*; and he choſe *M. Titinius* for his General of Horſe.

Year of ROME CCCCLI. Junius Brutus, Dictator.

Whilſt *Brutus* was preparing for his March, the *Æqui* entered the Country of the *Marſi*, and laid Siege to *Alba*: But the numerous *Roman* Garriſon there was ſufficient to defend it, and ſuſtained the Efforts of the Enemy till the *Dictator* arrived. Nay, it had the Advantage of the Beſiegers, and repulſed them: till at length the *Dictator* came, and then the Enemy, reduced to Deſpair, would not decline a Battel, but were ſoon puniſhed for their Audaciouſneſs. The valiant *Romans* overpowered them, upon the firſt Onſet; and the *Dictator*'s Victory was ſo quick, and ſo complete, that he was under no Neceſſity of tarrying in the Country to keep the Vanquiſhed in Subjection; but immediately returned to *Rome*, and received the Honours of a Triumph. His Expedition was finiſhed in eight Days; and he entered the City triumphantly, on *The Third of the Calends of Auguſt*. The remaining Part of his *Dictatorſhip* was made memorable by a pious Ceremony. *Junius Brutus* had made a Vow in his *Conſulſhip*, to build a Temple to the Goddeſs of *Health*, had diſcharged this Vow, and built the Temple [42] on the Hill *Quirinalis*, when he was *Cenſor*; and nothing remained but to dedicate it, which he himſelf now did, when he was *Dictator*. No Ornaments for this magnificent Structure were ſpared; and this is the firſt time Hiſtory mentions the Uſe of the Art of Painting in *Rome*, which was then practiſed by a Man of Diſtinction. *C. Fabius*, whoſe Name ſufficiently ſhews the Nobility of his Extraction, did not think it beneath him to handle the Pencil, for the Honour of the Gods. He painted [43] all the Walls of the Temple *Brutus* had built, in *Freſco*, and ſet his Name to his Work, that Poſterity might know his Zeal for Religion, and his Skill in an Art which had been brought from *Greece* to *Hetruria*, before it came to *Rome*. *Fabius* gloried in the Surname of *Pictor*, or, *The Painter*, which he ever after bore, and tranſmitted to the illuſtrious Deſcendants of his Branch of the *Fabian* Family. We ſhall hereafter ſee a *Fabius Pictor* raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*; and other *Fabii* of the ſame Surname ſignalize themſelves in the firſt Employments in the Republick.

Faſt. Capit. *Plin. B.* 35. *c.* 4. *Aul. Gel.* & *Val. Max. B.* 8. *c.* 14. §. 6.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 2.

§. XII. But *Junius Brutus* ſeems to have had other Enemies to engage with during his *Dictatorſhip*, which were, till then, unknown to the *Romans*. Some Hiſtorians indeed rob him of the Glory of the Expedition we are going to relate in order to give it to *Æmilius*, one of the *Conſuls* of the Year. And we ſhall therefore only affix the Name of *Brutus*, to our Narrative of this glorious Event without determining whether the Honour of it belonged to the *Dictator*, or the *Conſul*. *Cleonymus* [44] the *Lacædemonian*, of the Family of the *Agidæ*, and Son of *Cleomenes*, King of *Sparta*, was come from *Laconia*, with a large Fleet, and was endeavouring

41 The *Faſti Capitolini* have ſupplied us with the Surnames of theſe two *Conſuls* for this Year. *Livy*, *Diodorus of Sicily*, *Marianus*, and *Caſſiodorus*, have only given us their proper Arms. *Diodorus*, and the *Triumphal Tables*, have alſo told us what the *Prænomen* of *Æmilius* was, which none of the Authors laſt mentioned, had determined.

42 This Temple, which was built on the Top of the Hill *Quirinalis*, gave the Name of *Salutaris* to the neighbouring Gate, which was before called *Porta Collina*. See our Account of the Goddeſs *Salus*, *p.* 498. of this Volume, *Note* 70.

43 *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 35. *c.* 4. that this Painting was preſerved, till the Temple was conſumed by a Fire, when *Claudius* was Emperor.

44 This *Cleonymus* is, according to ſome Mo-

derns, the ſame, who after the Death of his Father *Cleomenes the Second*, King of *Sparta*, was excluded from the Throne by the *Lacedæmonians*. [illegible] ing grown odious to all the People, by his haughty Behaviour, and Violences, they all voted for *Areus* his Brother's Son. They revolted from the Uncle and beſtowed the Royal Authority on his Nephew; and this Diſgrace was followed by the domeſtick Afflictions which he had to ſuffer from the imperious Temper, and looſe Behaviour, of his Wife *Chelidonis*. She, in Contempt of her Husband, gave herſelf up to the Son of *Areus*, and entered into a criminal Converſation with him; and the Diſdain of this Princeſs, whoſe Beauty made her dear to him, could not but rouze him to Revenge. In his Flight he reſolved to beſiege his Rival in *Lacedæmon*; [illegible]

Year of ROME CCCCLI. JUNIUS BRUTUS, Dictator.

endeavouring to ſettle in *Italy*, or at leaſt to gain himſelf Renown, by ſome ſignal Adventures there. Being driven by the Winds towards 45 *Thurium*, or *Thuriæ*, which before was called *Sybaris*, a City of *Lucania*, he took this important Poſt, and made himſelf Maſter of the Country between the River *Sybaris*, and the 46 *Crathis*. But the Republick could not ſuffer him to enjoy a Conqueſt quietly, which ſo nearly affected her, ſince almoſt all the Eaſtern Parts of *Italy* were at leaſt in Alliance with her; and the *Dictator* therefore ſet out to try what the *Roman* Valour could do againſt an Army of *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by the Son of a *Spartan* King. Indeed the *Romans* had been taught to deſpiſe the *Greeks* ſettled in *Italy*, by their late Conqueſts; but they had not yet tried their Strength with the *Greeks*, from the other Side the Water. The bare Name of *Lacædemonians*, which was ſo renowned in *Peloponneſus*, muſt doubtleſs have alarmed the *Romans*; but it did not diſcourage them. *Brutus* led his *Legions* into *Lucania*, and there fought a Battel, in which he had all the Advantage. The *Lacedæmonians* being put to Flight by the *Dictator*, and very happy in being able to find a Retreat in their Ships, ſailed away from *Thurium*, and left the *Lucani* in Tranquillity, and at Liberty to cultivate their Lands. But *Cleonymus*, tho' driven from a Country defended by the *Romans*, was not diſcouraged; nor did he lay aſide all Thoughts of making Conqueſts in *Italy*. He ſailed with a fair Wind to the *Promontory of* 47 *Japygia*, coaſted round it, and then entring the *Adriatick* Sea, appeared off 48 *Brundaſium*. There, being ſurprized with a ſudden Storm, finding no Port to ſecure himſelf in, on the *Italian* Coaſt, and being afraid of drawing too near to 49 *Illyricum*, *Iſtria*, or *Liburnia*, whoſe cruel Inhabitants were much dreaded for their Piracies, he ſuffered himſelf to drive before the Wind, and arrived at the extreme Part of *The Adriatick Gulph*, where he reſolved to make a Deſcent. But this ſecond Expedition of *Cleonymus* is foreign to my Subject; it is a Digreſſion, which *Livy* is pleaſed to make, out of Regard to *Padua*, his native Country, whoſe Inhabitants had the greateſt Share in the Victory gained over the *Lacedæmonians*. Nevertheleſs, we will follow him, tho' with different Views. We ſhall thereby inform ourſelves beforehand of the Condition of this fine Part of *Italy*, whither the *Roman* Conqueſts had not yet reached, but which we ſhall ſoon ſee become a Part of them.

THE Coaſt on which *Cleonymus* arrived, was a flat Country, which was marſhy,

engaged *Pyrrhus* to revenge his Quarrel. This King came to his Aſſiſtance, and laid Siege to the Capital; but this Expedition was not ſucceſsful to either, as will appear, when we come to treat of *Pyrrhus*'s Wars. *Diodorus Siculus* ſpeaks likewiſe of a *Lacedæmonian* called *Cleonymus*, who, he ſays, went into *Sicily*, to ſuccour the *Tarentini*, then at War with the *Romans*. He took *Thurium*, in the Territory of the *Salentini*, according to *Livy*; and was put to Flight, by the *Conſul Æmilius*. But it is eaſy to diſcover *Diodorus Siculus*'s Miſtake in this Account. The *Roman* Republick did not take Arms againſt *Tarentum*, till about the Year 472. How then could this Author carry this Event back as far as the preſent Year 451? We will not indeed venture to affirm, that the *Cleonymus* who landed in *Italy*, was the Son of *Cleomenes* King of *Lacedæmon*. But be that as it will; if we ſuppoſe they were two different Perſons, yet it is at leaſt certain, that they were both Cotemporaries with *Pyrrhus*, or lived very near his time. The Family of the *Agidæ*, from which one of the two deſcended, trace their Origin as far back as to *Agis* King of *Sparta*, who made himſelf formidable to the *Athenians*.

45 It is ſurprizing, that *Livy* ſhould place this ancient City of *Thurium*, in the Territory of the *Salentini*; ſince all Geographers and Hiſtorians agree, that it ſtood in that Canton of *Lucania*, which now makes a Part of *The Baſilicata*. This Miſtake in Point of Geography, makes it credible, that his Text has been altered by the Copyiſts: upon which Suppoſition, ſome read *Rudias* inſtead of *Thurias*; and in Proof of it, obſerve, that the City, called *Rudiæ* by the Ancients, actually belonged to the *Salentini*. This was the very City, which is ſaid to have given Birth to *Ennius*; and the Place on which it formerly ſtood, is called *Ruia*, by the Natives, to this Day. See what we have ſaid of *Thuriæ*, or *Thurium*, Vol. I. *p.* 515. *Note* 22; and *p.* 418. of this Volume, *Note* 25.

46 The *Crathis*, now the *Crati*, riſes ſome Miles above *Coſenza*: The *Sybaris*, or the *Cochile*, diſcharges itſelf into the Sea, near the Mouth of it.

47 The Promontory of *Japygia*, or Cape *Salentinum*, is already ſpoken of, under the Name of *S. Maria di Leuca*.

48 *Brundaſium*, a maritime City of *Calabria*, is now called *Brindiſi*. See *Book* 22.

49 Some of the ancient Geographers make *Illyricum* larger, ſome narrower. Some extend it from *The Lake of Conſtance* to the *Euxine* Sea, and from the *Adriatick* Sea to the *Danube*, and from Mount *Hæmus* to the Mouth of that River. *Strabo* comprehends *Iſtria* and *Carniola*, within this vaſt Tract of Land. But others, as *Ptolomy*, confine it within narrower Limits. It now contains only that Country, which reaches all along the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea, as far as to the Frontiers of *Macedonia*; that is, only ancient *Liburnia*, and *Dalmatia*.

50 By *Iſtria*, is generally underſtood that Province, which lies between *The Gulph of Triaſto*, that of *Quarnero*, and *Liburnia*. The latter comprehended the Country, which is bounded by the Frontiers of *Iſtria*, by *Dalmatia* properly ſo called, and by the *Adriatick* Sea. We ſhall have occaſion to give a particular Account of theſe three Countries hereafter.

and

Year of ROME CCCCLI. Junius Brutus, Dictator.

and full of Ponds, formed by the Waters of the *Adige* and *Po*, mixed with the Sea. It was the very Place, where *Venice* was long after built. The People who then inhabited this Shore, were most probably descended from those *Gauls*, which formerly went into *Italy*. The *Lower* [51] *Bretons* of *Vannes*, which had settled on this Coast, still retained their ancient Name, and were called *Veneti*. A little higher up in the Country, was a City called *Patavium*, now *Padua*, which was built by *Antenor* the *Trojan*, if we credit Fable, or *Livy*; but which was probably the Work of the *Gauls*. [52] *Patavium*, and its Territory, were then watered by two Rivers, which both bore the Name of [53] *Meduacus*, (which Name alone makes some learned Moderns conjecture, that it was given to these two Rivers by the *Gauls*) and discharged themselves into the *Adriatick* Sea. This was the fine Territory, on which *Cleonymus* had a Design; and he first landed some of his Men on the Strand, to *reconnoitre* the Country, and bring him an Account of it. The Spies observed, that a pretty narrow Dyke divided some Marshes, full of Sea-Water, which the Tide, tho' scarce sensible in any other Part of the *Mediterranean*, raised about two Foot, at certain times. They likewise reported, That beyond this Dyke were large Plains, bounded by Hills; That the Fields were watered by two Rivers, which discharged themselves into the *Adriatick* Gulph; and That they had seen some Vessels under Sail at the Mouths of them. By this Intelligence, the *Lacedæmonian* judged it a proper Place for a Descent; and advancing with his Barks, sought for the Mouth of the Rivers, in order to sail up them. Accordingly, the Barks easily entered them, but the great Ships drew too much Water to follow them. The flat-bottom Vessels were therefore loaded with a good Number of Soldiers, who were brought to a Place, where there were three Villages, which served for a Retreat for the Peasants, who manured the Country. There, the *Lacedæmonians* pillaged and sacked the Houses, carried off the Men and Cattel, and burnt all that they could not take away. After this, their Greediness of Booty carried them a great Way from their Ships, and all the Neighbourhood round *Patavium* took the Alarm. This City was well provided with warlike Citizens; the Insults she had Reason to fear from her Neighbours keeping her always upon her Guard; and her Inhabitants divided their Infantry into two small Bodies. One marched into the Heart of the Country, towards the Place where the *Greeks* were busy in plundering; the other kept to the Banks of the River, where the flat-bottomed Boats stopped, after the *Greeks* were landed; and the Battel the former fought with the Pillagers was successful. The *Lacedæmonians* fled, and being routed hastened to recover their Vessels; but the *Veneti* of the Neighbourhood, who were gathered together, intercepted them, and cut them in Pieces. As for the flat-bottomed Vessels, the other Body of *Paduans* fell upon them so suddenly, and with so much Ardour, that they killed the greatest Part of those who guarded them, and took a great Number of Prisoners. The rest escaped, by the Help of their Oars, to the opposite Bank, where there was no Enemy to fear. Nor was this all. The *Paduans*, learning by the *Lacedæmonians* their Prisoners, that *Cleonymus* with his great Vessels, lay at Anchor at the Mouth of the *Meduacus*, three Miles off, they immediately secured their Captives in the neighbouring Villages, went, some into their own Barks which they had made for passing their Rivers and Ponds, some into the Vessels they had taken from the Enemy, and made the best of their way towards the great Fleet, in order to attack it. Some of these Ships they found stranded on the Flats, others in Perplexity which way to steer, lest they should run foul on the Coasts which they were not acquainted with; and they surrounded them all. The *Greeks* made only a faint Resistance, but were very precipitate in their Flight; the *Paduans* pursued them to the Mouth of the River, where they burnt those Vessels which had run aground in the Hurry of the Flight; and *Cleonymus* did not

51 See what we have said of the Origin of the *Veneti*, *p.* 7. of this Volume, *Note* 40.

52 One of the two Rivers which water the Territory of *Padua*, is called by the ancient Geographers, *Meduacus Major*, the other *Meduacus Minor*. They both rise in *Rhætia*, or the Country of the *Grisons*, and discharge themselves into *The Adriatick Gulph*. The first, now called *Brenta*, ran beyond *Padua* towards the North. The little *Meduacus* washed the Walls of the City; and is now called *Bacchiglione*.

53 *Patavium*, or *Padua*, was always reckoned among the chief Cities of *Italy*. It is now one of the most considerable in the Republick of *Venice*. Its Inhabitants were thought to be descended from the *Veneti*, a People of *Lower Bretagne*, who settled in this Country, after they had driven out the Natives, as has been observed already, *p.* 7. of this Volume, *Note* 40.

out to Sea, till he had loſt five Parts in ſix of his Fleet. Then he returned to *Laconia*, without having done any Execution, on the Coaſts of *The Adriatick Sea*. As for the *Paduans*, they adorned an old Temple of *Juno* with the Beaks of the Ships which had been taken from the Enemy, where they continued long after. Nor did this alone content them; they, in Memory of this glorious Victory, inſtituted a Feſtival, which was annually ſolemnized, with a Repreſentation of a Sea-Fight, in the middle of the City, on that River which run thro' it. We have taken this Account of an Adventure which is foreign to our Subject, from *Livy*; but tho' we have had the Complaiſance to join with him, in doing Honour to his native Country, we have not imitated him in the Hatred which he ſhews both in this, and other Places, to the ancient *Gauls*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLI. JUNIUS BRUTUS, *Dictator*.

§. XIII. IN the mean time [54] *Rome* was threatened with two Wars, one upon the Back of another, which made her nominate two *Dictators* ſucceſſively. They continued in Office [55] a whole Year, each his ſix Months; ſo that there was no Neceſſity for chuſing *Conſuls* to govern the Republick, during that time. Indeed the *Conſulſhip* was now in a manner reduced to a mere military Employment, which could be diſcharged as well by *Dictators* as *Conſuls*. The [56] *Marſi* had juſt revolted, and broken their Confederacy with *Rome*, by Acts of Hoſtility; and without doubt, one of the *Conſuls* of the laſt Year was obliged to nominate [57] *Fabius Maximus* to the *Dictatorſhip*. This Great Man diſcharged his new Office with the ſame Ability

Year of *ROME* CCCCLII. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS, Dictator.

54 Without the Aſſiſtance of the *Faſti Capitolini*, it would be impoſſible to digeſt the Occurrences of this Year, in a chronological Order. *Livy* himſelf is ſo far from being a Guide to us, that he ſeems to grope in the dark, not knowing what Road to take. The Confuſion which appears in his Narration, is a ſufficient Proof, that he knew not in what Order to place the Events we are going to mention, for want of authentick Memoirs.

55 *Livy* has not diſtinguiſhed this Year 452 from the preceding one, but confounded them both together. Inſomuch that he ſeems to ſuppoſe, that the two *Conſuls* for the laſt Year, abdicated before the Expiration of it, in order to lodge the Government firſt in the Hands of *C. Junius* the *Dictator*, and then in two more *Dictators* after him: And *Caſſiodorus*, and ſeveral modern Annaliſts, have run into the ſame Error, as well as the *Roman* Hiſtorian. But the Remains we have of the *Capitoline Tables*, leave us no room to doubt, that the two *Dictators* who are coming upon the Stage, governed the Republick in a different Year, from the preceding *Conſular* one. Beſides, the *Triumphal Tables* place the Triumph of the *Dictator Junius* in the Year 451, and that of the *Conſul Fulvius*, in the Year 455. And in order therefore to make out the three Years, between the Year of *Rome* 451, and the Year 455, we muſt allow one whole Year to the two *Dictators*, here ſpoken of, *Fabius* and *Valerius*; otherwiſe *Cneius Fulvius*'s Year will be the 454th, and not the 455th. And we have alſo another Proof of the Truth of this Order, in *Cicero de Auguſture*; where ſpeaking of *Appius Claudius Cæcus*, he ſays, that there were ten Years between his firſt and ſecond *Conſulſhip*. Now *Appius* was *Conſul* the firſt time, in the Year of *Rome* 446, and the ſecond time, in the Year 457. This makes the ten Years difference; which we muſt reduce to nine, if we cut off the Year, which the *Faſti Capitolini* allow the two *Dictators*, *Fabius* and *Valerius*. *Livy* therefore been guilty of a Miſtake, in placing the Facts under the Year 451, which he ought to have carried on to the Year 452. *Cuſpinian*, by comparing the Years of *Rome* with thoſe of the *Olympiads*, found out this Miſtake of *Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus*; but in endeavouring to avoid it, he fell himſelf into another. Being deceived by bad Memoirs, he gives the two *Dictators*, *Quintus Fabius*, and *Marcus Valerius*, only the Rank of *Conſuls*, and calls them by their Surnames of *Rullianus* and *Corvinus*. And if *Valerius Corvus*'s *Dictatorſhip* were to be reduced to a *Conſulſhip*, it is certain it would be his fifth *Conſulſhip*, and not his ſecond, as *Cuſpinian*, by Miſtake, thought it to be.

56 The *Colony Rome* ſent to *Carſeolis*, a City of the *Æqui*, according to *Livy*, gave occaſion to the Revolt of the *Marſi*. *Simul Marſos agrum vi tueri, in quem Colonia Carſeoli deducta erat.* This Paſſage ſeems to imply, that the *Roman* Republick had aſſigned a Part of the neighbouring Territory which belonged to the *Marſi*, to the new *Colony*. The latter, probably enraged at being deprived of their ancient Inheritances, that they might be divided among New-comers, undertook to oppoſe this unjuſt Uſurpation Sword in Hand. The City of *Carſeolis* ſtood on the Right Bank of the *Anio*, or *Teverone*, near *The Valerian Way*. It is now called *Arſuli*. The *Romans* afterwards made it a ſtrong Place, in which they confined their Priſoners of War. *Ovid* ſpeaks of it, *Faſti*, *B.* 2. and ſays, the Soil about it was not fit for Olives; but in return for that, produced a great deal of Corn.

Frigida Carſeolis, nec Olivis apta ferendis
Terra, ſed ad Segetes ingenioſus Ager.

57 According to *Livy*, the *Dictatorſhip* was only conferred on *Valerius*, who made *Marcus Æmilius Paulus* his General of Horſe, and not *Quintus Fabius*, as ſome ancient Authors imagined: and he gives his Reaſon, why he inclines to favour *Æmilius*. It is, ſays he, very improbable, that *Quintus Fabius*, who was ſo venerable for his Age, and the Employments he had been honoured with, ſhould act as a Subaltern under *Valerius*. To which he adds, that the Surname of *Maximus* gave Riſe to the Miſtake. But it muſt be confeſſed, that *Livy* expreſſes himſelf ſo obſcurely, as to this laſt Particular, that it is ſcarce poſſible to make Senſe of what he ſays. It is very true, that the Surname of *Maximus* was common in the *Valerian* and *Fabian* Families; but does it follow from thence, that therefore ſome People may have confounded *Æmilius Paulus* with *Quintus Fabius*? The former had not the Surname of *Maximus*; and therefore there was no Danger of taking him for one who had it. Perhaps he meant, that ſome, deceived by the Surname of *Maximus*, fancied, that *Quintus Fabius* exerciſed the *Dictatorſhip*, without *Valerius*. But be that as it will; it is certain that *Livy* miſtakes in making *Valerius* the only *Dictator*; the *Faſti Capitolini* expreſly contradict him. On the one hand, we find the Surname of *Maximus* given to the firſt *Dictator* in

Year of ROME CCCCLII. Q. Fabius Maximus, Dictator.

lity and Succeſs which attended him in all Places. He had made *Æmilius Paulus* his General of Horſe; and one ſingle Victory which they gained over the *Marſi*, diſperſed the Army of the Enemy. The Rebels fled for Refuge to their ſtrongeſt Places, which the *Dictator* took by Force. He made himſelf Maſter of the three Cities of [58] *Milionia*, *Pliſtina*, and *Freſilia*, in a few Days; and the Revolters were puniſhed, with being deprived of a Part of their Lands. By this means the *Dictator* firſt quieted the Country, and then granted it the ſame Privileges it had enjoyed before. But *Fabius* did not triumph, after an Expedition which wholly concerned the bringing back Allies to their Duty. The obtaining a Triumph depended as much on the Nature of the Wars in which the Generals were employed, as on their Valour and good Conduct.

Year of ROME CCCCLII. Valerius Corvus Maximus, Dictator. *Faſt. Capit.* *Liv. B.10. c.3.*

§. XIV. The Alarm of a new War, was what made the Republick have Recourſe to a ſecond *Dictator*. But we cannot diſcover either by whom, or how, this *Dictator* was nominated. Even *Livy* himſelf is defective in his Hiſtory of this Year; and the beſt Accounts we can collect concerning it, are as follow. The *Hetrurians* had taken up Arms anew, and the domeſtick Broils which had ariſen in *Hetruria*, ſeemed very likely to turn at laſt to the Prejudice of the *Roman* Republick. The two powerful Families of the *Aretini*, and the *Cilnians*, had raiſed this Storm. *Cilnius* was the Head of the *Cilnian* Family; and his great Wealth raiſed the Jealouſy of the *Aretini*, who had Intereſt enough to prevail on the *Hetrurians* to take Arms, to drive *Cilnius* out of his native Country. It is indeed highly probable that the latter had entered into Engagements with *Rome*, ſince it was her Practice to bring the moſt powerful Families in her Neighbourhood into her Intereſt, by her Negotiations; but whether that were the Caſe or not, the Republick thought it neceſſary to march to *Cilnius*'s Aſſiſtance, and ſuppreſs the Faction of thoſe who envied him. In order to this, ſhe raiſed *Valerius Corvus*, ſurnamed *Maximus*, (who had been four times *Conſul* already, but whom the Republick had now ſuffered to lie buried in Oblivion many Years,) to the *Dictatorſhip*, a ſecond time. This Great Man appeared again in publick Life, all on a ſudden; and took upon him the Command of an Army, tho' very much advanced in Years. His General of Horſe was *P. Sempronius Sophus*; a Man who was both an able Soldier, and Civilian; and yet he ſeems to have forgotten himſelf, on an Occaſion wherein he ought to have ſhewn more Prudence, and a Regard for the Laws of War. As ſoon as the *Roman* Army was entered into *Hetruria*, and come within reach of the Enemy, *Valerius* remembered that there had been ſome Defect in the Ceremony of his

in the Year 452; and on the other, we find the Triumph of *Valerius Corvus*, who is called *Dictator*, mentioned in the ſame Year. So that there were two Magiſtrates who exerciſed the *Dictatorſhip*; one of which has the Surname of *Maximus*; the other is called *Valerius Corvus*, in the *Triumphal Tables*. All that remains, is, to know who it is, that is here called *Maximus*; and all Circumſtances concur in making it moſt probable, that the Opinion of *Siganius* and *Pighius* is the true one, who think that *Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus* was the Man. *Livy*'s Account, the *Faſti* of *Cuſpinian*, which make him *Valerius*'s Collegue in the Year 452, the Reputation this great Man had acquired, and the Advantages he had gained over the Enemies of the Republick, all make it likely, that he was the firſt pitched upon, to ſubdue two rebellious Nations. And if we ſuppoſe this *Dictatorſhip* to have been thus divided between *Fabius* and *Valerius*, this will give us a Key to the unconnected Paſſage of *Livy* before ſpoken of; wherein he ſays, that the Surname of *Maximus* had led ſome into an Error. *Dictus M. Valerius Dictator, Magiſtrum Equitum ſibi legit M. Æmilium Paulum. Id magis credo, quam Quintum Fabium, ea ætate, atque eis Honoribus, Valerio ſubjectum. Cæterum ex Maximi Cognomine ortum Errorem haud abnuerim.* What Miſtake does he here mean? It was this. The ancient *Faſti* ſhewed, that *Valerius Maximus*, and *Fabius Maximus*, had been ſucceſſively raiſed to the *Dictatorſhip*. And it being unuſual to create two *Dictators* immediately after one another, in the ſame Year; ſome therefore thought that only the firſt of the two Magiſtrates, namely *Valerius*, whoſe Names they found in the Annals, had really been *Dictator*, and that *Quintus Fabius* had only been General of Horſe.

58 *Livy* ſeems to be inconſiſtent with himſelf, as to the Situation of the Cities of *Milionia* and *Pleſtina*. Here he ſays, that *Milionia* belonged to the *Marſi*; and in another Place, *B.*10. he ſays, that this City was taken from the *Samnites* by the *Romans*. In his ninth Book, he ſpeaks of a City of *Pliſtia*, (which *Cluverius* thinks was the ſame with *Pleſtina*) places it in *Samnium*, and calls it a City in Alliance with *Rome*: and yet he here owns, that it belonged to the *Marſi*. *Sigonius*, to avoid the Contradiction, ſuppoſes that *Milionia* and *Pleſtina* were two different Cities from *Milonia* and *Pliſtia*; ſo that, according to him, the two former belonged to the *Marſi*, and the two latter to the *Samnites*. But he gives us no Proofs of his Conjecture. Beſides, *The Abridger of Stephens* reckons *Milonia* among the Cities which ſtood on the Confines of *Samnium*, and of the Canton of the *Peligni*. And laſtly, it is no uncommon thing for ancient Authors to confound the *Marſi* with the *Samnites*. Theſe two Nations bordered upon one another, were united in Intereſt againſt the *Romans* their common Enemies, and were therefore thought to be one and the ſame Nation. As for the City of *Freſilia*, it is plain, from what *Livy* ſays of it, that it ſtood near the two former.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLII.

VALERIUS CORVUS MAXIMUS, Dictator. *Liv. B.* 10. *c.* 4.

Inveſtiture; and the Scruple made him go back to *Rome*, to be inaugurated anew. During his Abſence, the General of Horſe ventured to make an Incurſion without Orders, and fell into an Ambuſcade which the Enemy had prepared for him. The *Romans* were worſted in the Engagement; ſome of their *Colours* were taken; a great many of their Men killed; the reſt routed, and forced to retire to their Camp. And the News of this Defeat cauſed more Uneaſineſs in *Rome*, than the Loſs deſerved. But Men accuſtomed to Proſperity, are terrified at the ſmalleſt Diſadvantages. In Teſtimony of their Grief, the *Romans* ſhut up their Courts of Juſtice at *Rome*, as was uſual when a whole Army had been cut in Pieces. They ſtrengthned the Guard at the Gates of the City; raiſed Levies among the Citizens, in all the Quarters of *Rome*, to ſtand Centinels on the Ramparts; brought Arms thither of all Sorts; and laſtly, ſwore all the Youth, which were enrolled, and led to the Camp, by the *Dictator*. But *Valerius*, upon his Arrival, found Things in a much better Condition than Fame had repreſented them. The General of Horſe had changed his Poſt, ſince the Diminution of his Forces, and had encamped in a Place which was more ſafe, and leſs acceſſible. The *Manipuli*, which had loſt their Colours, were forced to continue Day and Night, in great Shame and Diſgrace, without the Camp, where they had no Tents, or any other Covering; and the whole Army deſired nothing ſo much as a Battel, that they might have their Revenge. When the *Dictator* had himſelf ſeen the good Diſpoſition of his Troops, he led them into the Fields of [59] *Ruſſellæ*, one of the twelve Capitals of *Hetruria*, pretty near the Sea, and not far from the Lake [60] *Prilis*. The *Hetrurians* marched after the *Romans*, and, proud of their firſt Succeſs, hoped to have had the like in a general Action. But nevertheleſs, they did not neglect thoſe Stratagems of War, in which they had ſucceeded. They obſerved, That at ſome Diſtance from the *Roman* Camp, *Fulvius*, one of the *Dictator*'s Lieutenant-Generals, had poſſeſſed himſelf of a Fort, which he defended with a pretty good Number of Troops; and, That there were near the Fort, the Ruins of a Village which the *Romans* had burnt in their Paſſage: and they thought, they might there lay an Ambuſh for *Fulvius*, draw him thither with the Hopes of Booty, and ſeize his Port, if he marched out of it. With this View, they hid a great Number of Soldiers behind the Rubbiſh of the ruined Houſes, and the *Romans* could ſee nothing but Flocks of Cattel feeding upon the Graſs, which was grown up in the Village, ſince it had been deſtroyed. An *Hetrurian* Officer, diſguiſed like a Shepherd, kept the Flocks; and as a Bait for the *Romans*, brought them within their Sight. But *Fulvius* did not ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by Appearances; not one of his Men quitted his Poſt. Then the Head of theſe pretended Shepherds advanced quite to the Ramparts of the Fort, and cried out with a loud Voice, to the Shepherds his Companions; *Why do you loiter there? Why don't you make Haſte and bring our Flocks on? You may ſafely lead them quite thro' the* Roman *Camp.* He ſpoke this in the *Hetrurian* Language; but *Fulvius* happened very fortunately to have ſome *Cærites* in his Detachment. They, tho' *Hetrurians* by Extraction, were *Romans* by Inclination; *Cære*, their native City, having long been turned into a *Roman Colony*; and *Fulvius* ordered them to watch the Behaviour and Diſcourſe of this pretended Shepherd. They found that he did not ſpeak the Jargon of the Peaſants of *Hetruria*, and obſerved that he had nothing ruſtick in his Air: And upon their Report to *Fulvius*, he commanded them to go and tell this pretended Shepherd, from the Top of the Ramparts, *That it was as difficult to deceive the* Romans, *as to vanquiſh them.* Upon which Words, the *Hetrurian*, who ſaw his Stratagem was diſcovered, threw off the Mask, and ordered his Troops which lay in Ambuſh, to come out of the Village, and appear in the Plain. *Fulvius* ſaw them march, Colours flying, and judging by their Numbers, that he was not able to ſuſtain their Attack, ſent to the *Dictator*'s Camp, which was not far off, for Succours. In the mean time, the *Hetrurians* beſieged the Fort, *Fulvius* made a vigorous Reſiſtance, and whilſt the brave Lieutenant-General was fighting with Courage, the News of the Danger of the *Roman* Detachment was brought to the Camp; upon which, the Ardour of the *Legions* to fly to its Relief, was not to be expreſſed. Their natural Valour, their Love for their Companions, and the Deſire of revenging the Diſgrace they had received, during

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 4.

[59] See *B.* 3. *p.* 113. of the firſt Volume, *Note* 34.

[60] The Lake *Prilis*, which *Pliny* calls a River, is now known by the Name of *Lago di Caſtiglione.*

the

Year of ROME CCCCLII.

VALERIUS CORVUS MAXIMUS, Dictator.

the *Dictator*'s Abſence, all conſpired to animate and invigorate them. They prevented the General's Orders for taking their Arms, and repairing to their Colours. All he could do, was only to reſtrain a little the Impetuoſity of his Troops, and prevent their marching to, or falling upon, the Enemy in Confuſion. What encreaſed their Earneſtneſs, was the Shouts of the Combatants, which they heard at a diſtance, and which redoubled in proportion as the Attacks were renewed. So that the *Romans* mutually exhorted one another to haſten their Pace, and encouraged their Enſigns to march faſt; but the greater the Ardour of the Soldiers was, the more the prudent *Dictator* endeavoured to temper it, and ordered them to march ſlowly. In the mean while, *Fulvius* had all the Forces of the *Hetrurians* upon him, who were gathered together round the Fort; Expreſſes were continually coming to the *Dictator*, to tell him the Danger to which the Beſieged were expoſed; and *Valerius* himſelf ſaw the Difficulties they ſtruggled with, from an Eminence. But all this did not ſtagger him. He believed the Beſieged had Valour enough to be able to ſuſtain the Efforts of the Enemy ſome time longer. Beſides, he himſelf was near enough to relieve them, in caſe of extreme Neceſſity; and he thought it a Matter of the laſt Conſequence, to let the *Hetrurians* ſpend their Fire in attacking the Rampart. His Deſign was prudent, and was crowned with Succeſs. The *Dictator* continued advancing, but ſo ſlowly, as not to fatigue his Men; and this very Delay quickened their Deſires of coming to a Battel. At length, the *Roman* Army approached ſo near the Enemy, as to be able immediately to begin the Action; and then the *Dictator*, who intended to ſurprize the *Hetrurians*, artfully drew up his Men in ſuch a manner as to leave no Room in the two Wings of his Army for his Cavalry. His Infantry only faced the firſt Line of *Hetrurian* Infantry: But he had left ſeveral large Spaces between the different Corps of his Foot, through which his Horſe could freely paſs, and come up to the Enemy. And indeed, upon the firſt Shout of the *Romans*, it was not the Infantry that gave the Onſet, but the *Roman* Squadrons rode thro' their Battalions full Speed, and came and fell upon the *Hetrurian* Foot, who did not expect them; and who not being prepared to ſuſtain this ſudden Irruption of the Cavalry, were affrighted, and put into Diſorder. Then *Fulvius*'s Detachment, tho' not ſuccoured till late, and inveſted on all Sides, had Time to breathe. None engaged but the *Dictator*'s freſh Troops; and the Battel was neither long, nor doubtful. The *Hetrurians* were put into Diſorder, and returned towards their Camp, which they ſoon reached, and crouded themſelves up in one Corner of it. Thoſe who wanted to get out of it, hindered one another, by preſſing too faſt to the Gates, which were too little to let out ſo great a Number of Fugitives. The greateſt part of the Vanquiſhed mounted the Ramparts of the Camp, either to defend themſelves, or in order to find out ſome Way to eſcape; which a lucky Accident made very eaſy. The Rampart of Earth, on that Side of the Camp to which they retired, was ill built, and it gave way under their Feet. Thus Chance opened them a Paſſage to eſcape; which they took Advantage of, and returned Thanks to the Gods for it. By this means a good Number of the Enemy got away; but, for the moſt part, without Arms. This new Overthrow weakened the *Hetrurians* extremely; and they finding by their Loſſes, that their State was upon the Brink of Ruin, had Recourſe to the Clemency of the *Dictator*, and prayed him to grant them a Suſpenſion of Arms, and Leave to ſend to *Rome* to treat of a Peace. *Valerius* complied; but upon theſe two Preliminaries, That the Conquered ſhould furniſh the Conquerors with two Months Proviſions, and give his Troops a Year's Pay. In the City, the Senate and People deliberated, whether it were proper to ſhew the Suppliants Favour; and judging it beſt not to give them all they asked, only granted them a Truce for two Years. This Action of *Valerius Corvus* was of too much Importance to the State, and his Conduct in it had been too prudent, not to be rewarded; and therefore the Honours of a Triumph were granted him, and he entered *Rome* in Pomp [61] a fourth time, on *The Tenth of the Calends of December*.

Faſt. Capit.

[61] Though *Valerius Corvus* had alſo the Surname of *Maximus*, as *Aulus Gellius* obſerves; yet we muſt take Care how we confound him with another *Valerius Maximus*, who had not yet been *Dictator*, and who triumphed but once.

§. XV. AND now, the Republick being too much indebted to *Valerius*, to ſuffer him to fall again into Obſcurity, ſhe honoured his old Age with the *Conſulſhip*, to which he was promoted a fifth time; and one *Q. Apuleius*, ſurnamed *Panſa*, was made his Collegue. When, during the *Interregnum*, the *Comitia* were held in the *Campus Martius*, for the Election of *Conſuls*, *Valerius* was yet in the Field; ſo that this great Man was choſen in his Abſence. And the Suffrages of the People favouring alſo the brave *Fulvius*, who had defended the Fort againſt the whole *Hetrurian* Army with Steadineſs, and by his brave Reſiſtance, paved the Way for his *Dictator*'s Victory; he, from being a Lieutenant-General in the Army, was now made *Prætor* of *Rome*, and thereby firſt introduced into the ſuperior Magiſtracies. So true is it, that in theſe fortunate Ages of the Republick, no important Piece of Service was ſuffered to paſs unrewarded! As for the new *Conſuls*, they had no difficult Wars with powerful Nations to maintain. The *Samnites*, ſo often vanquiſhed, kept the Treaties they had made with *Rome*, rather for want of Power to take Arms, than out of any ſincere Love for Peace: and the *Hetrurians*, on the other hand, continued quiet after their Loſſes, and enjoyed the Truce *Rome* had granted them. But it was the Fate of *Rome*, to be in Commotions at home, whenever ſhe had no Enemies abroad. Two *Tribunes of the People* of the ſame Family, and probably Brothers, undertook to embroil the People with the Nobility. They were both *Ogulnii*; and the *Prænomen* of one was *Quintus*, of the other *Cneïus*. Theſe two Brothers did their utmoſt to ſtir up the whole Body of the Commons againſt the *Patricians*: but the moſt factious *Plebeians* having been lately removed elſewhere, and the Senate having purged the City of the moſt ſeditious Part of the Populace, by the great Number of *Colonies* planted in the conquered Countries; the *Ogulnii* therefore found it neceſſary to confine their Deſign, to the engaging the Heads of the *Plebeians* only, in a Faction againſt the Nobility.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLIII. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, Q. APULEIUS PANSA, Conſuls. *Faſt. Capit.*

ROME had hitherto divided all publick Honours equally between the two Parties; and this had preſerved Union among all Orders of Men in the Republick. The *Plebeians* had their Share in the *Conſulſhip*, *Cenſorſhip*, *Prætorſhip*, *Curule Ædileſhip*, and *Quæſtorſhip*. Theſe Offices were equally divided between *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. There was no Dignity, into which the *Plebeian* Families were not admitted, except the Prieſthood, or rather the Colleges of *Pontifices*, and *Augurs*. The abſolute Direction of the Worſhip of the Gods, was the only Remains of Diſtinction, which the Nobility had preſerved entire to themſelves, the Commons having made but ſlight Attempts towards it; and this was the [62] Bone of Contention, which the *Ogulnii* threw in the Way, in order to divide the City. They drew

62 It is not to be wondered at, that in a popular Government, the Dignities of *Augur* and *Pontifex* ſhould excite the Ambition of the *Plebeians*. We think it proper to add, to what we have already obſerved, in ſeveral Places, of the Prerogatives inſeparably annexed to the *Pontificate* and *Augurate*; that the *Pontifices* were honoured with all the Diſtinctions annexed to the ſupreme Magiſtracy. They had *Apparitores*, *Scribæ*, and publick Criers, always attending them, and at their Command. They were always guarded by two *Lictors*, if we receive the Conjecture of ſome Moderns. The *Prætexta*, or Robe embroidered with Purple, was their uſual Habit. It is paſt doubt, that the Republick gave them the Honour of the *Curule Chair*, ſince ſhe granted it to the *Veſtals*, and the *Flamines* of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Quirinus*, tho' inferior in Rank to the *Pontifices*. And laſtly, the Sacerdotal Dignity had this Advantage over the Civil Magiſtracies; that whilſt the latter were only tranſient, and for a certain time, thoſe who were once inveſted with the Prieſthood, enjoyed it during Life, unleſs convicted of ſome Crime. In that Caſe indeed, they were degraded by the *Pontifex Maximus*, who had the Inſpection over the *Pontifical* College; and others were choſen in the room of the Criminals. But the moſt conſiderable of all theſe Privileges, which they ſtill preſerved, was that which exempted them from the Juriſdiction of the People and Senate, in civil and criminal Affairs.

As for the *Augurs*, beſides that they wore the Robe embroidered with Purple, by Way of Diſtinction, as the Magiſtrates of the firſt Order did; or at leaſt the ſcarlet *Trabea*, according to ſome; it appears in what Honour they were in ancient *Rome*, by what has been already ſaid in this Hiſtory. Being in ſome meaſure the Arbiters of the Laws, Aſſemblies, and publick Deliberations, it was in their Power, under the Pretence of Religion, to ſuſpend any Undertaking of Conſequence, on the Part of the Gods, whoſe Interpreters and Deputies they pretended to be. Nay, it often happened, that they diſannulled a Decree of the Senate, or a *Plebiſcitum*. So that their Authority at laſt became ſo venerable, that they were not liable to Degradation, on any account whatſoever. The *Augural* Dignity, which was for Life, ſcreened them from all criminal Proſecutions: tho' this Privilege had no better Foundation, than the Prejudices of a ſuperſtitious People. The Principles of the *Augural* Science paſſed for ſo many ſacred Myſteries, which could not be revealed to the prophane, without Irreligion. For this reaſon, thoſe who were admitted into the *Augural* College, engaged themſelves by the moſt ſolemn Oaths, not to divulge theſe Secrets to the World. And as it was their Intereſt not to diſcloſe an

Year of ROME CCCCLIII. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, Q. APULEIUS PANSA, Conſuls.

drew up a Petition, and deſired the aſſembled People, to give the many *Plebeians* who had been diſtinguiſhed by *Conſulſhips* and Triumphs, leave to ſhare the *Pontificate*, and be admitted among the *Augurs*. Ever ſince *Numa*'s Time, there had been but four *Pontifices* in *Rome*; and *Romulus*, who had inſtituted the *Augurs*, had choſen but three, one out of each *Tribe*. Afterwards this Number was increaſed; and tho' it is not known when the Addition was made, it's certain three others were added to the three former; ſo that their exact Number at this time was ſix: tho' the Superſtition ſtill prevailed, which required that they ſhould always be of an unequal Number. But a ſubtle Diſtinction had been found out, to hinder Religion from ſuffering by it; the three of the firſt, and the three of the ſecond Inſtitution, were counted ſeparately. Nevertheleſs, when the Queſtion came to be ſtarted, about admitting *Plebeians* into the *Augural* College, there were but four *Augurs* in *Rome*; perhaps by the Death of two of them. But however that be, the *Ogulnii* preſented their Petition, which was this; *That four* Plebeian Pontifices *ſhould be added to the four* Patrician; and *That, as the College of the* Augurs *was then reduced to four Perſons only, it ſhould be filled up with five more, all choſen out of the People.* Theſe nine *Augurs* were to be reckoned as three times three, after this third Creation; and ſo each to make an uneven Number, according to Law. The Nobility were under the utmoſt Uneaſineſs, to ſee this laſt Diſtinction between them and the Commons taken from them; but paſt Experience made them the leſs active in defending a Privilege, which was as ancient as *Rome* itſelf.

Liv. B. 10. c. 6.

THE *Patricians* had found how fruitleſs their Oppoſition had been, when they had attempted to exclude the *Plebeians* from the *Conſulſhip*; but nevertheleſs they openly declared, *That in the preſent Caſe, the Innovation was a wicked Attempt againſt the Gods themſelves, who would revenge their injured Honour. May Heaven,* added they, *avert the Evils with which we are threatened!* Theſe Complaints aroſe from a Diſtruſt of their own Strength. The Faction of the People had always been ſucceſsful in their Struggles with the Nobility: But nevertheleſs, there was one *Patrician,* who ſeems to have undertaken to defend the Privileges of his Body, out of pure Caprice. This was the ſame famous *Appius Claudius,* who in his *Cenſorſhip* was wholly devoted to the *Plebeian* Party; but now, mere Humour, or ſome new Intereſt in view, had brought him back to the *Patricians*; and the ſame Man who had ſo far debaſed the Senate, as to introduce the Sons of *Freedmen* into it, became the moſt zealous Defender of the Nobility. He had forgotten his former Project, of prophaning the Prieſthood, by lodging it in the vileſt Hands; and he even harangued the People, in favour of the *Patricians*. But as all his Harangue was Repetition, and turned wholly upon what had formerly been pleaded to hinder the *Plebeian* Families from being every Year admitted into the *Conſulſhip*, the Hiſtorians have not tranſmitted it down to us. *Appius*'s Opponent was *P. Decius Mus*, a *Plebeian* of great Diſtinction; whom we have already ſeen twice *Conſul*, once *Dictator*, and once *Cenſor*; and he ſpoke in Behalf of the People, with all the Weight and Dignity which his Employments, his Credit, and the Reputation of his Virtue, gave him. He made the ſame Anſwers to *Appius*'s trite Objections, which the Defenders of the *Plebeians* had all along given to them, when Diſputes aroſe about admitting them into the higheſt Offices; and to them he added ſome new Strokes, which the Hiſtorians have not omitted, and which therefore we ſhall not paſs over.

THE Advocate for the People laboured to ſhew, that the Miniſtry of the *Plebeians*, in the ſacerdotal Offices, would be as acceptable to the Gods, as that of the *Patricians*; and his Proof of it was new, and taken from his own Family. He

an Art, the Vanity of which was well known to them; they very well underſtood how to make great Advantage of the common Deceit, in order to gain themſelves Credit, and abſolute Authority over the Minds of Men. Leſt therefore the *Augurs* ſhould think themſelves diſcharged from their Oaths, if they were deprived of their Dignity, the Law-givers thought fit to give them an unalienable Right to it. The Diſcharge of a Miniſtry of this Importance, muſt doubtleſs have made it neceſſary, to be very cautious, what Perſons were inveſted with it; and the Laws therefore required, That they ſhould be found in Body and Mind. An *Augur* ſeized with a Fit of Sickneſs, or who had an Ulcer about him, could not lawfully diſcharge his Office. The annexing ſo many Privileges to the *Augurate*, was what induced the *Roman Emperors* to aſſume the Title of *Augur Maximus*, or *Maſter of the Augural College*, in order to gain themſelves the more Veneration from the People, and to enlarge their Power.

quoted

quoted the Example of his own Father, who had *devoted himself* to the Gods, about forty six Years before, for the Service of his Country. *Decius* the Father was then *Consul*, and *T. Manlius* was his Collegue. These two Great Men had made War with the *Latins* together; but *Decius* had been the only Man who had sacrificed himself to the *Manes*, and had, according to the prevailing Prejudice of that time, merited the Victory, by shedding his own Blood. The Remembrance of so agreable an Event, could not but do Honour to the Son of such a Father; and at the same time gain upon the Assembly in favour of the *Plebeians*, who had produced so brave a *Consul*, and so acceptable a Victim to Heaven, out of their Body: And it was here chiefly, that the Eloquence of the *Consul* triumphed. He represented his Father at the Head of the *Roman Legions*, with his Robe girt about him, and lifted up upon a Spear, pronouncing the Form of Words whereby he *devoted himself*; and after this lively Description, he proceeded thus: *Was then the Sacrifice a* Plebeian *made of himself less acceptable than that of* Manlius *the* Patrician *would have been, if he had devoted himself, as my Father did? Could not this* Decius, *who gave so signal a Proof of his Piety, have been raised to the Priesthood, if he had desired it? Would his Birth have excluded him from a Ministry of which his Virtue had made him worthy? Will* Appius *dare to say, that he can perform the Ceremonies of Religion with purer Hands than my Father's? Recollect, and if you can, recount the Vows so many* Plebeian Consuls *and* Dictators *have made to the Gods, either when they set out for Wars, or in the Heat of Action. Were not these Vows accepted? Their Victories and Triumphs demonstrate that they were. Shall then our* Plebeians *have any room left to envy the old Nobility, after having been admitted into the first Dignities? Would the Senate or People place a greater Confidence in Heads chosen out of the* Patricians, *than in those of* Plebeian *Extraction, in case a new War should break out? The Republick has already conferred on us all the Marks of Honour which give Pre-eminence, and Distinction.* Curule Chairs, *purple Robes, embroidered Vests, Robes sprigged with palm Branches, triumphal Crowns, a Right to hang up the Spoils of the Enemy at our Doors; and, in short, all the Prerogatives annexed to distinguished Valour, you have already granted us. And what hinders you then from enabling us also to bear the Titles, and wear the Ornaments, of* Pontifices *and* Augurs? *Shall a* Plebeian, *whom we see enter* Rome *in Triumph, dressed like* [63] *a* Jupiter, *who is drawn thro' the City in a gilt Chariot, and conducted to the* Capitol, *with the Acclamations of the People, be thought unworthy to appear in the Presence of the Gods, with his Head veiled, and carrying a Knife in his Hand, to slay the Victims, or a Vase to make Libations? Shall we be suffered to give ourselves, at the Bottoms of our Pictures, the Titles of* Consuls, Dictators, Censors, *and even* Triumphant Victors, *and yet not be permitted to write ourselves* Pontifices, *or* Augurs? *I will be bold to say, that* Rome *will never have any more Cause to repent of promoting us to the Priesthood, than she has had of having admitted us into the* Consulship. *As for the Gods, they whom we honour so acceptably in private, will never reject our Ministry in the publick Ceremonies. Have they disapproved of our being admitted into the two venerable sacerdotal Offices, of which we have already been possessed? Half the* Decemviri, *to whom is committed the Care of the* Sybilline *Books, have long been chosen out of the* Plebeians; *and it is from among us that the Priests are chosen for the Celebration of the* Secular [64] Games, *in Honour to* Apollo. *Nor have you, who are now* Pontifices, *and* Patrician Augurs, *any Reason to be jealous of the Petition which two worthy* Tribunes of the People *now offer, in favour of the* Plebeians: *They don't pretend to displace you. There will still continue to be four* Patrician Pontifices, *and as many* Patrician

Year of ROME CCCCLIII. M. Valerius Corvus, Q. Apuleius Pansa, Consuls.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 7.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 8.

63 The Statue of *Jupiter* set up in the *Capitol*, was adorned with a Robe wrought with Gold; and the same Ornament was worn by those who enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph. For this reason, *Vopiscus* calls this stately Habit, *Capitolina Palmata*; or, as some imagine, because it was customary to take off *Jupiter Capitolinus*'s Robe, and dress those who triumphed in it.

64 *Livy* seems to speak here, only of the *Games* instituted in Honour of *Apollo*. The *Decemviri* indeed presided at this Festival; but it is certain, it was not known to the *Romans*, of this time. *Livy* himself fixes the Institution of these *Games* to the Year 542. And it is therefore probable, that those here meant, are *The Secular Games*, which the *Romans* celebrated in Honour to all their Gods, and among the rest, to *Apollo*, and *Diana*. The first of the three Days, which were appointed for this Festival, was spent in Theatrical Sports to the Honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*; and the third, in singing Hymns to these Divinities; as we shall observe in another Place, when we come to speak of the Order and Pomp of *The Secular Games*.

Year of ROME CCCCLIII. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, Q. APULEIUS PANSA, Consuls.

Augurs. *All the Difference is, that if four new* Pontifices, *and five* Augurs, *in order to make their Number unequal, be chosen out of our Body, you will then have the Benefit of their Assistance. They will be of the same Service to you in sacerdotal Offices, as they have been in the civil Administration, in commanding Armies, and numbering the People. Our Promotion will not prejudice yours. Will* Appius *think it a Dishonour to have a* Plebeian *his Associate in the Priesthood; when he thought it none, to have a* Plebeian *Collegue in the* Censorship, *and* Consulship? *Or would he be ashamed to become a General of Horse, under a* Plebeian Dictator? *And pray, from whence has he this Nobility, of which he boasts so much, and which, as he pretends, entitles him to such Advantages? One* Actius Clausus, *who afterwards took the Name of* Appius Claudius, *came to* Rome *from* Sabinia; *and our* Patricians *receiving him into their Body, he all at once became Noble. And what do we now desire of his Descendant, but that we may be admitted into the Number of the* Pontifices *and* Augurs, *as we ranked the first of his Ancestors among our* Patricians? *We shall at least carry with us into the sacerdotal Colleges, if we enter them, great Merit, important Services, and a long Series of Dignities. Shall we then,* Appius, *hear you eternally repeating, That the* Patricians *alone can shew their Descent, and prove themselves derived from a long Chain of Ancestors; and That, they alone have, for that Reason, a just Claim to Government, whether in the City, or the Camp? Let us look back a little into the Origin of this Title, which makes you so haughty; did you come down from Heaven with the Quality of* Patricians? *Surely not.* Romulus *bestowed it on your Ancestors, because they could prove themselves descended from Fathers of free Condition: Whereas I myself can boast of a Father who was honoured with the* Consulship; *and my Son may hereafter glory in a Grandfather and Father, who filled the highest Posts in the Republick. But why all these Reasonings? Our Adversaries are only raising Disputes: They know we gain all that they refuse us. I am therefore of Opinion,* Romans, *that you ought to comply with the Motion the* Ogulnii *have made, and pass it into a Law, by your Suffrages.*

THIS Discourse was pronounced before the assembled *Curiæ*; Orders were already given, for calling the *Tribes* together, to determine the Affair in more honourable *Comitia* than those of the *Curiæ*; and it seemed impossible, but the *Plebeians* must prevail over the *Patricians*; when the latter had Recourse to an Artifice with which they had more than once succeeded. They gained over some of the *Tribunes of the People*, who opposed the Law, and the Assembly of the *Tribes* was therefore postponed to the next Day. But then the protesting *Tribunes* withdrew their Protests, upon the Advice, and at the Request, of their Collegues; and the Affair was determined in favour of the *Plebeians*, almost unanimously. The *Tribes* immediately chose four new *Pontifices*, and five new *Augurs*, out of the People. The new *Pontifices* were *Decius Mus*, who had been defending the Cause of the *Plebeians*, *Sempronius Sophus*, *C. Marcius Rutilus*, and *M. Livius Denter*; and the *Augurs* were, *C. Genucius*, *P. Ælius Pætus*, *M. Minucius Fessus*, *C. Marcius* and *T. Publilius*. Thus the College of the *Pontifices* was now made to consist of eight Persons; and that of the *Augurs* of nine; which Regulation took place, till the *Dictatorship* of *Sylla*, who increased both one and the other to fifteen Persons.

Florus, Epitome 89.

§. XVI. The *Ogulnian* Law was the Work of the two *Tribunes of the People*; the *Consul Valerius* undertook to revive another Law, which had its Rise from his own Family. The *Valerian* Family is well known to have been always attached to the Interests of the Commons: and *Valerius Poplicola* in particular, who was one of the first *Consuls* after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, had made a Law, that in criminal Affairs, the Accused should have a Right of appealing to the Tribunes of the People. But the *Patricians* had often had Interest enough to interrupt the Execution of an Edict, which protected the Weak from their Violences; and though another *Valerius* had afterwards renewed this Law; yet the most Powerful had by Authority enough to cause the Execution of it to be again neglected. Unfortunate *Plebeians* were yet condemned to die, notwithstanding their Appeal to the People.

THE Consideration of this cruel Injustice therefore affected *Valerius Corvus* in his fifth *Consulate*; and the Peace which then reigned in *Rome*, gave him an Opportunity of reviving a neglected Law, for which the Commons were indebted to his Family. He drew it up in stronger, and more distinct Terms than before

but the only Punishment it denounced against the Infractors of it, was this; *That whoever should not have regard to a Citizen's Appeal to the People, in an Affair, which concerned his Life, should be deemed guilty of an unjust, and an unreasonable Action.* So that no other Punishment was incurred by those who transgressed this Law, but a Stain upon their Character, which always affects Men of Honour, in the most tender manner. A slight Punishment indeed for a more corrupted Age! But sufficient at this time to restrain *Romans*, who piqued themselves upon their Virtue, and who were never chosen for great Employments, unless they had preserved their Reputation pure and untainted. We must, however, take care not to confound this Law of *Valerius*, with another afterwards made by *Porcius Læca*, concerning Appeals to the People. *Porcius* added this Clause to the *Valerian* Law; *That those also who were only condemned to be whipped, might appeal to the People assembled* by Centuries.

Year of ROME CCCCLIII. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, Q. APULEIUS PANSA, Consuls.

Cicero pro Rabinio, Perduellionis reo; & Denarius citatus ab Augustine.

But these Works of Peace at home, were soon interrupted by some slight Motions of the conquered Nations. The *Æqui*, who had been so often subdued, that they were almost brought to nothing, gave way to their natural Restlessness, and took Arms again. A less able General than *Valerius*, would have been sufficient to have brought them to their Duty; however, he marched against them. The Weakness of his Enemies detracted much from the Glory of his Victory, which was so easily gained, that he did not obtain a Triumph for it. As for the Consul *Apuleius*, the Revolt of a City famous for its Mutinies, called him into *Umbria*. This City was called *Nequinum* [65] from a *Latin* * Word, which signifies Breach of Faith, Perfidiousness, and a Corruption of Manners; but it afterwards changed its Name, and was called *Narnia*, from the River [65] *Nar*, which runs by it. *Nequinum* was then, with regard to Situation, one of the strongest Places in *Italy*. It was built upon the Edge of a Rock, cut into Precipices; was too inaccessible to be taken by Assault; and was ill situated for an Army to encamp round it, and to invest it. Nevertheless, *Apuleius* ventured to lay Siege to it; but the Expiration of his *Consulship* drawing near, and it requiring Time to reduce the Place, he left that to be completed by his Successors in the *Consulate*.

Liv. B. 10. c. 10.

* *Nequitia.*

§. XVII. *ROME* held her *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*; and there the famous *Quintus Fabius* did, what no Man had done before him, since the Foundation of *Rome*. He foresaw that the People would incline to chuse him *Consul*; and he therefore prepared to divert a Blow, which he did not so much fear, out of Modesty, as out of a refined Ambition. He considered, that the *Consulship* would bring him little Honour, in a Year of Tranquillity; and that it would be better to reserve the Good-will of the People for a time of War, when he might act a Part, which might immortalize his Fame. He therefore did not march with the rest of the Nobles and *Plebeians*, to give his Suffrage in Order, in his *Century*, but tarried at home; and posted Men all the Way from his House to the Place of the Assembly, to bring an Account, what turn the Elections were like to take. When he was informed, that all the *Centuries* were ready to make him *Consul*, tho' he had not caused his Name to be entered among the Candidates; he sent to desire the *Comitia* not to think any more of him at present, but reserve shewing him those Marks of their Affection, till a more tempestuous Season. He did not disown, that a pacifick Employment in the present Circumstances, would be more agreeable to him, than the Command of Armies; and nothing can better testify, the universal Esteem the brave *Fabius* was in, among the *Romans*, than their complying with his Desires, as soon as they knew them. They deferred chusing him *Consul*, and only raised him to the *Curule Ædileship*, with *Papirius Cursor*,

Year of ROME CCCCLIV. M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS, T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, Consuls.

[65] The Name of *Narnia*, which the *Romans* gave *Nequinum*, is almost preserved entire to this Day, that of *Narni*, which it now bears. This City, which stands on the Declivity of an Hill, belongs to *The Ecclesiastical State*. Near it, there are yet remaining the surprizing Ruins of a Bridge, which the Emperor *Augustus* built, to join one Part of the City to another, which is on the other Side of the River. It is supposed, that the depraved Manners of the Inhabitants, or the inconvenient Situation of a City placed on a steep Rock, gave rise to the ingenious Name of *Nequinum*.

66 The *Nar*, now called by the *Italians*, *La Nera*, rises in that *Apennine* Hill, which the Ancients call *Mons Fiscellus*, near the Confines of *The Marquisate of Ancona*. From thence it takes its Course to *Umbria*, which it divides from *Sabinia*, and discharges itself into the *Tyber*. Its Waters are whitish, and almost of the Colour of Sulphur; for which reason the *Sabines* gave it the Name of *Nar*, which in their Language answers to the *Latin* Word *Sulphur*. *Virgil* had this *Sabine* Word in View, when he said, *Æneid.* 7.

Sulphurea Nar albus aqua.

Year of ROME CCCCLIV. M. Fulvius Pætinus, T. Manlius Torquatus, Conſuls.

the Son of his old Rival. They choſe two Men of leſs ſhining Merit for the Conſulſhip; one of whom was *M. Fulvius Pætinus*, the other *T. Manlius Torquatus*. *Fulvius*'s firſt Buſineſs, was to go, and carry on the Siege of *Nequinum*, which *Appuleïus* had begun. The *Samnites* ſeem to have joined the *Nequinians*, and ſent them Succours; and the Approaches to a Place ſo difficult of Acceſs, being at firſt carried on but ſlowly, the *Romans* ſeemed likely to linger a long time, before an inſuperable Rock. But the Treachery of two *Nequinians* facilitated the taking of the City. Theſe Traitors lodged pretty near the Rampart; and their Plot was to dig a Paſſage under Ground, deep enough to go under the Wall, and long enough to reach to the Advanced-Guard of the *Roman* Camp. This they compaſſed by Dint of hard Labour, and paſſing through the Way they had made, appeared all on a ſudden before the *Roman* Guard. They were immediately carried before the *Conſul*, who carefully examined them, reſolving not to truſt them, without great Caution; but the Affair appearing to be of great Importance, and it being equally raſh to neglect it, or undertake it inconſiderately, he thought the moſt judicious Way of Proceeding, was this. One of the two *Nequinians* was detained as an Hoſtage, whilſt the other was ſent back to the City, through his ſubterraneous Paſſage, with two brave *Roman* Soldiers to attend him; and theſe, who carefully obſerved every thing, making ſuch a Report, as increaſed the Confidence of the *Romans* in the Deſerters, *Fulvius* then gave them three hundred choſen Men, who followed them through the Way they had made under Ground, and enlarged it. They entered the City by it in the Night, and ſeized one of the Gates; whilſt the *Roman* Army was in Motion near it, and ready to enter it upon the firſt Signal. As ſoon as the Gate was opened, the *Conſul* and his Troops made themſelves Maſters of the Place without fighting, and without Blood-ſhed: and all the Puniſhment inflicted on the *Nequinians*, was that of being forced to receive a *Roman Colony* to keep the reſt of *Umbria* in Awe: And then the *Colony* changed the infamous Name of *Nequinum*, into that of *Narnia*. *Fulvius* was rewarded with a Triumph, which he enjoyed on *The Seventh of the Calends of October*. Some add, That the Siege was preceded by a Battel, in which the *Nequinians* and *Samnites* together were defeated by the *Conſul Fulvius*; and *Frontinus* tells us, that he made uſe of this Stratagem, in order to facilitate his Victory. He made his Troops believe, that he had corrupted one of the Enemy's *Phalanx's*; and even ſhewed them the Money, ready told, which he was to pay for its Deſertion. He had borrowed this Money of the richeſt of his Soldiers, promiſing to return it, with a great Reward, after the Victory; and the Promiſes of the General, and the Hopes of being aſſiſted in their Conqueſt by the Enemy themſelves, redoubled the Ardour of the *Romans*. But they were in no Want of Treachery to aſſiſt them; they found it eaſy to obtain a Conqueſt without it.

Faſt. Capit. Frontin. Strat. B. 11.

§. XVIII. In the ſame *Conſulate*, the *Hetrurians* broke the Truce they had made with *Rome*. The two Years Suſpenſion of Arms they had obtained, were not yet expired; for the Year in which the Treaty was made was not included as one of them. But at the ſame time that they were preparing to enter the *Roman* Territories, the *Gauls* made an Irruption into *Hetruria*, and ſuſpended the Deſigns of the Traitors, tho' not long. The Animoſity of the *Hetrurians* againſt the Republick was too virulent; they choſe rather to buy off the *Gauls*, than repel them by Force; and engaged them to join with them in their War they deſigned to carry on to the very Gates of *Rome*. *Hetruria* was rich; and ſquandered away vaſt Sums upon theſe new Friends, under Pretence of making them her Allies. But the *Hetrurians* were both blinded by their Malice, and cheated by the *Gauls*. The latter pretended to accept the Offers made them, took the Money, and left *Hetruria* in Tranquillity. But when they were to march towards *Rome*, and perform the Promiſes they were ſuppoſed to have given, they diſavowed them. *We only promiſed*, ſaid they, *not to pillage* Hetruria; *and have we not withdrawn our Troops from thence? If the* Hetrurians *will employ our Arms againſt the* Romans, *let them firſt ſecure us a Retreat in their Country, and aſſign us Lands, on which we may ſettle.* Theſe *Gauls* ſeem to have been a Swarm of ſome one of thoſe Clans of *Gauls* which had ſettled in *Italy*, and which being already greatly multiplied, ſent out their Youth to ſeek their Fortunes. But however that be, their Propoſal ſurprized the *Hetrurians*, who conferred upon it, in their Diets; and at length reſolved, not to

to give Footing in *Hetruria*, to a warlike and reſtleſs Nation, whoſe Neighbourhood might coſt her dear. The *Hetrurians* would not have been ſparing of their Lands, if theſe Neighbours who had a mind to ſettle among them, had been leſs formidable; but however, the *Gauls* carried off great Treaſures, from an Expedition in which they neither had been at any Labour, nor encountered any Dangers. Year of *ROME* CCCCLIV. M. Fulvius Pætinus, T. Manlius Torquatus, Conſuls.

As for *Rome*, ſhe was not without Apprehenſions, at theſe Negotiations between the *Gauls* and *Hetrurians*; and doubled her Precautions, in order to put herſelf in a Condition to maintain a War with Confederates whom ſhe dreaded. At that time, the Inhabitants of *Picenum*, a Nation which extended itſelf all along the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea, and was bounded on one Side by thoſe formidable *Senones*, whoſe Valour the Republick had but too well experienced, deſired an Alliance with the *Romans*; and the Republick granted it without Delay; not ſo much out of a Love of Peace, as on account of the preſent perplexed State of her Affairs. After this, an Army was immediately ſent away to puniſh the *Hetrurians* for their Breach of Faith; the *Conſuls* drew Lots, which ſhould go upon this Expedition; and it fell to *Manlius*. But it proved a very unhappy one to this unfortunate General, who was exerciſing his Cavalry ſoon after he entered the Enemy's Country, and was wheeling about with the reſt, when his Horſe gave him a ſudden Shake, threw him, and left him upon the Ground half dead. He did not ſurvive his Fall three Days; and by his Death left a Vacancy in the *Conſulate*. Upon the Loſs of him, the City was filled with Grief, and with Perplexity whom to chooſe for his Succeſſor. Some particular Senators were for nominating a *Dictator*; but the Heads of the Republick were for aſſembling the *Centuries* to elect a new *Conſul*, to take upon him the Command of the Army: And all their Suffrages were given in favour of *M. Valerius Corvus*, who was now raiſed to the *Conſulſhip* a ſixth time. A ſingular Honour, of which there had never yet been an Inſtance in the Republick, nor will there be another till the Time of *Marius*, who was promoted to that Office ſeven times. Thoſe who were for a *Dictator*, and thoſe who were for electing a *Conſul*, had the ſame Point in View, without knowing it. The Aim of both was to place *Valerius* at the Head of the Army; and he was therefore choſen with univerſal Conſent. This Great Commander was then of a very advanced Age; yet he made the Campaign with all the Vigour of a Man in the Bloom of Life. Indeed *Hetruria* diſappeared, if I may ſo ſpeak, at the Sight of him, and durſt not bring her Troops into the Field. As ſoon as ſhe underſtood that the formidable *Valerius* was at the Head of the *Romans*, ſhe remembered her Conqueror with Dread. As for *Valerius*, he did all that was poſſible to draw the Enemy into the Plain; but they were fled to their Entrenchments for Refuge, and removed from their Camp into an impregnable City. *Valerius* ravaged all the Neighbourhood, and pillaged and ſacked the whole Country. But the *Hetrurians* were more concerned about preſerving their Lives than their Eſtates. They kept cloſe within their *Aſylum*, and durſt not cope with a General who alone was able to ſuppreſs their Inſolence. A kind of Victory which brought great Glory to *Valerius*; was preferred to the moſt magnificent Triumph, by thoſe who knew how to ſet a juſt Value upon it; and was the laſt of his Exploits. Year of *ROME* CCCCLIV. M. Fulvius Pætinus, M. Valerius Corvus, Conſuls. *Plut.* Life of *Marius*.

The venerable old Man had now nothing to do, but to retire, and enjoy the Tranquillity of a private Life, after ſo many Labours, and ſo plentiful a Harveſt of Glory. In what Year he ended his Days is not known; but it is certain he lived above an hundred Years. He was a thorough Patriot, a good Father of a Family, and a perfect Pattern, of the Zeal Men in publick Stations owe their Country, and of the Care the Head of a great Family owes to his Children and Relations. During this long Life, he was promoted to Offices which gave him a Right to ſit in a *Curule Chair*, one and twenty times; which can be ſaid of no *Roman* but himſelf. At the times when the Republick ſeemed to forget him, he took Advantage of thoſe Intervals of Reſt, to manure his paternal Eſtate. He wholly employed himſelf in Agriculture, improved his Lands, and the Produce of them was the only Uſury he would take. Great in Peace, and Great in War, *Valerius Corvus* outſhone the greateſt Part of thoſe Heroes, who appeared in the moſt glorious and moſt virtuous Age of *Rome!* *Plin. B. 7. c. 48. Val. Max. B. 8. c. 13. §. 1. Cicero in Cato Major*; and *Plut.* Life of *Marius*.

§. XIX. *Q. FA-*

Year of ROME CCCCLIV. M. Fulvius Pætinus, M. Valerius Corvus, Conſuls. *Liv. B.* 10. *c.* 11.

§. XIX. *Q. FABIUS RULLIANUS* ſupplied the Abſence and Loſs of *Valerius* with Dignity. *Fabius* had juſt refuſed the *Conſulſhip*, and had deſired to be made [67] *Ædile*; and in this new Employment he ſhewed how uſeful Men of ſuperior Merit are, in any Station whatſoever. There was then a Scarcity of Corn in *Rome*; and it being the Buſineſs of the *Ædiles* to procure Plenty, and ſupply the Wants of the Publick, *Fabius* applied himſelf wholly to it. No Man ever ſhewed more Ardour to conquer an Enemy, than he did to guard the People from Famine. His whole Buſineſs was to get Corn brought to the City, and to diſtribute it among the People with Equity, and OEconomy. In ſhort, all acknowledged that the Poor owed their Lives to him; and that he did his Fellow-Citizens more Service by his wiſe Adminiſtration, than he did the Republick by his Conqueſts: And the *Romans* were then convinced, that the moſt able Generals are commonly beſt qualified to ſit at the Helm of Civil Government in great Emergencies.

Faſt. Capit. Nor did *Sempronius Sophus*, and *Sulpicius Saverrio*, the *Cenſors*, diſcharge one of the chief Parts of their Office with leſs Care. They made a *Cenſus* of the *Roman People*, which terminated in what we reckon the twenty ninth *Luſtrum*, ſince their Inſtitution. And at length, the Republick, by what Means I know not, [68] fell into an *Interregnum*. Perhaps it might be, becauſe *Valerius* died in his *Conſulſhip*; or laid it down, before it expired. But whatever were the Cauſe, *Appius Claudius* was the firſt who governed the State for five Days; and *P. Sulpicius*, who ſucceeded him, would not prolong the *Interregnum*. He aſſembled the *Comitia by Centuries*, which were diſturbed by the extravagant Pretenſions of *Appius Claudius*. He took it into his Head to hinder one of the *Conſuls* from being choſen out of the *Plebeians*, tho' this had now been an invariable Cuſtom, for a long time. But *Curius Dentatus* the *Tribune* had Eloquence and Credit enough, to withſtand the Rhetorick and Authority of *Appius*. He found Means to oblige the Senate to confirm the Cuſtom of always chooſing one *Plebeian*, and one *Patrician*, to be *Con-*

67 *Livy*, upon the Teſtimony of *Licinius Macer*, and *Tubero*, aſſures us, that *Quintus Fabius* was created *Curule Ædile*, by the *Tribes*; and according to thoſe two Annaliſts, whom *Livy* quotes, *Lucius Papirius Curſor* was his Collegue. Nevertheleſs, he owns, that *Piſo*, an ancient Writer of great Authority, had in his Annals placed *Caius Domitius Calvinus* the Son of *Cneius*, and *Spurius Carvilius Maximus* the Son of *Quintus*, in the *Ædileſhip*, for the Year 454. But *Livy* at the ſame time ſuppoſes, that *Piſo*, deceived by the Surname of *Maximus*, which was common to them both, might take *Spurius Carvilius* for *Q. Fabius*. He doubtleſs could not but think, that an inferior Magiſtracy was more ſuitable to the former, than to one who had been already diſtinguiſhed by three *Conſulſhips*, and by Triumphs. And indeed it was not very natural to believe, either that *Quintus Fabius* ſhould look no higher than the *Ædileſhip*, or that the *Comitia* ſhould offer him a much worſe Poſt than he deſerved. But nevertheleſs, it muſt be granted, that the Teſtimonies of *Licinius Macer*, and *Tubero*, are, in this caſe, of more Weight than that of *Piſo*.

68 This Year was alſo remarkable for the Addition of two new *Tribes* to the thirty one already eſtabliſhed, at different times, according as the *Roman* Republick extended her Territories. The Difficulty is, to find out the Names and Situation of theſe two *Tribes*. In moſt Editions of *Livy*, we read, *Tribuſque additæ duæ, Anienſis, ac Terentina*. But it is evident, that the former of theſe was of a much more ancient Date. The Country of the *Sabines*, and conſequently the Country about the *Anio*, had been the firſt Conqueſt of the *Romans*; or rather, all this Territory had long ſince become *Roman*: and it is therefore improbable, that the Republick ſhould, for ſo long a Courſe of Years, neglect uniting thoſe Citizens to her, in the Form of a *Tribe*, who had made Acquiſitions, or had ſettled, in this Canton near *Rome*. In order to convince ourſelves of this, we need only conſider, that the People and Senate of *Rome*, made it their firſt Buſineſs to ſecure the *Provinces* newly conquered, by ſettling *Colonies*, or *Tribes*, in them. With this View, the *Romans* flocked to them in Numbers, and got themſelves Eſtates in them. Theſe different Members of the ſame Body, made up ſo many different *Tribes*, who borrowed their Names from the chief City, or from the Diſtrict which they poſſeſſed. Thus we have ſeen the Number of the *Tribes* increaſe by degrees, with the Territory of the Republick, in proportion as that was extended among the neighbouring Nations newly ſubdued. It is therefore probable, that *The Tribe of the Anio* is not the *Tribe* here ſpoken of, but *The Tribe of the Arno*, or *Tribus Arnienſis*. The Copyiſts might very probably take *Arnienſis* for *Anienſis*. Add to this, that the *Romans* had juſt carried on their Conqueſts to the River *Arnus*, now the *Arno*; after they had defeated the *Tuſcans*, firſt near *Sutri*, and afterwards near *Peruſia*. They even penetrated as far as *Umbria*. So that the Circumſtances of Time and Place ſhew, that *Livy* meant *The Tribe of the Arno*, and not *The Tribe of the Anio*. As to *The Tribe Terentina*, we don't know its ancient Situation; but we ſuppoſe it poſſeſſed a Canton of *Hetruria*, tho' moſt Moderns are of a different Opinion. Some have thought, without reaſon, that the City of *Tarentum* gave Name to this *Tribe*; but they did not conſider, that the moſt diſtant of the *Country-Tribes* were that of the *Arno*, towards the North, and *The Tribe Falerina*, near *Campania*. Others have thought, that *The Tribe Terentina* was ſo called, from a Part of the *Campus Martius*, called *Tarentum*, which we have ſpoken of before, *p.* 223. of Vol. 1. *Note* 85. But is it likely, the *Romans* ſhould be ſo long before they erected a *Tribe* in a Place which was a Part of the Territory of *Rome*? It is more natural to place it in ſome Canton of *Hetruria*, which the Republick had juſt then made ſubject to her Dominion.

ſuls.

ſuls. So that *Cn. Fulvius* [69] *Centumalus*, of a *Plebeian* Family, was made Collegue to *L. Cornelius Scipio*, who was nobly deſcended. Year of *ROME* CCCCLV. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, L. Cornelius Scipio, Conſuls.

§. XX. THEN the Republick was again forced to divide her Forces, to make War with two of the moſt formidable Nations in her Neighbourhood. The *Hetrurians* had broken the Truce, and the *Samnites* had already openly declared War againſt *Rome*, notwithſtanding their Treaty of Alliance. The Aſſiſtance the latter had lately given the *Nequinians*, tho' perhaps without the Conſent of the whole *Samnite* Body, ſhewed at leaſt a Diſaffection in theſe new Allies; and the *Romans* were fully convinced of their ill Diſpoſition, when they had heard the Complaints of the *Lucani* who came to *Rome* on purpoſe to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Republick againſt the Oppreſſions of the *Samnites*. *Thoſe very* Samnites, ſaid they, *who now force us to have Recourſe to you, ſollicited us to take Arms againſt you: They have ſpread themſelves over our Frontiers, with no other Deſign, but to puniſh us for our Attachment to your Intereſts.* Romans, *we have but too ſeverely repented of our paſt unfaithful Conduct; and are now ſo obſtinately bent on ſerving you, that nothing ſhall ſeparate us from you. Neither the Incurſions of our Neighbours upon our Lands, nor the plundering and burning of our Houſes, ſhall be able to alienate our Affections, and make us unfaithful to* Rome. *We therefore intreat you to favour us with a powerful Protection, to guard us againſt the Attacks of the* Samnites. *What better Security can you have of our Fidelity, than our having entered into the War with them? But if you deſire further Securities from us, demand the Hoſtages you would have, and we will deliver them into your Hands.* *Liv. B.* 10. *c.* 11. *Liv. ibid.* *Liv. ibid.*

THIS Application from a diſtreſſed, tho' often rebellious People, made great Impreſſions on the Senate; and it was the Policy of the *Romans* to defend the Oppreſſed. They therefore did not long deliberate about what was to be done; all the Senators agreed, That the *Samnites* ſhould be obliged to make the *Lucani* Reparation for all the Damages they had ſuffered; and That War ſhould be declared with the *Samnites*, if they refuſed. The Hoſtages were received; and *Feciales* ſent to *Samnium*, with Orders to require, in the firſt place, that the *Samnites* would withdraw their Troops from *Lucania*, and leave the Allies of the *Romans* in Peace. But the *Samnites* were not very tractable; they conſidered their Alliance with *Rome* as nothing, and boldly took the firſt Step towards a Rupture. They did not ſuffer the *Feciales* to advance far into their Country, before they ſent them word, That they had nothing to do but to return home; and That if they appeared in any Aſſembly of the *Samnite* Nation, no Regard would be ſhewn to their Character. And from hence it appears, that every Canton of the *Samnites* had its particular Diet. As for the *Romans*, after theſe firſt Proofs of their equitable Inclinations, they were in Haſte to renew the War with the *Samnites*; and indeed the *Romans* were not a little jealous of them. The *Samnites* grew more and more powerful every Day, and the Conqueſts they had made in *Lucania*, would probably be followed by a Confederacy between the Conquerors and the Nations bordering upon the *Lucani*. It was therefore to be feared, that *Samnium* would recover her Loſſes, and grow too powerful, if time was given her to extend her Limits, and form Alliances. So that the *Roman* People ratified the Decree of the Senate, without Heſitation, and the War was reſolved on. *D. Hal. in excerpto tertio Legationum, Liv. B.* 10. *c.* 12. *D. Hal. ibid.*

ROME raiſed two Armies without Delay, and when the two *Conſuls* drew Lots, which ſhould march againſt the *Samnites*, and which againſt the *Hetrurians*, the former Expedition fell to *Fulvius*, the latter to *Scipio*. This General is ſaid to have expected to have found the *Hetrurians* as timorous, and as cautious, as the Preſence of *Valerius* had made them the laſt Year; and *Scipio* did not know what Difference the Enemy juſtly made between an old Officer, a perfect Maſter of the Art of War, and a young General, who had never yet commanded in chief. But the *Hetrurian* Army made the firſt Advances, met *Scipio*, and engaged him in the *Liv. B.* 10. *c.* 12.

[69] Thinking it neceſſary to diſtinguiſh theſe two *Conſuls* by their Surnames, we have taken them from the *Greek Tables*, for want of the Aſſiſtance of the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Marianus*, who often fail us, when we want them. *Livy* has preſerved only the Surname of *Lucius Cornelius* the firſt *Conſul*. The *Triumphal Tables* give us all the Appellations of the ſecond *Conſul*, that is, his *Prænomen*, Name, and Surname.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLV. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS, L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, Conſuls.

Fields of 70 *Volaterræ*, a City far up in *Hetruria*. The Battel was continued all Day; but it did not appear which Side had the Victory. There was an equal Ardour, and an equal Slaughter on both Sides. The Night put a Stop to the Fight, but neither of the two Armies could flatter themſelves with having had the better. Yet an unaccountable ſudden Terror ſeized the *Hetrurians*; the Conſequence of which was what has often happened, in Armies which conſiſt of Bodies of Men which have no Dependence on a common General, and acknowledge no Superiors, but their own little Sovereigns, each of which had furniſhed his Contingent. They deſerted their Camp in the Night-time, and retired in ſmall Companies, to their reſpective *Lucumonies*: either becauſe they imagined they had been overcome; or becauſe they were afraid to hazard a ſecond Battel. Then the *Conſul*, ſeeing himſelf Maſter of the Field of Batrel, contrary to his Hopes, plundered the Camp the *Hetrurians* had ſo haſtily deſerted, and led back his Army nearer *Rome*, into the Country of the *Faliſci*, not far from *Falerii*. From thence, after he had fixed his Camp, and ſecured his Baggage, he undertook to make long Incurſions, and over-run all *Hetruria*. He pillaged and ſacked the whole Country, made a great Booty, burnt the Villages and Caſtles, and ſpared only thoſe Cities, into which all the Country-People were retired.

THIS is the Account *Livy* gives us of the Campaign in *Hetruria*. According to him, *Scipio* had all the Advantage in it; and he ſeems much inclined to give his Hero the Honours of a Triumph, which he undoubtedly had deſerved, if this Hiſtorian's Account be true. But it is poſſible, that *Livy* may have been willing to make his Court to the Family of the *Scipio's*, who were in great Power at the time he wrote; or he may have adopted Memoirs which they furniſhed him with; or laſtly, he may have conſulted Annals which were partial to them. At leaſt, a more certain Monument than *Livy's* Hiſtory robs *Scipio* of the Defeat of the *Hetrurians*, and aſcribes it to *Fulvius* the *Plebeian*; and our Love of Truth obliges us to make this Reſtitution. Nor was this the only Glory *Fulvius* gained during his *Conſulſhip*. After he had finiſhed his Expedition againſt the *Hetrurians* (for it appears that he only took the Field, whilſt *Scipio* continued in the City) he turned his Arms againſt the *Samnites*. This audacious People thought that Army ſtrong enough to oppoſe the *Romans*, which they had raiſed to go againſt the *Lucani*, and which had ſignalized itſelf by Victories over a weak and inconſiderable Nation: And with this their uſual Confidence, the *Samnites* faced the *Roman* Forces. The latter were commanded by *Fulvius*; and all Hiſtorians agree, that he gained one of thoſe unqueſtionable Victories, in which the Vanquiſhed themſelves acknowledge that they were conquered. The Battel was fought near *Bovianum*; one Fruit of the Defeat was the taking of that City, which was accuſtomed to change its Maſters; and this was ſoon followed with the Conqueſt of 71 *Aufidena*, an important Place in *Samnium*, which was taken by Aſſault, as *Bovianum* had been.

Faſt. Capit.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 12.

AFTER all theſe Exploits, *Fulvius* returned to the City, where the Honours of a Triumph were decreed him on a double Account: *1ſt.* For having conquered the *Samnites*. *2dly.* For having defeated the *Hetrurians*. So that both Victories were gained by him. His Proceſſion was made on *The Ides of November*.

Faſt. Capit.

§. XXI. WHILST *Fulvius* was yet *Conſul*, before the *Comitia* aſſembled to chuſe new ones, there was a Report ſpread in *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites* were bent upon making themſelves amends for their Loſſes. In all the Diets of the *Hetrurians*, they had loudly declaimed againſt the Heads of the Nation, who had, out of Fear, neglected to engage the *Gauls*, at any rate, to enter into a League with them againſt the *Romans*. And on the other hand, the *Samnites*, in all their Aſſemblies, broke out into Complaints againſt the Raſhneſs of their Generals, who had oppoſed the *Romans* with a ſmall Army, raiſed only to act againſt the *Lucani*.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 13.

70 The Canton of *Volaterræ*, was formerly one of the twelve *Hetrurian Lucumonies*. The City ſtood beyond the River *Arnus*, a little way from the River *Cæcina*, on the Summit of a ſteep Mountain, whoſe Declivity was, according to *Strabo*, fifteen *Stadia*, that is, above two thouſand Geometrical Paces, from the Ridge to the Foot. It is now called *Volterra*, and belongs to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*.

71 We have ſpoken of the Situation of *Bovianum* already. As for the City of *Aufidena*, it ſtood near the River *Sagrus*, now the *Sangro*, and is at preſent called *Alfidena*. *Ptolomy* places it in the Canton of the *Caracini*, on the Frontiers of the Territory of the *Frentani*. The Name of *Caracini* was probably given to the Inhabitants of this little Country, from the Name of a ſtrong Place, which *Zonaras* calls *Caricium*.

So

So that numerous Armies being raiſed in both theſe Nations, and ſuch Preparations made for the next Campaign, as ſeemed formidable; *Rome* was not negligent in ſuch perilous Circumſtances. Her firſt Care was to chuſe ſuch *Conſuls* as ſhould be Men of Valour and Experience enough, to be able to withſtand the moſt violent Efforts of the two Nations, who were more enraged than ever; and the univerſal Eſteem *Fabius* was in, turned all Mens Thoughts upon him. And ſince nothing could, in all Appearance, be more agreable to him, than to be choſen *Conſul* in a Year in which he might gain Glory to himſelf, and do important Services to his Country; who can judge, what Motives could make him regardleſs of the Dignities, to which the People intended to raiſe him? In ſhort, he did not ſtand for the *Conſulſhip*, as many others did, and when it was propoſed to him, he declined it. His Speech to the aſſembled People was this. *Alas! Why ſhould you overload a Man of my Age, with a Burden too heavy for him to bear? I have looked into my ſelf, and find I have loſt that Vigour of Mind and Body, which I had in my Youth. Beſides, it is no unuſual thing, for* Fortune, *and her Attendant* Glory, *to deſert thoſe whom they have moſt favoured, when Years come upon them. How do I know, but ſome God may* [72] *envy me for having enjoyed a more conſtant Courſe of Proſperity, than belongs to a Mortal? I am indeed raiſed above the old Men of my time; But I with Pleaſure ſee the young Men increaſe in Glory and Honour. The Republick abounds with Men worthy of the higheſt Employments, as well as with Employments worthy of the greateſt Men.* But this Diſcourſe, in which there was a Mixture of Oſtentation and Modeſty, would have made it believed, that *Fabius*'s Refuſal was only Affectation, if he had not had Recourſe to the Laws to authorize it. He ordered that Law to be read with a loud Voice, which forbad any Man to *bear the Office of* Conſul *twice* [73] *in ten Years*; and which had been made about forty four Years ſince, when *C. Marcius* and *Q. Servilius* were *Conſuls*. But it had not been conſtantly obſerved, and therefore the People who were for electing *Fabius Conſul*, drowned the Voice of him that read it, with their Noiſe. Then *Fabius* cried out, *To what Purpoſe are Laws made, if thoſe who make them are the firſt to tranſgreſs them! They are no longer Rules of Practice, when once the Legiſlature comes to explain away their Meaning, and diſpenſe with them!* This he ſaid becauſe the *Tribunes of the People* threatened him, that they would get the People to vote him a Diſpenſation; which indeed they did not do, but, in ſpight of *Fabius*'s Reſiſtance, proceeded to the Election. As faſt as the *Centuries* [74] entered the Voting-Place in their Order, to give their Suffrages, they all cried out, *We Vote for Fabius*; and then he was forced to yield to the earneſt Deſires of the Republick. *Fabius* at laſt accepted the *Conſulſhip*, but deſired he might have a Collegue to his own Mind. *May the Gods*, ſaid he, *proſper the Choice you have made, and are going to make! But vouchſafe, ſince I obey your Will, to grant me one Requeſt. When I was laſt* Conſul, *my Collegue was* Decius Mus; *a Man famous for his Father's having devoted himſelf to Death, and for his own Merit. A perfect Concord reigned between us, we maintained it all our time, and did our Country Service. How much then ſhall I be indebted to you, if you again join this wiſe and brave Citizen with me in this Office!* *Fabius*'s Deſire was granted; all the *Centuries* which were yet to vote, gave their Voices for *Decius*; ſo that the latter was now made *Conſul* a third,

Year of *ROME* CCCCLV.

CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS, L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 13.

[72] We have already obſerved, that the Pagans repreſented the miſchievous Divinities, as jealous of the Proſperity of Mankind.

[73] *Quintus Fabius* was *Conſul* the third time, in the Year of *Rome* 445. Now from the beginning of that, to the beginning of the Year 456, which was his fourth *Conſulſhip*, were ten Years. *Fabius* had waited the time the Law required. Nevertheleſs, he urges this Law againſt himſelf, to hinder the *Centuries* from proceeding to elect him. Whence it muſt be inferred, that theſe ten *Conſular* Years were not complete ones. We have already obſerved, that there often was not a Year's diſtance between one *Conſulſhip* and another; and conſequently, the Years of the World cannot be computed by thoſe of the *Conſuls*.

[74] In the Enclоſure, which the People were brought into, to vote either *viva voce*, or by Ballot, there were always built ſeveral *Pontes*, or *Bridges*; for this was the Name given to ſome narrow Scaffolds, which were ſeparated from one another, by Rails. One was not enough for the Paſſage of the Crowd of Citizens, which came from all Parts to the Place of the Aſſembly. In order therefore to ſhorten the *Comitia*, there were as many of theſe *Bridges* as *Tribes*, ſay ſome; or as *Centuries*, ſay others. Every *Tribe*, or *Century*, appeared at the Entrance into that which was aſſigned it: and there ſtood ſeveral Perſons, whoſe Office it was to collect the Votes of the Citizens, either for the Affirmative, or Negative. The Citizens mounted the Bridge in Order, according to their Ranks, and went out of it at the other End, to make room for thoſe who followed. Thus every thing was done with Order, and without Tumult. But in later Ages, this Cuſtom was ſomewhat altered, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper Place.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLV.

and the former a fourth, time. The reſt of the Year was ſpent in reſtraining the Avarice of thoſe who poſſeſſed more Lands than the Law 75 allowed; and many Perſons, who were accuſed before the *Ædiles* for having above five hundred Acres, were all condemned. This was a Check very neceſſary to be put to Mens inſatiable Deſire of Riches; eſpecially ſince the two laſt Conqueſts of *Rome* had enlarged her Demeſns.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLVI.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, P. DECIUS MUS, Conſuls.

§. XXII. THE two *Conſuls* were no ſooner in their Office, but they prepared to carry the War into *Hetruria* and *Samnium*; and, without drawing Lots for their reſpective Provinces, each offered the other his Choice, and both conſulted, like good Citizens, where each could be of moſt Service. They were not governed by Ambition, and Punctilio's of Honour. They deſired to ſuit their Employments to their perſonal Talents, and each only wiſhed to be employed againſt that Enemy, which he was beſt qualified to oppoſe. But whilſt Politeneſs and mutual Eſteem ſuſpended the Diviſion of the Armies between the two *Conſuls*, an unexpected Piece of News put an End to their Irreſolution. Deputies arrived at *Rome* from *Sutri*, *Nepete*, and *Falerii*, who all agreed, that the *Hetrurians* had reſolved in their laſt Diet, to ſend to *Rome* to deſire a Peace. Then *Fabius* and *Decius* put themſelves each at the Head of his Army, without Delay, in order to go and make War with the *Samnites* only: And the better to deceive them, the two *Conſuls* took different Routs. *Fabius* took the ſhorteſt, and entered *Samnium* by the Territory of *Sora*. *Decius* marched along the Sea-Shore, in order to gain the Country of the *Sidicini*, and enter the Territory of the *Samnites* on that Side. The Conduct of the two *Conſuls* was the ſame. They both diſperſed their Troops about the Fields to get Spoils; but both were very cautious in their Incurſions. Leſt the Love of Plunder ſhould draw their Men to too great a diſtance, and lead them into Ambuſcades, Spies were ſent a great way before them, to diſcover the Enemy. They knew the *Samnites* were more expert at Stratagems of War, than fighting Battels; and this prudent Diſtruſt preſerved *Fabius* from the Snare they laid for him. His Scouts gave him notice, that the *Samnites* were in Ambuſh on the Banks of the *Tifernus*, and waited for his coming into a deep Valley, where they intended to attack him from the Hills. But this did not make the brave *Conſul* alter his Courſe; he choſe to go himſelf, and attack the Enemy in their Ambuſcade, and ſurprize them. He informed his Troops that he was going to fight, lodged his Baggage in a ſafe Place, with a Detachment to guard it, drew up his Troops in a ſquare Form, and marched towards the *Samnites*. As ſoon as the Enemy perceived him, they deſpaired of either being able to deceive the *Roman* Generals, or avoid a Battel; and the *Samnite* Army therefore inſtantly marched out of their Covert, and drew up in a Plain, with more Temerity than Hope. Their firſt Onſet was terrible. They had aſſembled all the Forces in their Country; a numerous and vigorous Body of young Men appeared, conducted by Officers who looked on this Battel as the deciſive Stroke; and hence proceeded their Courage and Animoſity. The fierce Reſiſtance of the Enemy gave *Fabius* no little Diſquiet; he ſaw the impenetrable *Samnite* Battalions ſuſtain the Charge without being broken; and then he called two *Legionary Tribunes*, and commanded them to carry his Orders to the Cavalry, and put themſelves at the Head of the Squadrons. *Make them ſenſible*, ſaid he, *that if they would do the Republick conſiderable Service, now is the time for them to ſignalize their Valour. The Enemy's Infantry ſtand their Ground, nothing but our Horſe can move them.* And to theſe Directions he added Careſſes, Praiſes, and Promiſes. But tho', as is well known, the *Roman* Cavalry uſually did great things, when they rode full Speed on the Enemy's Battalions, yet their Efforts were now vain. Not that their General's Orders were not punctually obey'd; the Cavalry, led on by the two *Tribunes*, made their Way between the firſt Lines of both Armies, when moſt hotly engaged, and placing themſelves in the firſt Rank, equally threw both Parties into Diſorder. From thence, they fell furiouſly on the *Samnite* Infantry, which they could not break through; the latter cloſed, and

Liv. B. 10. c. 14.

75 We have ſpoken of this Law above, *p.* 64. of this Volume. It was made at the Requeſt of *Licinius Stolo* and *Lucius Sextus*, in the Year of *Rome* 377. According to *Appian*, *De Bello Civili*, *B.* 1. it not only fixed Land-Eſtates to five hundred Acres, but enacted, That the moſt conſiderable Citizens ſhould not be Maſters of more than one hundred of black Cattel, and at moſt five hundred of Goats and Sheep. To which *Pliny* adds, *B.* 18. *c.* 3. that after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, no *Plebeian* was permitted to poſſeſs more than ſeven Acres of Land.

kept their Posts, without losing an Inch of Ground. And after this Attempt, which proved fruitless, the *Roman* Cavalry retired thro' the Spaces in the Lines, and quitted the Fight. But *Fabius* had more Expedients than one. Resolving to try what he could do by Artifice, since he could not succeed by Force, he had already sent for *Scipio*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, and he gave him these Orders. *Take the* Hastati *of the first* Legion, *and detach them away from the rest of it, without the Enemy's perceiving it. March them silently round, to the Top of the neighbouring Hill; and come from thence, and fall on the Enemy in the Rear.* These Orders were executed with Address; neither the *Romans* nor *Samnites* perceived this Motion; but in the mean time, the Enemy pushed the *Romans* briskly. The Advantage they had had over the *Roman* Cavalry, and the Glory of having forced them to quit the Fight, raised their Courage. The first Line of the *Consular* Army already lost Ground; it was fatigued, and began to give way, when *Fabius* ordered it to retire slowly, but still facing the Enemy; and at length, it retreated into the midst of the main Body, thro' the Spaces in the second Line. Then the *Principes* of which that Line consisted, took their turn of engaging. They were quite fresh, and tho' they put a Stop to the Impetuosity of the *Samnites* for some time, yet their Ardour was not entirely abated. But *Fabius*'s Stratagem put an End to this warm Action, which had hitherto been to the Disadvantage of the *Romans*. Whilst the second Line were attacking, and defending themselves, with Courage, there appeared at a Distance the Ensigns of a Body of Troops, which advanced with slow Pace. This was the Detachment which *Scipio* commanded, and with which he was marching down from the neighbouring Mountain, and seemed coming to attack the *Samnites* in the Rear. The *Consul*, who first perceived it, because he expected it, cried out, *What unexpected good Fortune! I see yonder my Collegue* Decius's *Army drawing near to us*; and the General's Words were carried thro' all Parts of the *Roman* Army. They passed from *Legion* to *Legion*, and were heard in the Enemy's Battalions; and as they gave new Life and Vigour to the *Romans*, so they filled the *Samnites* with Terror and Discouragement. They were tired with fighting, were afraid of having another *Consular* Army upon them, and therefore soon resolved what to do. They dispersed, without waiting for Orders from their Generals, and sought to secure themselves by Flight. Which indeed they did; for the Slaughter was not great, after the Defeat; the Enemy left only three thousand four hundred Men dead upon the Plain; which was an inconsiderable Loss for so great a Victory. But the *Romans* in some measure made themselves amends for having slain so small a Number, by the Colours they took, which were no less than twenty three.

Year of ROME CCCCLVI. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Consuls. *Front. Stratag. B. 2. Liv. B. 10. c. 14.*

Such was the Success of a Battel, in which only *Decius*'s Name was made use of; and yet he may be said to have contributed something towards it. The *Apulians* were to have joined the *Samnites*, before the Action; but *Decius* prevented it, at a time when they were marching towards them with great Expedition. He came up with them at *Maleventum*; and brought them to a Battel, which ended in a Rout. They fled very fast, and thereby saved the shedding of much Blood; for they lost but two thousand Men. After this, *Decius* entered *Samnium* triumphantly; and it is incredible, what Devastations the two *Consular* Armies made, for five Months together, in a Country, which had been in a flourishing Condition, during a pretty long Interval of Peace. The two *Consuls* divided it between them, and separating, each ravaged his Part of it. *Decius* changed his Camp forty five times, and *Fabius* fourscore and six. By this means, the Fields were all laid waste, one after another; and every new Encampment served to facilitate the carrying off the Booty from the neighbouring Lands. But *Fabius* was not content with pillaging only, he likewise took the City of [76] *Cimetra*, which was perhaps then so utterly destroyed, that the very Memory of it was entirely abolished. Two thousand four hundred Prisoners were taken in these Expeditions, and four hundred and thirty of the Inhabitants, who were found under Arms, were put to the Sword. *Liv. B. 10. c. 15.*

The End of the Campaign, and the Approach of the Time for the *Comitia* for Elections, recalled *Fabius* to *Rome*. He found that *Appius Claudius* had not only made an Interest to be elected *Consul*, the next Year; but being both ambitious, and

[76] The Names of *Cimetra* and *Cimetria*, which we find in some Editions of *Livy*, are as little known, as that of *Cimetra*.

Year of ROME CCCCLVI. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

a profeſſed Enemy to the *Plebeians*, he had likewiſe formed a Scheme a ſecond time, not to have a *Plebeian* choſen for his Collegue, but to confine the *Conſulſhip* again wholly to the *Patricians*; and his Artifice to bring this to bear, was not ill contrived. He was ſure of being raiſed to the *Conſulſhip* himſelf; and he knew the general Eſteem the People had for *Fabius*, and that his late Victory had increaſed it; and he therefore reſolved to get him choſen his Collegue. In order to this, he prevailed on the *Patricians* unanimouſly to deſire *Fabius*, to conſent to his being elected. It belonged to *Fabius* to preſide in the *Comitia*; and as ſoon as they were aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, the firſt *Centuries*, which chiefly conſiſted of the Nobility, inſtantly choſe him *Conſul*, or rather appointed him to continue in his Office, for the next Year. But *Fabius*, who was preſent, and diſpleaſed at it, declared he never would conſent to his own Election. He again objected his Age, and the Laws; and in ſhort, urged all the other Reaſons he had brought againſt it the laſt Year, with more Force and Energy than before. The whole Body of the Nobility in vain ſurrounded him, encompaſſed the Tribunal on which he ſate, and conjured him, *To take the* Conſulſhip *out of thoſe vulgar Hands, which diſhonoured it, and reſtore this firſt Office in the State, and the whole* Patrician *Body, to their ancient Luſtre.* *Fabius* proclaimed Silence, and appeaſed the paſſionate Men who beſet him, with theſe Words. *Were the Queſtion, Whether I ſhould approve of the Election of any other* Patrician *than myſelf, I would readily declare in the Affirmative, in caſe he was nominated by the Suffrages of the People. But to ſuffer myſelf to be elected contrary to Law, in the* Comitia *in which I preſide, is to give the Republick a pernicious Precedent.* This *Fabius* ſaid with ſo deciſive an Air, that the *Centuries* which were yet to give their Suffrages, thought no more of him; but nominated *Volumnius Violens* a *Plebeian* to be *Appius*'s Collegue, in the *Conſulſhip*, as he had already been ten Years before.

Cicero in Cato Major.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Appius Claudius Cæcus, L. Volumnius Flamma Violens, Conſuls.

§. XXIII. The *Patricians* ſhewed their Diſſatisfaction at *Fabius*'s having refuſed the *Conſulate*, by their Diſcourſes. *He was afraid*, ſaid they, *of being ſurpaſſed in Eloquence and Conduct by the expert* Appius. But the People put no ill-natured Conſtruction upon *Fabius*'s Moderation and Equity. On the contrary they rewarded his Services with a new Mark of Diſtinction which they gave him and which ſeemed neceſſary for the publick Good. He and his Collegue *Decius* were nominated *Proconſuls* for ſix Months, and ſent into *Samnium*, at the Head of the ſame Troops they had ſo ſucceſsfully commanded the laſt Year. So that the Republick had ſoon four Armies on foot, commanded by four Generals of very different Characters. The *Conſul Appius* was in no Reputation as a Soldier. He was better at ſpeaking, than fighting; and better underſtood, how to manage an Intrigue in the City, or ſupport a Faction in the *Comitia*, than how to make a Campaign, give Battel, or carry on a Siege. His Collegue *Volumnius* had Talents for War; but had little of that Wit, and Turn of Imagination, which make Men ſhine in publick Aſſemblies, and are often uſeful even to thoſe, who are naturally formed for War. The *Proconſul Decius* had a great Fund of Eloquence, joined with the ſweeteſt Temper, and moſt engaging Diſpoſition. His Love for his Country was boundleſs; this ſingle Affection was the Mainſpring, which ſet all the Powers of his great Soul at work; and he was always ready to do, or ſuffer any thing, to promote the publick Good. As for *Fabius*, he was one of thoſe Heroes whom Nature is too frugal, to laviſh often on Mankind. He was an excellent Stateſman; a great Commander; formed vaſt Deſigns, carried them on with Conſtancy, and executed them with Succeſs. In ſhort, as Equity was the ſole Rule of his Conduct in Civil Affairs, ſo his Valour and Prudence always ſecured him Succeſs, in his military Expeditions. He may be ſaid to have had thoſe good Qualities united in himſelf, which Heaven had ſhared among other Men.

Liv. B. 10. c. 16. *DECIUS* was the only General of the four, who had continued in *Samnium* to make Head againſt the Enemy. *Fabius* had been obliged to come from thence to preſide in the *Comitia*. He indeed loſt no time, in returning to his Army, with the Title of *Proconſul*; but his Expedition brought more Advantage to the Republick, than Glory to himſelf. For Men of ſolid Worth, are leſs ſollicitous about what will bring Honour to themſelves, than what will promote the Welfare of the Publick. A ſtrange kind of Commotion was raiſed in *Lucania*, which

Year of *ROME* CCCCLVII.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, Conſuls.

been begun by the vileſt, and meaneſt of the People; and *Fabius* aimed at nothing more in his *Proconſulate*, than keeping the *Lucani* in Awe, and hindering them from joining the *Samnites*. But *Decius*, who had not left his Army, either at the end of his *Conſulſhip*, or ſince he received his Commiſſion to command it ſix Months longer as *Proconſul*, had taken this Opportunity of puſhing the *Samnites* to the laſt Extremity. He had already plundered the whole Country, whilſt the Enemy's Army durſt not face him, and give Battel; and in ſhort, had ſo haraſſed it, that it was forced to quit *Samnium*, and go into a kind of Baniſhment, into another Country. This was a deciſive Stroke; and he reaped all the Advantage from it, that was poſſible. As ſoon as he underſtood, that the Enemy's Troops were gone, he aſſembled his own, and beſpoke them thus. *Why do we loſe our time in running about the Fields of* Samnium, *and carrying on a War from Village to Village, which gives us more Trouble than Profit? Nobler Objects for the Exerciſe of our Valour preſent themſelves to us. We have now no Army of the Enemy to fear in all* Samnium. *Why don't we then ſet about taking their Cities? We can do it without Oppoſition.* This Deſign of the *Proconſul* being approved of, by his Troops, (for the Form of the popular Government was kept up, in the Camp, and the Reſolutions of the Generals communicated to the Armies) they immediately conſented to it, and laid Siege to [77] *Murgantia*, a ſtrong City between *Bovianum* and *Beneventum*. The Ardour which the *Romans* ſhewed on this great Expedition, is ſcarce to be imagined. They loved their General, and laboured to gain him Glory, with Pleaſure. But it muſt be confeſſed, that they likewiſe found their own Account, in the Plunder of Cities, which were much more wealthy, than the Country Cottages; and they therefore were ſo vigorous, that they made themſelves Maſters of *Murgantia*, in one Day. It was taken by Aſſault, and all thoſe who were found under Arms were made Priſoners, to the Number of two thouſand one hundred and ten. The Spoil taken in it was conſiderable; and the General therefore, fearing leſt his Soldiers ſhould be overburdened with ſo great a Booty, and their Care of preſerving it, ſhould make them neglect the Service, aſſembled them, and addreſſed himſelf to them, in this manner. *I don't pretend, Fellow-Soldiers, ſo far to limit your Good-fortune, as to confine it to the pillaging of one City. Extend your Hopes beyond the taking of* Murgantia. *All the Cities in* Samnium *will ſoon fall a Prey to your Valour, which has already put our Enemies to Flight, and which ought to exert itſelf in making the beſt uſe of their Retreat. Don't therefore loſe time about a few trifling Moveables, which the Right of War has given you, and with which you overload yourſelves. Sell theſe troubleſome Spoils, and draw all the Merchants of the neighbouring Places after the Army, in hopes of Gain. I will take care you ſhall ſoon have new Merchandiſes to expoſe to Sale.* Romulea [78], *a City leſs difficult to be taken, and more opulent, than* Murgantia, *is in this Neighbourhood; and the Plunder of it ſhall ſoon furniſh you with new Merchandizes.* This Advice was univerſally followed, all the Soldiers ſold their Effects, and carried nothing with them but the Money they produced. *Romulea* was now their Point in View, and they earneſtly deſired leave to march thither. When they came, they did not beſiege it in Form: they neither uſed Ram, or *Balliſta*, againſt it; their Scaling-Ladders were ſufficient to make them Maſters of the Place. The Moment the *Romans* came before it, every one mounted the Wall directly before him; the Reſiſtance of the Beſieged was vain; they could not repel Men determined to die, or pillage; and *Romulea* was taken and ſacked. Two thouſand three hundred Men were killed in it; and ſix thouſand made Priſoners of War. All the Booty was ſold by the General's Order, and the *Roman* Army marched without delay to *Ferentinum*, a City of the *Hernici*, now in the Poſſeſſion of the *Samnites*. This was one of thoſe Places which were not eaſily to be taken by Aſſault. It was defended by good Ramparts, and ſituated on an Eminence, and was not to be ſubdued without great Danger, and the moſt vigorous Efforts. But is any thing impoſſible to brave Men, animated by the

Liv. ibid.

[77] We have no Footſteps left of *Murgantia*; but I think it was the ſame City which is now called *Morcone*, in the County of *Moliſa*, a Province of the Kingdom of *Naples*.

[78] *Romulea*, or according to ſome ancient Authors, *Romula*, was a City which belonged to the *Hirpini*, who were *Samnites* both by Inclination and Extraction. It ſtood on the *Apennines*, and was the ſame City which is now called *Biſaccia*, and is a Biſhopriek.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Appius Claudius Cæcus, L. Volumnius Flamma Violens, Conſuls.

Hopes of Gain? *Ferentinum* was taken by Aſſault, and plundered: and about three thouſand Men were killed upon the Ramparts, who made a very deſperate Defence. Thus *Samnium* was reduced to the laſt Extremity; and to complete its Miſery, the new *Conſul Volumnius* was marching thither with another Army of two *Legions*, and fifteen hundred Auxiliaries. Some Hiſtorians indeed make him ſhare the Glory of the *Proconſul*, and aſcribe a Part of *Decius*'s Conqueſts to him. But be that as 79 it will, it is at leaſt certain, that the War with the *Samnites* fell by lot to *Volumnius*, and that with the *Hetrurians* to his Collegue *Appius*.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 18.

§. XXIV. And indeed, the Storm began already to gather on that Side. The *Hetrurians* had received the fugitive *Samnites*, whom *Decius* had forced to fly their native Country; their Fear had driven them thro' different Nations, by different Ways; and after they had paſſed the *Tyber*, they had fallen down upon *Hetruria*. When they came thither, they deſired a Diet of the chief *Hetrurian Lucumonies* might be called; which was granted. One *Gellius Egnatius* was at the Head of the *Samnite* Army, and he, without doubt, was their Speaker, in the *Hetrurian* Aſſembly. *We are now come*, ſaid he, *even into your Dominions, to requeſt the Alliance we have ſo long deſired. What endleſs Wars have we had to maintain, with the ambitious* Romans? *During theſe many Years, that we have declared ourſelves their Enemies; we have tried all poſſible Means to preſerve ourſelves, and prevent our ſinking under their Arms. War, Peace, Truces, Alliances, have all been tried, and all to no purpoſe. War has ruined us; Peace has not freed us from our Yoke; Truces have not diſſipated our Fears; nor have we gained any thing by our Alliances with the* Romans; *but have been thereby reduced to a moſt ſhameful Slavery. Hence our frequent Changes and Inſurrections. What remains then, but to have Recourſe to* Hetruria, *the moſt flouriſhing Country in* Italy? *You abound with Arms, Soldiers, Officers, and Money. Your Neighbours the* Gauls *are Men born and bred in War. Their natural Courage will alſo be improved, when regulated by Art, and modelled by good Examples. They will remember, that they brought the imperious Republick to the Brink of Deſtruction, and forced* Rome *to ranſom herſelf with Money. As for you,* Hetrurians, *what hinders you from reviving the happy Days of* Porſenna? *In the time of this brave* Lucumo, *the* Roman *Republick was ſhut up within narrow Bounds. The* Tyber *was formerly her Barrier, and bounded her Dominion. The* Romans *being driven back from the Country beyond the River, were ſo far from dreaming of aggrandizing themſelves, that they thought of nothing but ſtanding to their own Defence. Heaven offers you this happy Opportunity of recovering your ancient Poſſeſſions, and preſerving the reſt of* Italy, *from the inſupportable Yoke with which it is threatened. A* Samnite *Army is come to march under your Command. Not to ſay any thing of its Valour and Experience, which have been tried in ſo many Wars; it is at leaſt ready to march, is well provided with Arms and Ammunition, and will carry on the War, at its own Expence, without being any Burden to you. Employ us therefore, and we will obey your Commands, ſhould they be to encamp at the Foot of the* Capitol.

These Offers, and theſe Hopes, had a great Effect on the Minds of the *Hetrurians*. They thought this Reinforcement ſent to them by Heaven, at a time when they had not expected it, and had determined to oppoſe the *Romans* without it. Thoſe *Lucumonies* therefore which had not reſolved on War, now joined thoſe who had declared for it; and all *Hetruria* was in a Flame. The Deſire of fighting ſeized even thoſe who lived on the Confines of *Umbria*; and Endeavours were already made to gain the *Gauls* by Money, and draw them into the League. Theſe Motions therefore, Accounts of which were brought to *Rome*, obliged the Senate to diſpatch away the *Conſul Appius*, to the Province allotted him, without Delay. *Hetruria* had fallen to his Lot; and his Collegue was already in *Samnium*. He marched thither in all Haſte, with an Army conſiſting of two *Legions*, and twelve thouſand Auxiliaries, that is, about twenty three thouſand Men; and he came and poſted himſelf

79 *Livy* ſays, That ſome ancient Annals gave *Fabius* alone, almoſt all the Glory of the Expedition, which *Decius* had finiſhed againſt the *Samnites*, with ſo much Succeſs; adding, That the Republick was indebted to him for the taking of *Romulea* and *Ferentinum*. As for *Decius*, they left him the Honour of having taken the City of *Murgantia* by Aſſault. Others, whom *Livy* quotes, aſcribe the Advantages gained over the *Samnites* this Year, to both *Conſuls*.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII.
APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, Conſuls.

ſelf within Reach of the Enemy. His Expedition ſurprized the Enemy more than either his Reputation, or his Ability, had terrified them; but nevertheleſs, ſome of the Cantons of *Hetruria* ſuſpended their Hoſtilities, more out of Dread of the *Roman* Name, than Fear of the General. *Appius* was indeed worſted, in many ſlight Actions. He neither underſtood how to time a Battel well, or to chuſe his Ground: and the little Advantages gained by the Enemy, increaſed their Confidence, and made them promiſe themſelves certain Victory, in a general Action. In ſhort, things were come to that paſs, that the Soldiers ſuſpected the *Conſul*, and the *Conſul* was jealous of his Soldiers; and in this Extremity, *Appius* is ſaid * (for the Fact is not abſolutely certain, though it be very probable) to have written to his Collegue, to leave *Samnium* immediately, and fly to his Aſſiſtance. *Volumnius* was then buſy, in continuing the Devaſtations the *Proconſul Decius* had begun, in the Country of the *Samnites*; and had already taken three Caſtles, in which he had killed about three thouſand Men, and made fifteen hundred Priſoners. But upon *Appius*'s Letter, his generous Collegue put a ſtop to his Exploits; haſtened to join the *Conſul* who ſent for him; and left *Decius* to ravage *Samnium*, and *Fabius* to quiet and awe *Lucania*.

* *Ex tribus Annalibus citatis apud Livium.*

WHEN *Volumnius* arrived at the *Roman* Camp, the Troops, and their General, received him in a very different manner. The Soldiers received him with Shouts, and extraordinary Acclamations; but *Appius* ſeemed ſurprized to ſee him. If indeed he had ſent for his Collegue, it was very ungrateful to give him ſo ill a Reception; but if the Letter *Volumnius* pretended to have received, was falſe, or forged, *Appius* had reaſon to ſhew ſome Uneaſineſs. But however that were, the odd Temper of *Appius* gave the Publick room to believe, That he had written to *Volumnius*, when he thought himſelf in Danger; and That he was afterwards aſhamed of having diſcovered, how much he wanted Aſſiſtance. *Appius* was proud, contemptuous, and an Enemy to the *Plebeians*; and would ſcarce vouchſafe to ſalute his Collegue. *Well, Sir*, ſaid he to him, *how ſtand Matters in* Samnium? *What has induced you to leave the Province allotted you? All is well*, replied *Volumnius*; *and my only Motive to come from thence, was a Letter I received as from you. If it be forged, and my Preſence here is not neceſſary, I will be gone with my Troops this Inſtant. Go then*, replied *Appius, no body wants you here. It is not very handſome for you, who can ſcarce maintain yourſelf in your own Poſt, to march elſewhere, in order to gain the Reputation of having aſſiſted others. It is mighty well*, anſwered *Volumnius*; *but I had rather be reproached, with having been too haſty in my March, upon falſe Advice; than with having ſuffered* Hetruria *to want a ſecond* Conſular *Army*. It is indeed ſurprizing, that nothing was ſaid about diſcovering the Author of this forged Letter; nor can it be ſuppoſed, that *Appius*, who was ſo well verſed in Proſecutions, would have ſuffered ſo heinous an Offence againſt the publick Good, and ſo derogatory of his own Honour, to have eſcaped unpuniſhed, if it had not been genuine. But ſuch is the Weakneſs of Men of little Merit: when they want Aſſiſtance, they are glad to get it at any rate; and when they have received it, they become Enemies to thoſe who gave it. To do them Service, is to caſt ſuch a Reproach upon them, as their Pride will not ſuffer them to forgive.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 18.

AFTER this private Interview, the *Conſuls* appeared in publick, and were immediately ſurrounded with the Lieutenant-Generals, and *Tribunes*, of both Armies. Some applied themſelves to *Appius*, and endeavoured to convince him, that he ought not to reject the Aſſiſtance of a Collegue, who voluntarily came to offer him his Service; and whom he ought to have ſent a great way for, in caſe he had not come to his Camp. Others followed *Volumnius*, and intreated him, not to refuſe his Aſſiſtance, when the common Cauſe called for it: and the greateſt Part were for forcibly oppoſing *Volumnius*'s Departure, and for ſtopping him whether he would, or not. *What*, ſaid they to him, *ſhall we ſuffer a Miſunderſtanding between the two* Conſuls *to prove fatal to the Republick? We are juſt ready to give Battel; and if Matters ſhould ſucceed ill with us, to whom will it be imputed? Will it be enquired, whether* Appius *treated you with Arrogance, or not? No; the Publick will only conſider the ill Succeſs of the Battel, and impute it to your too haſty Reſentments. You ſay*, Appius *drives you away. We grant it; but the Republick requires you to ſtay. This you may ſee, by the Deſires and Suffrages of the Army.*

Year of ROME CCCCLVII.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, Conſuls.

As they were thus diſcourſing, the Officers led on the *Conſuls* inſenſibly to that Part of the Camp, where the Soldiers uſed to be convened, to be harangued; and they found them aſſembled together. There the *Conſuls* opened their Complaints againſt one another more at large, than they had done in their private Converſation; and as *Volumnius* had the beſt Cauſe, he defended it with Eloquence, and ſurpaſſed himſelf: for he was not born an Orator. But *Appius* rallied him for it. *Very wonderful indeed!* ſaid he, *I have made a dumb Man ſpeak. Volumnius could ſcarce open his Mouth, all the time of our firſt* Conſulſhip, *and for ſome Months of the ſecond; but now he is become eloquent. What a prodigious Change have I wrought in him! If you have taught me to ſpeak,* replied *Volumnius, you may in return learn of me how to fight. There is Inſtruction for Inſtruction, with this difference, that what I have to teach you, is of much greater Conſequence, than what I have learnt from you. In our preſent Situation, it is of little Importance to be able to talk well; the Buſineſs is, to know how to conduct a Battel. We have Wars to carry on in two Places,* Samnium; *and* Hetruria: *Do you therefore take your Choice. It is indifferent to me, in which Province I command.* At theſe Words there was immediately but one Voice, and one Opinion. The univerſal cry was, *This is the proper Place for the two* Conſuls *to make War together, without ſeparating. I have then miſunderſtood the Intention of the Troops,* replied *Volumnius, when repreſented to me by my Collegue; and leſt I ſhould be guilty of a ſecond Miſtake, if you will have me tarry here, ſhew it by your Shouts.* Inſtantly the Army made a general Shout, which was heard in the Enemy's Camp; and this loud Acclamation haſtened a Battel. The *Hetrurians* and *Samnites,* who were then united in the ſame Camp, took their Arms; and the *Hetrurian* Army marched firſt out of the Camp; becauſe *Egnatius* the *Samnite* General was then out a forraging, at the Head of ſome of his *Cohorts.* During his Abſence, his Troops, tho' deprived of their Commander, marched into the Plain, but came laſt thither; and it was much the ſame Caſe with the two *Roman* Armies. *Volumnius* with his Troops, firſt marched out to engage the *Hetrurians,* and drew up in Battalia againſt them: but *Appius* heſitated for ſome time, whether he ſhould join in the Battel. *Whether I have any Part in the Action, or no,* ſaid he, Volumnius *will have all the Honour of the Victory*; and nothing determined him, but the Fear of being deſerted by his Army. They diſcovered an Inclination to follow *Volumnius,* in Defiance of their General's Orders; and *Appius* complied with the Deſires of his Soldiers, and gave the Signal for the Battel. The Troops on neither Side were formed in any great Order; the Abſence of *Egnatius* on the one hand, and the Diviſion of the *Conſuls* on the other, produced ſome little Diſorders in both. Beſides, as the Armies had marched out of their Camps, at different times, the Generals had not time to diſpoſe of their different *Corps* with due Care. *Volumnius* had even begun the Attack, before *Appius* was arrived; and, as if *Fortune* had made it her Buſineſs to change every thing, neither of the two *Roman* Armies fought with the Enemy it uſed to engage with. It fell to *Volumnius,* to engage the *Hetrurians*; and to his Collegue, to fight the *Samnites.* Nevertheleſs, what cannot an Emulation for Glory, and the Shame of being obſcured by a Rival, effect! Spight, and Fear of Contempt, rouzed *Appius* to ſuch a degree, that he exerted himſelf with much more Courage, than could have been expected. He gave his Orders like a good Commander, and fought with Intrepidity. He, at the Head of his Army, addreſſed himſelf to [78] *Bellona,* in theſe Words; *Goddeſs, if thou crowneſt me with Victory, I make a Vow to erect a Temple to thee!* And then,

78 The ancient Poets accuſtomed to multiply the Pagan Divinities, and deify the Creatures of their own Imaginations, made themſelves a Goddeſs, who ſhared the Superintendency of War with *Mars.* They gave her the Name of *Bellona,* (from *Bellum, War*) to denote the Province they aſſigned her. But whether ſhe was the Mother, Siſter, or Wife, of the God of War; and whether ſhe made it her principal Buſineſs to lead his Horſes, or guide his Chariot, in the midſt of Battels, are ſome of thoſe arbitrary Opinions, about which the Mythologiſts diſpute. Nevertheleſs, as they have no other Foundation than the Fictions of the Poets, and the Extravagancies of Polytheiſm, we leave them to be diſcuſſed by thoſe who love to amuſe themſelves with the Dreams of Paganiſm. It is ſufficient to know, that *Bellona* was worſhipped by the *Greeks,* as the Companion of *Mars* in Armies, under the Name of Ἔνυω, whence the God of War was called Ἐνυάλιος. The *Romans* gave this Goddeſs the ſame Qualities, and often the ſame Symbols, as *Pallas.* We find them both on the ancient Monuments, in the ſame Attitudes, and with the ſame Arms. They are both armed with an Helmet, a Buckler, and a Lance; ſo that it is very difficult to diſtinguiſh them on Medals. The ſame *Appius Claudius Cæcus,* who in the midſt of his

then, full of Confidence in the Protection he implored, he almoſt equalled his Collegue, both in Bravery, and Conduct. He inſpired his Men with Ardour, and made it his whole Buſineſs, to excite them ſo to exert themſelves, that the firſt Advantage might be gained, where he commanded; and the Enemy were immediately

Year of *ROME* CCCCLVII. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, Conſuls.

his Engagement with the *Hetrurians*, made this Vow to build a Temple to *Bellona*, afterwards performed it. This Temple was built by his Orders, beyond the Walls, near *The Circus Flaminius*, without *The Gate Carmentalis*. After it was finiſhed, he hung up in it the Bucklers and Images of his Forefathers; and inſcribed on the Walls of it, all the Titles of Honour, which had been beſtowed on his Anceſtors. *Pliny the Naturaliſt* indeed, from whom we have taken this Account, makes another *Appius Claudius*, who was *Conſul* with *Caius Servilius*, after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, the Founder of the Temple of *Bellona:* but it is plain, that here is a Miſtake crept into the Text, through the Negligence, or Ignorance, of the Copyiſts. They make him ſay, *B.* 35. *c.* 3. that one *Appius Claudius* cauſed the Arms of his Anceſtors to be hung up in the ſame Temple. *Suorum vero Clypeos in ſacro, vel publico privatim dicare, primus inſtituit Appius Claudius, qui Conſul cum Servilio fuit, anno urbis* 259. *Poſuit enim in Bellonæ Æde Majores ſuos, placuitque in excelſo ſpectari & titulos honorum legi.* How could *Servilius*'s Collegue hang up the Bucklers and Images of his Anceſtors, in a Temple of *Bellona*, in the Year 259, when that Temple was not built till two hundred Years after? Such an Anachroniſm cannot without Injuſtice be imputed to an Author, ſo learned as *Pliny* was, in the Hiſtory of his Nation. *Donatus* the Jeſuit, and after him *Nardius*, diſcovered the Miſtake we complain of. They have both, in their Deſcriptions of ancient *Rome*, reſtored the Paſſage entire. They have very juſtly put *Appius Claudius Cæcus* the Collegue of *Volumnius*, in the Text, inſtead of the other *Appius Claudius*, the Collegue of *Servilius*, who lived long before him here mentioned. Inſtead therefore of, *Appius Claudius qui Conſul cum Servilio fuit anno urbis* 259; we ought to read, *Appius Claudius qui Conſul cum Volumnio fuit, anno urbis* 457. And leſt it ſhould be thought, that we found this Correction upon Conjecture only, we ſhall add, that we have *Ovid*'s Authority for it. He, *Faſt. B.* 6. imputes the founding of the Temple of *Bellona*, to *Appius*, ſurnamed *Cæcus*; and ſays it was the ſame Man, who by the Force of his Eloquence, diſſuaded the *Romans* from accepting the Peace *Pyrrhus* offered them.

This Temple was built without the City; becauſe of a prevailing Superſtition of that time, which made the People afraid of having any Commerce with a Goddeſs, who delighted in Slaughter and Trouble. They were apprehenſive, that if they received her reſpectively in *Rome*, Diſſentions and Quarrels would enter the City with her. She was thought a dangerous Neighbour, in a City, whoſe Safety and Increaſe depended on the Union of all its Inhabitants. For theſe Reaſons, the *Romans*, in Conformity to the Religion and Rites of the ancient *Hetrurians*, ſhut all thoſe Divinities without the Compaſs of *Rome*, which made themſelves formidable by their Power to hurt Mankind. Nevertheleſs, this Cuſtom did not long ſubſiſt. We ſhall ſoon ſee Altars erected in *Rome*, to the ſanguinary and miſchievous Gods. But to return to the Temple of *Bellona*, the Senate uſed to aſſemble in it, to give Audience to foreign Ambaſſadors, who lodged without the City; and to the victorious Generals, who claimed the Honours of a Triumph. We have already ſhewn the Policy of the *Romans* in it.

When the Republick had extended her Frontiers beyond *Italy*, the Diſtance of the Places, and the Hazards of long Journeys, which are often inconvenient and hazardous, hindered her from ſending *Feciales* to declare War with her Enemies: and then ſhe contented herſelf, with only erecting near the Temple of *Bellona*, a little Marble Pillar, which was for that reaſon called *Columna Bellica*. To this Pillar the *Conſul*, and a *Fecialis* attending him, came with great Ceremony; and after he had pronounced a certain Form of Words, he raiſed up a Pike to the Top of the Pillar; or, according to others, threw a Dart towards that Part of the World, where the Provinces lay, which the *Romans* reſolved to enter Sword in hand. This firſt Act, or rather Appearance of an Act, of Hoſtility, was deemed a Declaration of War made in the Name of the People and the Senate. We have *Servius*'s Teſtimony for this, in his Comment on theſe Words of the ninth *Æneid*;

Et Jaculum intorquens emittit in auras
Principium Pugnæ, &c.....

He ſays, that the *Romans*, when they were ready to take Arms againſt *Pyrrhus*, ſeized one of his Soldiers, made him ſit down in *The Circus Flaminius*, near the Pillar of *Bellona*; and by a *Fecialis* formally proclaimed War with him, as if he had repreſented all his Nation. They perſuaded themſelves, that by this Ceremony, they diſcharged the Duty of Juſtice, and fulfilled the Laws of *Numa*, concerning the Formalities to be obſerved, before an open Rupture. *Feſtus* mentions the Pillar and Ceremony in theſe Words. *Bellona dicitur Dea Bellorum, ante cujus Templum erat columella quæ bellica vocabatur, ſupra quam haſtam jaciebant, cum bellum indicebatur. Victor* alſo, in his Deſcription of *Rome*, gives us much the ſame Account of it; *Ædes Bellonæ verſus Portam Carmentalem. Ante hanc ædem columna index belli ferendi:* and *Ovid* has not omitted this Cuſtom, in the ſixth Book of his *Faſti*. Some Authors ſay, that agreeably to this Cuſtom, the *Roman* Armies, before they took the Field, preſented themſelves before this Pillar in a fighting Poſture, and with their Darts levelled towards the Enemy's Country.

The Miniſters conſecrated to the Worſhip of *Bellona*, under the Name of *Bellonarii*, generally confined themſelves to the Temples of the Goddeſs. They there affected frantick Tranſports, which they made paſs for a prophetick Enthuſiaſm. In theſe mad Fits they armed themſelves with Daggers, cut themſelves in all Parts of their Bodies; catched the Blood which flowed from their Wounds in a *Patera*, and offered it up to *Bellona*, by way of *Libation*. To which *Tertullian* adds, *ch.* 9. of his *Apology for the Chriſtians*, that they diſtributed a Part of this Blood, to thoſe who were initiated in their Myſteries. After this cruel Operation, as if they had been intoxicated all on a ſudden with ſome divine Vapour, their Looks grew wild, a ſudden Trembling ſeized them in all Parts of their Bodies, and they made the Temple ring with their Howlings. By theſe forced Agitations, and hideous Contortions, they impoſed on the ſimple People, who took them for Prophets; and as they were perſuaded, that theſe Impoſtors were poſſeſſed by the Spirit of the Goddeſs, the broken Words they pronounced in theſe violent Agitations, paſſed for ſo many Oracles. Thus they firſt impoſed on the credulous People, in making them believe, that they penetrated into the Secrets of Futurity: and then intimidated thoſe who were preſent, with Predictions of War, Famine, and the like Diſaſters. Theſe mad Fellows endeavoured to give a viſible Repreſentation of the fiery and turbulent Temper of their ſuppoſed Goddeſs, by theſe affected and ſtrange Poſtures.

This

Year of ROME CCCCLVII.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, Consuls.

diately overpowered, and put to flight. How could they resist two *Consular* Armies, who had been but little superior to one? They were repulsed, and driven back fighting to their Camp; and then *Egnatius* appeared with his *Cohorts*, which he led back from foraging. His Presence revived the Courage of the Vanquished, and they rallied, and sustained the Attacks of the *Romans* for some time longer; but the second Defeat soon followed the first. So that the Conquerors had nothing to do, but to make themselves Masters of the Camp, which they attacked upon the Spot. *Volumnius* advanced with his Troops towards the Rampart, whilst *Appius* was encouraging his Soldiers, incessantly repeating the Name of *Bellona*. At length, after filling the Ditch, the *Romans* climbed up the Rampart; the Camp was taken and pillaged, and all the Booty given to the Soldiers. The Enemy left seven thousand three hundred Men dead upon the Place, and two thousand one hundred of them were made Prisoners of War. It is not to be denied, but *Appius* bore a good Part in this glorious Action; and it must be granted, that if he inspired *Volumnius* with Eloquence, *Volumnius* inspired him with Courage.

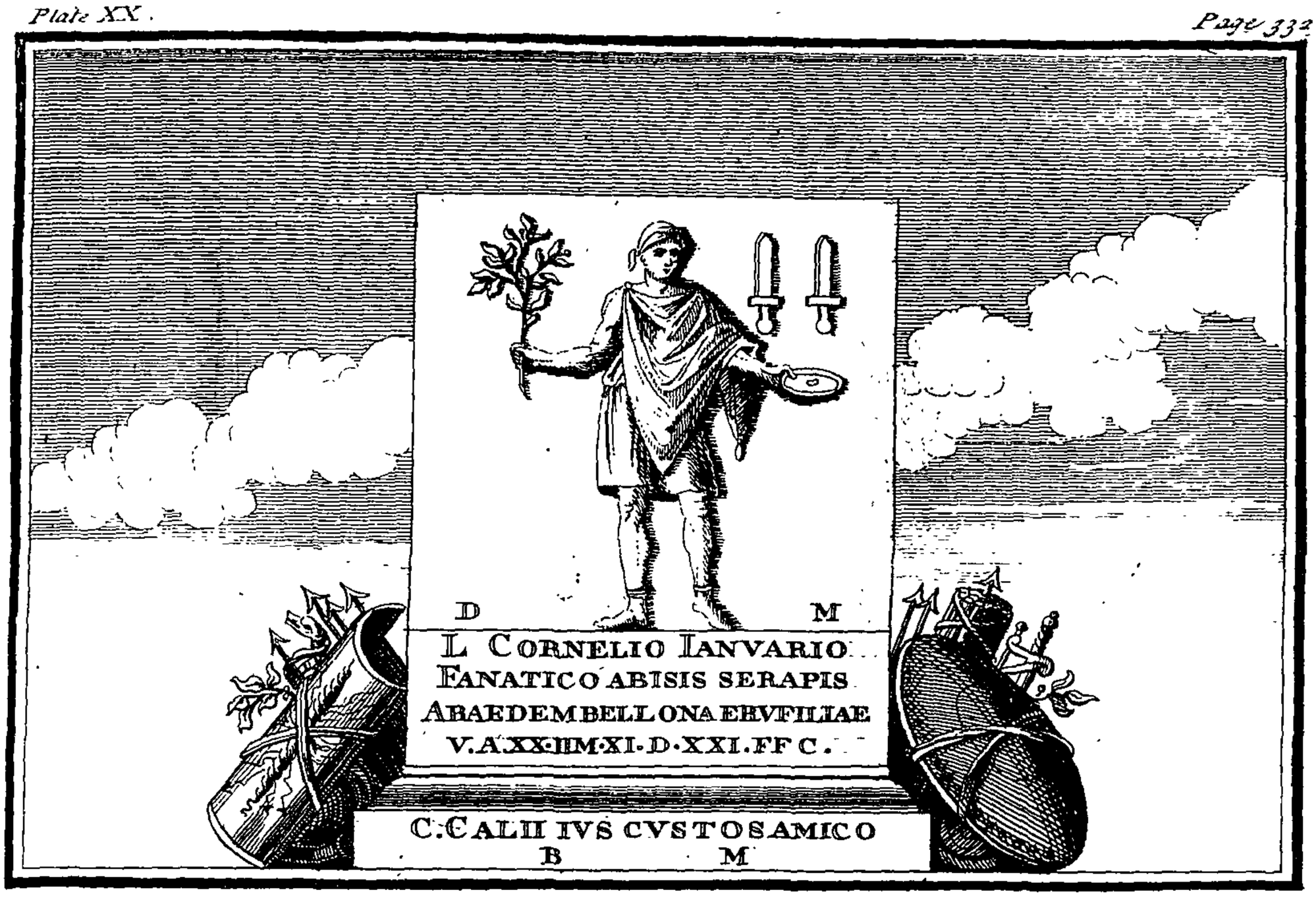
§. XXV. AND now, their having reaped an equal Share of Glory, united the two *Consuls*, whom Jealousy had divided. They agreed to act jointly, and employ all the Forces of *Rome* against *Hetruria*; but an unexpected Event called back *Volumnius* to his Province. It is indeed scarce credible, that the *Samnites* should be able to raise new Forces, and send them into the *Roman* Territory, after they had been so much exhausted: But nevertheless, it is certain, they did levy new Troops, which took their March thro' the 79 Territory of *Vescia*, in order to pass into *Campania*, which then belonged to the *Romans*. They sacked this fine Country with the more Ease, because the Commissions of *Fabius* and *Decius* were ready to expire; and *Volumnius* therefore hastened to succour the *Campani*. During his March, *Rome* was seized with a Pannick, as usual, upon the first News of this new Enterprize of the *Samnites*: And her Terror was increased, upon Reports, That since the Departure of *Volumnius*, *Hetruria* had recovered her Courage; That the *Lucumonies* were going to unite; That the General of the *Samnites* was preparing for new Battels; That the *Umbri* had Thoughts of deserting the Cause of *Rome*; and That the *Gauls* were earnestly pressed to declare against her. These Accounts intimidated the Senators, who ordered a general Suspension of all Civil Affairs. The Courts of Justice were shut up; and the Citizens were wholly employed in making new Preparations for the War. *P. Sempronius*, the *Prætor* who commanded in the City, made an extraordinary Levy of Troops there; The young Citizens, and Persons of free Condition, were not the only People inlisted; the military Oaths were administred even to old Men, of whom several *Manipuli* were raised, and to the Sons 80 of *Freedmen*: which done, the next Business was to fortify the City, and store it with Provisions. During these Alarms, *Volumnius* advanced gradually towards *Campania*; and was no sooner entered those fine Plains, at the Foot of Mount *Massicus*,

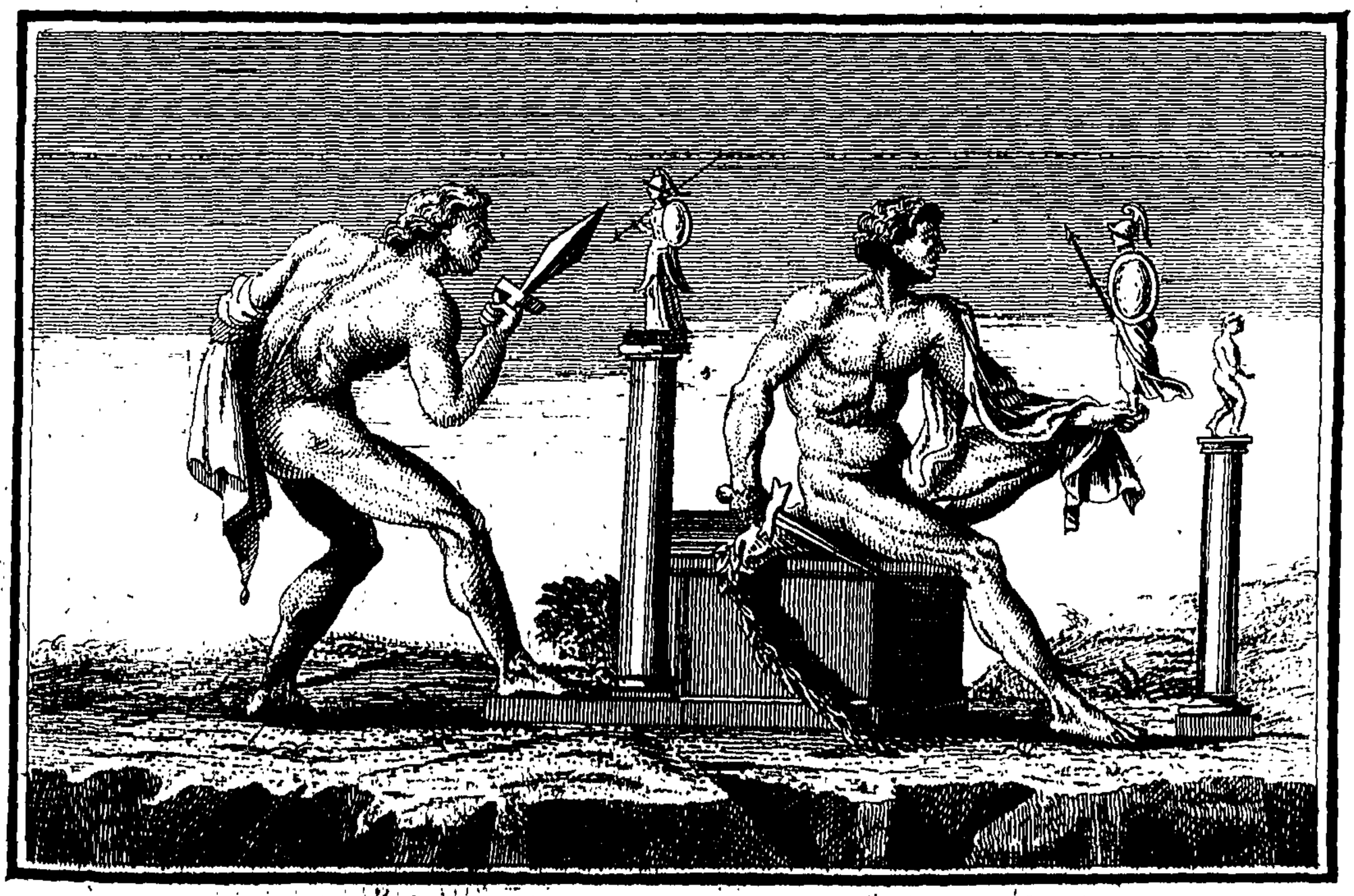
Liv. B 10. c. 20.

This was the Phanaticism, for which the Pagans reverenced the Priests of *Bellona*, who were therefore called *Fanatici*, by way of Distinction, as being inspired Persons, who did nothing, but what the Divine Spirit moved them to. The Ancients call them by no other Name. Thus *Juvenal*, *Satyr* 4. *Sed ut Fanaticus œstro Perculsus, Bellona, tuo.* The three *Bellonarii*, which we have engraven, according to the ancient Monuments, are agreeable to the Descriptions the Historians give us of them, both as to their Attitudes, and all other Particulars. The first Figure represents one CORNELIUS JANUARIUS, under the Title of the FANATICUS *of* ISIS, *of* SERAPIS, *and of* BELLONA. Near the second and third, stands the Pillar before described. An ancient Inscription, mentioned by *Gruter*, gives one QUINTUS CÆCILIUS, the Title of FANATICUS *of* BELLONA.

79 It will doubtless seem strange, that the new Army of the *Samnites* should take their Rout through the Lands of *Vescia*, which lay near the River *Liris*, in order to come into the Territory of *Falernum*, which lay between Mount *Massicus*, and the River *Vulturnus*, and consequently was nearer *Samnium*. It seemed natural to take the shortest Way, instead of marching a great way round about. The difference of these Roads is visible, by a Cast of the Eye on the Map. But these new Troops were neither numerous, nor strong enough, to dare attempt to pass through the Country of the *Volsci*, and *Aurunci*. They would have run great hazards in a Province, where the greatest Part of the Inhabitants were *Romans*. And as the *Samnites* found it for their Safety, not to go far from their Frontiers, so they did not think it proper to advance too far into *Campania*.

80 We have often observed already, that according to the *Roman* Laws, only Persons of free Condition had a Right to be incorporated in the *Legions*: and only such of these, as were of the five first *Classes* instituted by *Servius Tullius*, were commonly admitted into them. The *Capite-censi*, and *Proletarii* were generally excluded; only in great Emergencies, both they, and the *Freed-men*, and Slaves, were admitted. But the latter had their Liberty given them at the same time; and so acquired a considerable Advantage. They were put upon a foot with the other *Legionaries*; and after having served a stated time, could, in their turns, enjoy Honours, and military Offices.





Priests of Bellona.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLVII. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, Conſuls.

in the Diſtrict of *Cale*, but he was an Eye-witneſs of the terrible Ravages the *Samnites* had committed there. The Inhabitants informed him, that the *Samnites* were ſo loaded with Spoil, that they could ſcarce march in Order of Battel; and *their Deſign*, ſaid they, *is to march home to* Samnium, *to eaſe themſelves of their Prey*; *and then to return hither, to complete the Devaſtation of our Houſes and Eſtates.* The Ruin of ſo many poor Allies affected the *Conſul*; but tho' he believed the Report of the People of the Country, he was willing to get ſome further Aſſurances of the Condition of the Enemy. In order thereto, he ſent out ſome Horſe to make Diſcoveries; with Orders, to bring him all the *Samnites* they found diſperſed about the Country to plunder. He examined the Priſoners himſelf, and was by them informed, That the Enemy was encamped on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*; and That they were to march away from thence, in the middle of the Night following, in order to return to *Samnium*. Upon this Intelligence, *Volumnius* took his Meaſures like a skilful Commander. He advanced with his Troops ſo near the Enemy, as to be able to watch their Motions, but not near enough to be diſcovered by them. Before Day, he renewed his March; and drawing near the *Samnite* Camp, he ordered ſome of his Soldiers, who underſtood the *Oſcian* Language, which was ſpoken in *Samnium*, to enter it. Theſe Spies, who were not diſcovered in the Night, and in the Hurry of decamping, brought the *Conſul* word, That the firſt Battalions were already gone; That the greateſt part of the Army had laid aſide their Arms; That the Booty, and its Guard, were defenceleſs, and in a manner without Commanders; That they were for the moſt part a Company of contemptible Wretches, who were very intent upon preſerving their Rapines, and had little Reſolution to fight; and laſtly, who had ſcarce any good Underſtanding among one another, or Deference for their Leaders. *Volumnius* therefore thought this the critical Time to begin the Attack, for the Day appeared; and he fell unexpectedly on the advanced Guard, which was not prepared even for its own Defence. Some of the *Samnites* were armed; others were not. The latter haſtened their Pace, and drove thoſe who had the Booty, before them; the former deliberated, whether it were beſt for them to return to the Camp, or advance; and whilſt they were heſitating, and conſulting what to do, the *Romans* fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. After this, the *Conſul* marched his Army towards the Camp, to beſiege it; and it was no ſooner attacked but taken. The *Romans* were already upon the Rampart; every thing was already in Confuſion, and the Slaughter begun in the Enemy's Trenches, when the *Campani*, whom the *Samnites* had taken Priſoners, increaſed the Tumult, and favoured the *Romans*. The firſt of theſe Captives who broke their Chains, delivered their Companions, and all together ſeized the Arms, tied up in Bundles, which they readily found, and made uſe of them for their own Deliverance. Theſe deſperate Men made a greater Slaughter in the Center of their Camp, than the *Romans* did in the Battel; and they made a bold Attempt, which did them much Honour. They ſurrounded *Minatius Stajus*, one of the Chiefs of the *Samnites*, as he was riding thro' the Ranks of his Army; diſperſed his Guard, ſeized him, and brought him to the *Conſul*. In the mean time, the Advanced-Guard, which the *Romans* had only in part defeated, returned to the Camp to defend it, and upon their Arrival, the Battel became more bloody than before; but this Ardour was ſoon abated. The *Romans* killed about ſix thouſand *Samnites* in the Action, and took two thouſand five hundred Priſoners, among whom were four *Tribunes*. They had the Pleaſure of taking thirty Colours from the Enemy; and the much greater Satisfaction of having broken off the Chains of ſeven thouſand four hundred *Campani*, who were ready to be condemned to Slavery. All the Booty the *Samnites* had taken in *Campania*, being alſo recovered, the Inhabitants of the pillaged Places were aſſembled, and as every one knew his own Effects, they were reſtored to him. Thoſe Goods which were not owned in a certain time, were diſtributed among the *Roman* Soldiers; who, by the General's Order, ſold them, leſt they ſhould be too much incumbered with them.

THE News of this complete Victory calmed the Minds of the People in *Rome*; and publick *Supplications* [81] were there ordered to be offered up, in the Name, and

81 Theſe publick Prayers were called by the *Romans*, *Supplicationes*. They were appointed by the Senate to appeaſe the Wrath of the Gods, or to put a ſtop to a contagious Diſtemper, or other great Calamity; but chiefly, by way of Thankſgiving for a Victory, or the Succeſs of any Enterprize, which had

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Appius Claudius Cæcus, L. Volumnius Flamma Violens, Conſuls.

to the Honour, of *Volumnius*. All the Temples were opened, and the People crowded to them with Joy. Civil Affairs, which had been interrupted for eighteen Days were again carried on, as uſual: And it being then taken into Conſideration, what would be the moſt proper Means to ſecure the Country the *Samnites* had ſo lately ravaged, from their Incurſions for the future; it was deemed proper to ſettle two *Colonies*, one at the Mouth of the *Liris*, called *The Colony of Minturnæ*; and another in a City built by the *Greeks*, formerly called *Sinope*, and now [82] *Sinueſſa*. Purſuant to this Reſolution, the *Tribunes of the People* drew up a Law, commanding *Sempronius* the *Prætor*, to nominate three Commiſſaries for each *Colony*, to conduct them to their reſpective Places, and diſtribute ſome Lands among them, for their Property. But it was obſerved, that the Populace were not very fond of theſe new Settlements. They looked on this Part of *Campania*, as a Country infeſted with Enemies, which would oblige them to be continually under Arms, and not give them time to cultivate their Lands. Inſomuch, that tho' the Law was paſſed, it was not put in Execution till the Year following. Matters of greater Importance employed the Republick for the preſent; not barely Reports, but certain Advices, were brought, that the *Hetrurians* had concluded a League with the *Samnites*, *Umbri*, and *Gauls*. The Armies of theſe four Nations were already aſſembled in two Camps; and *Appius* was left alone in *Hetruria*, to make Head againſt this great Number of Enemies.

§. XXVI. In the mean while, the Time drew near for aſſembling the *Comitia* for Elections; and *Appius*'s Preſence being neceſſary in *Hetruria*, it was not thought proper to recall him, to preſide in them. *Volumnius* therefore returned to *Rome*, held the Aſſembly in the *Campus Martius*, and before the *Centuries* entered into the Voting-Place, he made this Harangue. *I have known by Experience of what Importance the War is, with which you are threatened in* Hetruria. *Both* Appius *and myſelf together, were ſcarce able to reſiſt the Force of the Enemies which we had upon our Hands the laſt Year. One General was not ſufficient for ſo perilous an Undertaking. What then is to be thought of the next Campaign? Two new Nations have already joined thoſe, which ſo much alarmed us. The* Umbri, *and the* Gauls *have joined the* Samnites *and* Hetrurians, *and the Number of your Enemies increaſes as faſt as your Glory. Conſider then the Importance of making a good Choice. You muſt find out two Men who are well qualified to make Head againſt four Armies. For my own part, I would, of my own Authority, nominate a* Dictator, *were I not perſuaded that you will commit the Management of Affairs to none but the greateſt Generals in* Rome. Theſe Words turned all Mens Thoughts and Inclinations to *Fabius*; and it was not to be doubted but this Great Man would be unanimouſly elected. The firſt *Centuries* had already declared in his favour, and given him *Volumnius* for his Collegue; but the Difficulties he himſelf ſtarted, about his Election, ſuſpended the voting of the laſt *Centuries* for ſome time. *Fabius* excuſed himſelf, as he had formerly done, on account of his Age, and the Regard he had for the Laws. But it was replied, That the Neceſſity of Affairs, and the unanimous Conſent of the People, ought to make him ſacrifice his Reluctancy to the Love of his Country: And he at length ſubmitted to bear the Burden which was laid upon him, provided he might have his faithful *Decius* for his Collegue. *Decius*, ſaid he, *is the only Man who can ſupply the Defects of my old Age. His Proceedings in the two* Conſulſhips, *and the* Cenſorſhip, *in which we were Colleagues, have ſatisfied me that we ſhall act with Harmony. And what Advantages has not the Republick Reaſon to expect from thence? Men of my Age are hardly brought to comply with the Temper of thoſe they don't know. But I ſhall find leſs*

had proved advantageous to the Republick. Then the Temples were opened, and all Orders of Men viſited them with great Ceremony. Theſe pompous Marches have been adopted into Chriſtianity, and conſecrated in the Church of *Rome*, under the Name of *Proceſſions*. During theſe Solemnities, the whole City rung with joyful Acclamations. Nothing was any where heard, but Hymns ſung to Inſtruments of Muſick. The Altars ſtreamed with the Blood of Victims, and the Feſtival ended with *Sports*, and publick Rejoicings. In a word, the Courts of Juſtice were ſhut up, and it was thought an Offence againſt Religion, to do any ſervile Work on theſe Days See *p.* 496. of the firſt Volume, *Note* 146.

82 The ancient City of *Sinueſſa* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable, in the Country of the *Aurunci*. It ſtood beyond the River *Liris*, now the *Garigliano*, nine or ten Miles from *Minturnæ*. It has now been utterly deſtroyed for ſeveral Ages. Modern Geographers think it was not far from the Caſtle, which is commonly called, in the Language of the Country, *Rocca di Monte Dragone*. There are indeed ſome Footſteps of a great City, near that Place.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. Appius Claudius Cæcus, L. Volumnius Flamma Violens, Consuls.

Difficulty in discloſing my Sentiments, and communicating my Deſigns, to a Man with whom I have been ſo long acquainted. Upon this, *Volumnius*, who preſided in the Aſſembly, was, by *Fabius*'s Demand, deprived of the *Conſulſhip* deſigned him; and the Preference given by *Fabius*, to his old Collegue, was indeed a kind of Affront to him. But Ambition, and Delicacy in point of Honour, then gave way to the publick Good. *Volumnius* approved of *Fabius*'s Requeſt; and made a fine Encomium on *Decius*, to the *Centuries*; but inſiſted chiefly on the great Advantages which would flow from the Harmony of two Generals, who were in ſuch ſtrict Friendſhip. *Alas!* added he, *to what Dangers did the Conteſts that aroſe between* Appius *and me, expoſe the Republick!* And then, with the Mein and Gravity of a *Conſul*, he gave *Fabius* and *Decius* this ſerious Advice. *Live together*, ſaid he, *in a perfect good Underſtanding; and let Jealouſy never put you at Variance. You are both Great Men; and don't make Glory to conſiſt in talking prettily. You know how to fight with your Arms, better than with your Tongues. Theſe are Men worthy of the* Conſulſhip! *As for your great Speakers, the fine Orators who are ſo learned in the Laws, they are only fit to reſide in the City, in the Quality of* Prætor, *and adminiſter Juſtice there.*

The whole Day was ſpent in Harangues, and Conferences; ſo that the Elections were poſtponed till the next Day. Then *Fabius* and *Decius*, tho' both abſent, were proclaimed *Conſuls*; and *Appius*, who was then in *Hetruria*, was conſtituted *Prætor*. As for *Volumnius*, he gained more Glory in the *Comitia*, than if he had been choſen *Conſul*; and he was confirmed General of the Army he had commanded in *Samnium*, and declared *Proconſul* for that Province. His Commiſſion ran for the whole Year; and it was confirmed both by Senate and People. However, as his *Conſulſhip* was not yet expired, and his Succeſſors were only appointed for the next Year, it was in his Time that many Prodigies appeared, which filled the ſuperſtitious *Romans* with Dread. In this Criſis of an approaching terrible War, the People took Notice of the leaſt uncommon Events, and thought them Preſages: and in order to avert the Scourges with which they imagined themſelves to be threatened, the Senate ordered *Stations*, in all the Temples; and they were opened, and frequented. The Wine and Incenſe for the Sacrifices was paid for, out of the publick Treaſury; and theſe publick Acts of Devotion gave Riſe to a Quarrel between the *Roman* Ladies, and occaſioned the building of a new Temple. In the Ox-Market, near the Altar of *Hercules*, was a Temple built to the Honour of *Patrician* [83] *Chaſtity*; and none of the Wives of the *Plebeians*, how illuſtrious ſoever their Husbands might be, were permitted to go into it, much leſs perform the Functions of Prieſteſſes there. Nevertheleſs, *Aula Virginia*, the Wife of the *Conſul Volumnius*, claimed a Right of aſſiſting at the Ceremonies which were there performed for the *Patrician* Ladies. She was herſelf deſcended from the greateſt of the Nobility, tho' ſhe had married a *Plebeian*; and as her Husband was *Conſul*, and ſhe was noble by Birth, ſhe had the Confidence, to offer herſelf, to be admitted to the ſame Sacrifice, with



Silver.

[83] The *Romans*, after the Example of the *Greeks*, made every Attribute they conceived to belong to the ſupreme Being, a diſtinct Divinity. They carried the Dreams of Polytheiſm ſo far, as to deify Virtues and Vices. Thus every thing, which ought to have been the Object of their Imitation, or Averſion, became, by a ſtrange Prepoſterouſneſs, the Object of their Homage, and Worſhip. Thus they madly paid divine Honours to Chastity. We find it repreſented on ſeveral Medals, under the Figure of a Goddeſs, with this Inſcription, Pudicitia. In the firſt of thoſe above, this pretended Divinity is drawn in the Poſture of a modeſt Woman. She holds up her Hand towards her Face, and points to it with her Finger, to ſhew, that that is the principal Seat of Modeſty and Chaſtity. In the ſecond, we ſee two Doves placed, one by the Right, and the other by the Left, Shoulder of the Goddeſs. Theſe two Animals were, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 10. *c.* 34. the Symbols of conjugal Chaſtity. *Pudicitia illis prima, & neutri nota adulteria, conjugii fidem non violant, communemque ſervant domum.*

the

Year of ROME CCCCLVII.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, Conſuls.

the Wives of the Nobles. But notwithſtanding her Husband's high Poſt, ſhe was made to know, that ſhe had degraded herſelf by marrying into a *Plebeian* Family. She was refuſed Entrance into the Temple; and ſhe in vain urged, that being a Woman of Honour, and a *Patrician*, ſhe had a Right, to bear her Part in the Worſhip paid to *Chaſtity*. *What*, ſaid ſhe, *is my Honour ſuſpected? Was I meanly born, or have I married two Husbands?* (Second Marriages [84] were then ſo great a Blemiſh on the *Roman* Women, that it excluded them the Temple of *Chaſtity*.) *Beſides, I don't at all repent of my Choice. The Husband I have married, has been more than once deemed worthy of the higheſt Office in the Republick.* But this made no Impreſſion on the Women, who were proud of not having married beneath themſelves; and *Virginia* was excluded from their religious Aſſembly. Upon which ſhe took a Reſolution, for which the Ancients commend her. Her Houſe ſtood in a Street called *The Long Street*; ſhe divided a Part of it from the reſt, in order to make it a Temple to *Plebeian Chaſtity*; and ſhe conſecrated an Altar there herſelf. She aſſembled the *Plebeian* Women of Diſtinction, which were grown very numerous ſince the *Plebeians* had been admitted into the chief Dignities; and after ſhe had expreſſed to them her Reſentment at the Pride of the *Patrician* Women, ſhe ſaid; *We alſo will have a Temple, wherein we will hold our Aſſemblies, to honour the Virtue which is ſo dear to us. I conſecrate this Sanctuary* To Plebeian Chaſtity. *Let us ſhew as great an Emulation to excel the* Patrician Women *in Chaſtity and Modeſty, as our Husbands do, to equal the* Patrician Conſuls *in military Exploits. Let us ſo behave ourſelves, that the Goddeſs may be ſerved here with purer Hands than any where elſe.* Ceremonies were inſtituted in this Place, much like thoſe eſtabliſhed in the firſt Temple built to *Chaſtity*; and this Fervour continued for ſome time: but at length, Women of little Merit, and doubtful Characters, were admitted into it; the Aſſembly ſunk into Diſgrace; and no more mention was made of *Plebeian Chaſtity* in *Rome*.

AT the ſame time, ſeveral other Temples were enriched by pecuniary Mulcts. Two *Ogulnii* were now *Curule Ædiles*, and they ſhewed their Zeal for the publick Good, by ſearching after the Uſurers, who ruined the People, under pretence of doing them Service. Their Goods were confiſcated to the Uſe of the publick Treaſury, and with the Money they ſold for, were bought, a brazen Gate for the *Capitol*; Silver-Plate enough for three Tables, in the Sacrifices of *Jupiter*; a Statue [85] of this God, in a Chariot drawn by four Horſes, which was erected at the

84 Among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, it was thought diſhonourable for a Woman to marry twice. They judged it to be a criminal Incontinence, and a kind of tacit Breach of the Promiſes made in her firſt Marriage; and the Pagan Theology gave a great Sanction to this Opinion. A Woman was then ſuppoſed accountable to the *Manes* of her firſt Huſband, for the Fidelity ſhe had ſworn to him: and it is in this Senſe, that *Virgil* makes *Dido* the Widow of *Sichæus*, ſay, in his fourth *Æneid*,

Ille meos primus, qui me ſibi junxit, amores,
Abſtulit; ille habeat ſecum, ſervetque ſepulchro.

Penelope in *Homer*, is courted by a Crowd of Lovers, and ſhe obſtinately reſiſts all their Sollicitations, tho' they endeavour all they can to convince her, that *Ulyſſes* is dead. She continues inflexible, in order to preſerve her Character, as ſhe herſelf declares, and for fear ſhe ſhould break the ſacred Bands which ſtill, as ſhe ſuppoſed, united her to the *Manes* of her Husband. This Credulity was carried ſo far, that the dead Husband was thought to be ſollicitous about keeping the Love and Affections of his Wife wholly to himſelf; and in conſequence of this ridiculous Perſuaſion, a ſecond Marriage was thought to give him Grief and Confuſion, even in the Regions of the Dead. Hence *Juſtinian* ſays, *Paragr. qua modo de Nupt.* ..... *Anima mariti defuncti ſecundis nuptiis contriſtatur. Valerius Maximus* expreſſes himſelf in ſuch a manner, on this Subject, as to ſhew us what were the Sentiments of the Pagans, tho' brought up in a Religion, which conſecrated Debauchery. *Quæ uno contentæ matrimonio fuerunt, corona pudicitiæ honorabantur. Exiſtimabant enim eum præcipuæ matronæ ſincera fide incorruptum eſſe animum, qui depoſitæ virginitatis cubile pudicum egredi neſciret. Multorum matrimoniorum experientiam illegitimæ cujuſdam intemperantiæ ſignum eſſe credentes.* Above all, particular care was taken, that the Women who preſided at the Concluſion of Marriages, under the Name of *Pronubæ*, ſhould have had but one Husband. A happy Preſage was drawn from them, in favour of the Bride; and it was taken for granted, that even Death itſelf would never break thoſe Obligations, which were entered into, under the *Auſpices*, and with the Aſſiſtance of a Woman, who had continued faithful to her firſt Promiſes. *Prónubæ*, ſays *Feſtus*, *adhibebantur Nuptiis, quæ ſemel nupſerant, Matrimonii perpetuitatem auſpicantes. Tertullian*, *B.* 13. of his *Exhortation to Chaſtity*, makes uſe of theſe Prepoſſeſſions of the Pagans, to decry ſecond Marriages. *Monogamia apud Ethnicos in ſummo honore eſt, ut & virginibus legitime nubentibus, univira pronuba adhibeatur.*

85 *Plutarch* tells us, in his *Life of Poplicola*, that the *Romans* had, in *Poplicola*'s time, erected on the Top of the *Capitol*, a Statue of *Jupiter* drawn in a Chariot by four Horſes; but it was made only of baked Earth. *Tarquin*, ſays he, was yet upon the Throne, when he ordered the Temple of *Jupiter* to be built on the *Capitol*; and before it was built, he had formed a Deſign of adding to the Majeſty of it, by placing a Statue of *Jupiter* in a Chariot drawn by four Horſes, on the Ridge of it. This Statue was to be made of baked Earth, and he

the Entrance into this Temple; and a [86] *Bas-relief* repreſenting *Romulus* and *Remus* ſucking the Wolf. The latter was fixed near the [87] *Ficus Ruminalis*, that is, the Place whither, according to Tradition, the Twins were carried by the Stream, and thrown on Shore. With the ſame Money the *Ædiles* likewiſe paved a Way from *The Gate* [88] *Capena* to the Temple [89] of *Mars*, with great hard ſquare Stones.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLVII. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, Conſuls.



he committed it to the Care of ſome *Tuſcan* Workmen of *Veii*; but ſoon after this, he was expelled *Rome* for his Tyranny: and by a ſudden Revolution, the Regal Power was baniſhed, and the Government entirely changed. Nevertheleſs, the Workmen, when they had formed the Chariot, put it into the Oven to bake it: and then by a ſtrange Prodigy, the dried Earth inſtead of ſhrinking, ſwelled, and extended itſelf ſo much, that the Work could not be taken out whole, without beating down the Oven; and even ſo, it was difficult to remove this great Maſs, without doing it damage. The Diviners were conſulted about this Event, which was thought contrary to the ordinary Courſe of Nature; and they thought it a Decree of Fate. The Gods, ſaid they, promiſe boundleſs Power, and the utmoſt Proſperity to the People, who ſhall keep this precious *Depoſitum* in their Poſſeſſion. Upon this Anſwer, the *Veientes* did not care to deliver up their Work to the *Romans*. Their Pretence for their Refuſal was, that as *Tarquin* only had ſet them to work, it was not juſt to deprive him of what belonged to him, and give it to thoſe who had dethroned him. Some Days after, the *Veientes* celebrated ſolemn *Games*, and exerciſed themſelves in Chariot-Races. The Conqueror, who had been crowned as uſual, was driving his Horſes gently out of the Liſts, when all on a ſudden, the Horſes, ſeized with a ſudden Fright, held the Bitts faſt between their Teeth, and ran full ſpeed towards the City of *Rome*. It was out of the Power of him who drove them, to ſtop thoſe fiery Animals in their Courſe; they did not regard the Voice of their Maſter, drew him, whether he would or not, into the midſt of the *Capitol*; and there overturned him near a Gate called ever after *The Gate Ratumena*, from the Name of *Ratumenas*, who was the *Veian* who drove them. The Inhabitants of *Veii*, adds *Plutarch*, ſurprized at this extraordinary Accident, reſtored the *Romans* the Chariot, with which *Tarquin* intended to have adorned the *Capitol*. Whence it is natural to conclude, that this Chariot of baked Earth, was now changed for another of more valuable Materials, and, as we conjecture, of Braſs. *Pliny*, *B.* 28. *c.* 2. relates the ſame Story, which we have here borrowed from *Plutarch*.

86 The Monument erected by the *Ædiles* to perpetuate the Memory of the traditionary Fable of the Twins, is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that is now to be ſeen at *Rome*, in the Palace of The *Conſervatori*. *Dion. Hal.*'s Account of this Fable is as follows. There was a very thick Wood near the Bank where the *Tyber* caſt *Romulus* and *Rhemus* aſhore; and there was a Cave dug in the Rock out of which flowed a plentiful Spring. This Place is ſaid to have been conſecrated to *Pan*, who had an Altar there. The Wood is now deſtroyed: and nothing remains, but the Cave out of which runs a Spring, which waſhes the Foot of the Hill *Palatinus*, in the Way that leads to the *Circus*. Near it is a little Temple, and a very ancient Monument of Braſs, repreſenting the two Brothers under the Wolf, ſucking her. The *Romans*, in order to perpetuate the Memory of their Founders, have tranſmitted this Story to us, fabulous as it is, on Multitudes of Monuments, which are ſtill in being, and are every day found in the Ruins of ancient *Rome*. That above is taken out of the Cabinet of *Monſ. de la Chauſſe*. It repreſents the Shepherd *Fauſtulus*, the *Ficus Ruminalis*, and the City of *Rome*, under the Perſon of a warlike Divinity.

87 The *Ficus Ruminalis*, according to *Pliny*, was long held in great Veneration by the *Romans*. They called it ſo from the *Latin* Word *Rumen*, a *Teat*, which alludes to the fabulous Story of the Wolf, which *ſuckled Romulus* and *Remus*, whom the Stream had lodged under this wild Fig-Tree. Hence came the Name of *Rumina*, which the *Romans* gave to a Divinity of their own Invention, becauſe they ſuppoſed ſhe took care of Children at the Breaſt: and under this Perſuaſion, they made Libations of Milk to her, at certain Seaſons of the Year. As to the exact Place where this *Ruminal Fig-tree* was planted, it is of little Importance to know it. Moſt Writers place it in the *Comitium*, ſome in the *Forum Romanum*, ſome near the *Circus*. *Plutarch* ſays it ſtood in the Place, which was long afterwards called *Germalum*, or *Germanum*, from the Term *Germani*, which was proper for the two Brothers. And in order to reconcile theſe different Opinions, it may be obſerved, that all theſe Places were ſo near one another, that the Ancients might very well confound them with one another, and not intend to be underſtood in the ſtricteſt topographical Senſe.

88 See our Remarks on *The Gate Capena* above, *p.* 116. of this Volume, *Note* 75.

89 This Temple of *Mars* is the ſame the *Romans* vowed to erect to the Honour of this military God, when they were at war with the *Gauls*. *Titus Quintius* dedicated it, according to *Livy*, in the Year of *Rome* 367. It ſtood without the Walls, near *The Gate Capena*, at the beginning of *The Appian Way*, as we learn from *Ovid*, *Faſti*, *B.* 6.

Lux eadem Marti feſta eſt, quem proſpicit extra
Appoſitum tectæ porta Capena viæ.

Year of ROME CCCCLVII. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, Conſuls.

After their Example, *Ælius Pætus*, and *Fulvius Curvus*, two *Plebeian Ædiles* taxed the Country-People, who fed their Flocks on the publick Lands, to the Detriment of the Republick, which always reſerving to herſelf ſome of the conquered Lands, had now much encreaſed her Demeſnes; and this Tax was ſufficient to defray the Expences of ſome *Publick Games*, and to purchaſe ſome Gold-Cups, to be uſed in the Sacrifices offered up in the Temple of *Ceres*. Thus we ſee, the *Romans* inſenſibly introduced Luxury, in Matters of Religion at leaſt, ſince their late Conqueſts; and their primitive Simplicity began to diſappear.

Year of ROME CCCCLVIII. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, P. DECIUS MUS, Conſuls

§. XXVII. At length, the Time came for *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* to enter upon their *Conſulſhips*; the former the fifth, the latter the fourth time. It was indeed cuſtomary for the new *Conſuls* to caſt Lots for their reſpective Provinces; but it was now natural enough to ſuppoſe, that *Decius* would compliment *Fabius* with the Command in *Hetruria*, where the Strength of the War would lye. The Gratitude he owed to this illuſtrious Friend, the Age, Birth, and ſuperior Merit of *Fabius*, that happy Peace and Concord which all Orders of Men in the State expected to reign between the two Generals, and in ſhort, the Sweetneſs of *Decius*'s Diſpoſition, and the great Reſpect he had all along ſhewn to *Fabius*, all theſe things made it generally believed, that the Beginning of that Office could not be ſpent in Diſputes. But how difficult is it for a Man to avoid being carried away with the Stream of a Faction, in which he once engages! The *Patricians* made it a Point of Honour, that *Fabius* ſhould not give up the Command of the Army in *Hetruria*, to any Perſon whatſoever; and the *Plebeians*, on the other hand, would not ſuffer a Point to be uſurped upon them, which might have ill Conſequences. They were, doubtleſs, fearful, leſt the *Conſul* choſen out of the Nobility ſhould for the future claim a Right of chuſing his Province, without drawing Lots; and the pacifick *Decius* was as it were compelled, in ſpight of himſelf, to give way to the Tyranny of his Party. He therefore contended, that it ought to be determined by Lot, whether *Fabius* or he ſhould command in *Hetruria*; and the Affair was firſt brought before the Senate. But it not being to be expected that *Decius*, who was a *Plebeian*, ſhould gain his Point there, it was afterwards brought before the People. The *Comitia* were aſſembled, and the two Competitors ſpoke, each for himſelf, not indeed like Orators, but like Soldiers. *I have planted a Tree*, ſaid *Fabius, and ſhall another gather the Fruit of it? I am the firſt who by Force of Arms opened a Way croſs the* Ciminian *Foreſt; and is it not juſt that I ſhould finiſh what I have begun? If the Republick had not intended this, why did ſhe preſs a Man of my Age to appear again at the Helm of Affairs? Did I make myſelf an Adverſary, when I choſe myſelf a Collegue? But after all, I am content to make War in whatever Place I ſhall be thought worthy to command. I would have obeyed the Deciſion of the Senate; and will without Difficulty ſubmit to the Determination of the People.* Then *Decius* ſpoke, rather like a Man actuated and ſpirited up by his Party, than like one who acted upon Views of private Intereſt. *The* Patricians, ſaid he, *have uſed their utmoſt Endeavours, to exclude us from the greateſt Dignities; but nevertheleſs, the* Plebeians *have been promoted to them. The preſent Attempt is to rob us of the chief Prerogative of thoſe Dignities. The Republick has hitherto kept the two* Conſuls *upon a perfect Equality, with regard to one another, and their reſpective Employments have been no otherwiſe determined than by Lot. But now the* Patricians *would, by an Act of Power, give* Fabius *the moſt honourable Command. Did the Queſtion relate only to the augmenting his Glory, both the State and myſelf are too much indebted to him, to diſpute with him the Honours he has merited. But in the preſent caſe, he cannot gain his Point, unleſs at the Expence of the* Conſular *Office. Arbitrarily to give him the Preference before me, and appoint him to carry on the only War which is of Importance, is to judge me incapable of ſucceeding in it. It is ſaid,* Fabius *firſt opened a Way into* Hetruria; *and perhaps it is reſerved for me to finiſh the Conqueſt of it; and to extinguiſh that Fire which he left covered, but not entirely put out. In any other Conteſt about Precedence, I would pay all due Deference to the Age and Dignity of* Fabius; *but, with regard to braving Danger, and marching to an Engagement, I will yield to no Man. If the People give it againſt me, I ſhall at leaſt have the Satisfaction of not having been judged by the Senate, which is an incompetent Court for ſuch a Cauſe, and always partial in the Affair of a* Patrician. *If they determine*

Liv. B. 10. c. 24.

determine that our Provinces ſhall be aſſigned us by Lot, I intreat the Gods not to let Hetruria *fall to me, unleſs they know me capable of maintaining the Glory of the* Roman *Name there. But whatever happens, this will be a good Example for future Elections, to ſhew, that either of the* Conſuls *you have choſen, is capable of ſuſtaining the Weight of a dangerous War.*

Year of ROME CCCCLVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus; P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

When *Decius* had ended his Diſcourſe, *Fabius* made no Reply, but in theſe few Words, which are ſtrong in Senſe, and ſhew how much he depended on the Eſteem of the Publick. *I deſire you,* Romans, *to read* Appius's *Letters before you determine*; which ſaid he left the Aſſembly. There was ſomething very ſublime in this Stroke, and all the *Romans* muſt have perceived it. In the Letters *Appius* had lately written from *Hetruria,* he painted the Danger with which the Publick was threatened, in a lively manner, and gave a particular and frightful Account of the four Armies, which were ready to fall upon *Rome.* The bare Relation of the Danger was therefore ſufficient to induce the *Romans* to have Recourſe to the ſureſt Remedy; and the People inſtantly determined, that *Fabius* ſhould be entruſted with the Affairs in *Hetruria,* and the Safety of the Republick not expoſed to the Hazard of Lots. This Declaration of the *Comitia* was unanimous, as that of the Senate had been; and as ſoon as *Fabius* was declared General in *Hetruria,* all the Youth were earneſt to march under the Conduct of ſo great a Commander. They preſſed to be inliſted in his Troops; but *Fabius* would not receive all that offered themſelves. Perhaps he deſigned to diſpel the publick Fears, by theſe open Marks of his own Confidence; or perhaps he did not think the Danger ſo great as it was repreſented; or elſe, he might perhaps diſſemble the preſent Exigencies of Affairs, to prevent an Aſſociate's being joined with him. But whatever was his Motive, he declared he would carry with him no larger a Reinforcement into *Hetruria,* than four thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe. *Thoſe only,* ſaid he, *which ſhall be inliſted to day, and to morrow, ſhall go with me. I am little concerned about having a numerous Army; all my Concern is, to bring it back to the City, loaded with Riches.* He therefore ſet out with a Body of Men, who made an handſome Appearance, and who were the leſs afraid of the Enemy, for their General's declining to multiply his Troops. At the Head of this little Body, *Fabius* marched along the *Tyber,* entered *Umbria,* and came and encamped near the Town of [90] *Arna,* not far from the Enemy; and from thence he continued his March to the *Roman* Camp, which the fearful *Appius* was ſtill ſtrengthning with new Fortifications.

Some Miles from *Arna, Fabius* met a Detachment of *Romans,* who were going, under a ſtrong Guard, to cut Wood, in a neighbouring Foreſt; and upon the Sight of the *Lictors,* who marched before the *Conſul,* theſe Soldiers concluded, that *Fabius* was coming to the Camp, to take upon him the Command of the Army. Upon this, they could not ſtifle their Joy; they hoped Affairs would take a better Turn, under an able General; and approaching *Fabius,* they ſaluted him, returning Thanks both to the Gods, and the Republick, for putting him at the Head of them. *Where are you going, Fellow-Soldiers?* asked *Fabius*; and they anſwered, *To a Foreſt to cut Wood, to fortify the Camp. What is it not already palliſaded?* replied the General. *Doubtleſs it is,* returned the Soldiers, *and we are entrenched up to our Chins. We are ſurrounded with a double Ditch, and a double Rampart; and yet we are ſtill afraid. Since that is the Caſe,* added *Fabius, return to the Place from whence you came. Spare yourſelves the Trouble of cutting new Palliſades; and not only ſo; but as ſoon as you return, level the firſt Entrenchment before the Camp, the throwing up of which ſavours too much of Cowardice.* The Detachment obeyed the Orders of the new General, and as ſoon as they returned, levelled the firſt Rampart, and filled up the firſt Ditch; which unexpected Step cauſed an Uneaſineſs in the Camp, and gave *Appius* ſuch a Fright, as he could not recover, till the Workmen informed him, that they were obeying *Fabius*'s Orders, who would ſoon be at the Army. Accordingly, he arrived the ſame Day; and the next, *Appius* ſet out for *Rome,* to take Poſſeſſion of the *Præ-*

[90] The Town, or rather little City of *Arna,* ſtood in *Umbria,* in the extreme Parts of *Tuſcany,* at a little diſtance from the *Tyber,* over-againſt *Perufia,* or *Perufium.* Some Authors give it the Name of *Aharna.* The Natives now call it *Civitella d'Arno.*

Year of ROME CCCCLVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

torſhip, which had been aſſigned him. This was an Employment which better ſuited to his Capacity, than that of directing the Motions of an Army, againſt ſo great a Number of Enemies.

§. XXVIII. The Conduct of the new General was entirely different from that of his Predeceſſor. *Fabius*'s Maxim was, that it was dangerous for a General to bury himſelf in his Entrenchments. *Troops*, ſaid he, *muſt often take the Air; nothing contributes more to their Health, than to be continually changing their Poſts.* He therefore ordered them, to take as long Marches, as could be compaſſed in the Cloſe of the Winter, the Rigour of which was not yet over; and he thereby gave his Soldiers an Air of Confidence, which they cannot have, when ſcreened by Ramparts. This he thought a noble Way of making War. As he paſſed thro' the Country, he made his Obſervations upon it, informed himſelf of the Situation of the Enemy, and their Strength, and took his Meaſures for opening the Campaign. But before the Seaſon would permit the Armies to enter upon Action, *Fabius* returned to *Rome*. This, ſome ſay he did, of his own Motion; finding, when upon the Spot, that the Enemy was more formidable, than he had thought them, when he was at a diſtance, he thought it neceſſary to conſult with the Senate upon the Operations of a War, in which it was of the laſt Conſequence to run great hazards. But others ſay, that he was recalled by the Order of *The Conſcript Fathers*, upon *Appius*'s having, ſince his Return, filled *Rome* with Terror, on account of the War in *Hetruria*. He was a great Orator, and eaſily communicated his imaginary Fears to others. He ſpoke in the Senate to the ſame effect, as he had written from the Camp. *It is a Miſtake*, ſaid he, *for any Man to imagine, that one General can make head againſt four Armies of the Enemy. Either they will act ſeparately, or elſe jointly, in Order to make the greater Efforts. If they ſeparate, how can one ſingle Commander be every where, and multiply himſelf ſo, as to be in different Places at the ſame time? And if they unite, 'tis ſtill worſe. I left only two* Legions *in* Hetruria; *and* Fabius *has carried to them no more than four thouſand ſix hundred Recruits. Are theſe enough to make head againſt the innumerable Multitude which threatens us? I am therefore of opinion, That* Decius *ſhould be diſpatched away, with all poſſible Expedition, to act in Concert with his Collegue; and That* Volumnius *ſhould be ſent into* Samnium, *in his room. Or if* Decius *perſiſts in keeping to his own Province, then I am of opinion, that* Volumnius *ought to be ordered to* Hetruria, *and placed at the Head of as great an Army, as if he was a* Conſul. This Diſcourſe of the *Prætor* began to incline the People to favour his Opinion; and then *Decius* ſpoke in his Turn, and was not unmindful of the Reſpect and Gratitude, which he owed to *Fabius*. *My Opinion is*, ſaid he, *that my Collegue ought to be left at full Liberty, to determine, concerning the Intereſt of the Republick, and the Wants of his Army. Let him come to* Rome, *if he can be ſpared from the Army, without Prejudice to the Publick, or elſe let him ſend one of his Lieutenant-Generals hither. He will inform us of the true Situation of Affairs; what Streſs is to be laid on the Rumours ſpread abroad in* Rome; *what Troops are wanted; and whether more than one General is neceſſary to command them.* And this ſo reaſonable an Opinion, and ſo full of Deference to *Fabius*, prevailed. Letters were written to the General in *Hetruria*, either to return himſelf, or ſend a Deputy to appear for him; and *Fabius* is ſaid to have choſen to appear in the Senate in Perſon: but before he left the Camp, he provided for the Safety of his Troops. He encamped the ſecond *Legion*, near *Old* [91] *Cluſium*, formerly called *Camers*, upon the Banks of the [92] *Clanis*; and gave the Command of it to *L. Scipio*, who was then [93] *Pro-Prætor* in the Province. *Fabius*'s Preſence at *Rome*, much

91 See our Account of the Situation of *Old* and *New Cluſium*, Vol. 1. *B.* 3. *p.* 113. *Note* 33. The former retained the Name of *Camers*, while it continued ſubject to the *Umbri*. But theſe having been driven beyond the *Tyber*, and the *Apennines*, by the *Pelaſgi*, they transferred the Name of their ancient City, to a new one which they founded, and called *Camerinum*.

92 The *Clanis* is now known by the Name of *La Chiana*, in the Territory of *Florence*. This River is ſwelled by ſeveral Springs, which form a great Marſh, which the *Latins* called *Clanis*, *Palus Cluſina*, *Lacus Cluſinus*, i. e. *The Marſh*, or *Lake of Cluſium*. One Part of it diſcharges itſelf into the *Arno*; the other falls into the *Paglia*, near *Orvieto*.

93 The Office of *Pro-Prætor* was not then confined to the Command of a Body of Troops in the Abſence of the General. It differed from that of *Pro-Conſul* in this; that the latter had a whole Ar- my

much abated the Uneaſineſs of the *Romans*. He appeared in the Senate, and he harangued the People; and every where ſpoke in ſuch a manner, as neither to increaſe the Fright of the Republick, nor to ſuffer her to ſleep in Security. He deſired a ſecond General might be joined with him; but inſinuated, that he did this, more out of regard to the Apprehenſions of the Publick, than any Neceſſity. And when this ſecond General came to be named, *Fabius* ſhewed, that the Conteſt he had had with *Decius*, had not in the leaſt diminiſhed his Eſteem for him. *I have not forgotten*, ſaid he to the People aſſembled, *the very good Underſtanding, in which* Decius *and I lived, when we were in the ſame Employments. In whom therefore can I more confide, than in him? In him alone, I ſhall have more Force than I want; and when we act jointly, we ſhall never have too many Enemies to engage with. But if my Collegue has other Views, and is unwilling to carry on the War in Conjunction with me, I conſent that* Volumnius *be ſent me in his ſtead.* *Rome* could not but be charmed, with the frank and diſintereſted Behaviour of her Generals. *Fabius*, on his part, was convinced of the Uprightneſs and Affection of *Decius*; and the latter, with regard to the Diſpoſal of his Perſon, ſhewed his Collegue as much Submiſſion, as the Senate and People did, when they left it wholly to him to determine, what ſhould be done in the preſent State of Affairs. *Decius* declared, he was ready, to go either to *Samnium*, or *Hetruria*, as *Fabius* pleaſed; and this Declaration was received with univerſal Applauſe. The Victory was no longer doubted of; and the two *Conſuls* were looked on as two Heroes, who were rather marching to a Triumph, than a Battel.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

But before they left *Rome*, the *Conſuls* aſſigned all the general Officers in their Armies their reſpective Poſts. They ſent away the *Pro-Conſul Volumnius* to *Samnium*, where he would find the ſecond and fourth *Legions* ready to obey him. Then, in order to cover the City on the Side of *Hetruria*, they pitched two Camps, one very near to *Rome*, on the Hill [94] *Vaticanus*, which was not a Part of the City; and the other a little farther off, in the Country of the *Faliſci*, on the Banks of the *Tyber*. *Cn. Fulvius* commanded in one of theſe Camps, and *L. Poſtumius* in the other; both in Quality of *Pro-Prætors*. As for *Appius*, he continued in the City, and there diſcharged the Office of *Prætor*; which was not confined to civil Affairs, but extended to the Command of Armies, in Caſes of Need.

§. XXIX. After theſe wiſe Regulations were made, *Fabius* and *Decius* ſet out together, for *Hetruria*; and were upon the Road when they received the News of the Defeat of the *Legion*, which *Fabius* had left under the Command of *Scipio*, in the Neighbourhood of *Old Cluſium*. The *Gauls* called *Senones*, who had long ſettled in *Italy*, came and attacked it, during the *Conſul*'s Abſence; and they being more numerous than his Troops, *Scipio* thought it neceſſary to get what Advantage of Ground he could. In order to this, he endeavoured to gain an Eminence, which the Enemy had already poſſeſſed themſelves of, by marching thither thro' a By-Road; but there the *Romans* were ſurrounded with *Gauls*, who attacked them in Front and Rear, and cut them in pieces.

Some Hiſtorians pretend, that this Defeat was ſo general, that there was not one *Roman* left to carry the News; and they add, but with little Probability, that the *Conſuls* knew nothing of it, till they drew near to *Cluſium*. There, ſay they, the *Roman* General ſaw the Cavalry of the *Gauls* returning from the Slaughter, ſinging, as uſual, after the Defeat of their Enemies, and with the Heads of the *Romans* fixed on the Tops of their Lances, or tied to the Breaſt-leathers of their

my under his Command, and a great Number of *Lictors* to attend him. We ſhall ſpeak more fully of the Power of *Pro-Conſuls*, and *Pro-Prætors*, when we come to thoſe Ages of the Republick, in which their Offices extended to the Government of the *Roman Provinces*.

94 The Hill *Vaticanus*, or *The Vatican*, which has been ſo well known, ſince the Popes have fixed their Reſidence upon it, was not then within the compaſs of the City. This Hill joined to the *Janiculus*, beyond the *Tyber*, over-againſt the *Campus Martius*. Its Air was formerly very unhealthy, on account of ſome Marſhes and ſtagnating Waters, which infected all the Neighbourhood. *Pliny* tells us, there was in his time, an old Oak, near *The Vatican*, which the Superſtition of the *Romans* had made venerable. There was an Inſcription on it, in *Hetrurian* Characters, ſhewing the Age of it. *Aulus Gellius* ſays, the Hill *Vaticanus* was ſo called, *a Vaticiniis*, that is, from *The Oracles* which were uttered on it; and *Feſtus* gives much the ſame Etymology to the Word *Vaticanus*.

Year of ROME CCCCLVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

Horſes. But be this Relation true or falſe, which the different Accounts of the Hiſtorians render uncertain, this at leaſt is ſure, that the Glory of this Action, which could not but be to the Advantage of the Enemies of *Rome*, ought only to be aſcribed to the *Gauls*, and not to the *Umbri*, as ſome Authors aſſert. *Livy* himſelf is obliged to acknowledge this; the bare Force of Truth extorted this Confeſſion from him, which otherwiſe his Hatred to the *Gauls* would not have ſuffered him to have made.

HOWEVER, the *Conſuls* were not diſcouraged at a Blow, which weak Minds would have thought an ill Preſage of the future Succeſs of the Campaign. They paſſed the *Apennines*, and came and encamped far up in *Umbria*, near *Sentinum*, a City which gave its Name to a River which watered it. The Troops of the Republick conſiſted of four *Legions*, a good Number of Squadrons of *Roman* Horſe, a choſen Body of a thouſand Horſe ſent by the *Campani*, and a Body of Auxiliaries more in Number than the *Roman* Army; beſides the two Camps the *Conſuls* had pitched in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*.

FABIUS and *Decius* divided the Army into two Parts, and encamped ſeparately; but within reach of one another, in the fine Plain of 95 *Sentinum*, about four Miles from the Enemy, who were much ſuperior in number. One Hiſtorian ſays, that in the Army of the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only, there were an hundred and forty thouſand three hundred and thirty Foot, and forty ſix thouſand Horſe; and if then the *Hetrurians* and *Umbri* equalled the *Gauls* and *Samnites* in number, this was the moſt terrible Army that had ever been ſeen in *Italy*. And as ſo great a Multitude could not be contained in one ſingle Camp, the *Samnites* encamped with the *Gauls*, and the *Hetrurians* with the *Umbri*. Being therefore ſeparated in their Poſts, the Enemy divided the approaching Battel between them, in this manner; they agreed, that the *Gauls* and *Samnites* only ſhould engage the *Romans*, whilſt the *Hetrurians* and *Umbri* attacked their two Camps, in the Heat of the Battel.

THIS was taking their Meaſures well; but they were diſconcerted. Three Deſerters came privately from *Cluſium*, in the Night, to inform *Fabius* of the Deſign of the Confederates. The General payed them well for their Information, and adviſed them to come often to him with the like Intelligence. As for him, he knew how to make his Advantage of it. He immediately diſpatched Couriers expreſs for the *Pro-Prætors Fulvius* and *Poſtumius*, who covered *Rome*, one on the Side of the Hill *Vaticanus*, the other in the Country of the *Faliſci*, ordering them to enter *Hetruria* immediately, and ravage it: And the Incurſions of the *Romans* had their deſigned Effect. The *Hetrurians* and the *Umbri*, who never ſeparated, ran together to ſuccour the many unfortunate People whoſe Lands and Houſes were ſacked; and then the *Conſuls* took Advantage of the Diverſion they had made. During the Abſence of the *Umbri* and *Hetrurians*, they skirmiſhed with the *Gauls* and *Samnites*, to bring them to a Battel. Theſe Skirmiſhes were frequent for two Days, without any great Loſs on either Side; but in theſe little Scuffles they always exaſperated one another; which paved the Way for a general Action. Till at length, the Enemy were ſo enraged that they reſolved on a general Battel the next Day; and this News both rejoiced the *Romans*, and increaſed their Ardour. They appeared in the Plain, and both Armies were facing one another, when one of thoſe unforeſeen Accidents happened, which are purely fortuitous, but which Superſtition abuſes, and turns into Preſages.

IT is ſaid that a Wolf, after having long chaſed a Hind, in a neighbouring Foreſt, drove her at laſt out of the Wood, and purſued her into the Plain where the Battel was going to be fought. The Sight of ſo many Men aſſembled, made the Wolf quit the Purſuit of her Prey; and he croſſed the Battalions of the *Romans*, who were pleaſed to ſee him run among their Ranks, and let him paſs without doing him any Harm. The Hind, on the other hand, took towards the Enemy's Army, where ſhe was ſtabbed with ſeveral Darts; and one of the *Roman* Soldiers, who was a Diviner, put his own Conſtruction on this Accident. *The timorous Animal*, ſaid he, *has carried her Fright and Flight with her to our Enemies.* Her

95 The City of *Sentinum* ſtood in *Umbria*, on the Frontiers of *Picenum*, in a Valley of the *Apennines*, at a little diſtance from the Springs of the *Æſis*, or *Eſino Fiume*. It is now called *Sentino*. *Ferrarius* gueſſes, that the City of *Saſſo Ferrato* was built out of the Ruins of *Old Sentinum*.

Year of ROME CCCCLVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

Blood which is ſpilt, preſages a great Slaughter. But as for us, how favourable an Augury ought we to draw from the intrepid Wolf's taking Refuge among our Soldiers? This is a generous Animal, conſecrated to Mars, *and puts us in mind of the Founder of* Rome, *who was ſuckled by a Wolf. Theſe Divinities inſpire us with their Courage, and hereby give us Reaſon to hope, that we ſhall vanquiſh our Enemies without any great Misfortune or Loſs.*

THE *Romans* were much affected with the Preſage, and it filled them with Confidence; and they no longer conſidered either the Valour or Multitude of the Enemy, with whom they were going to engage. The *Gauls* were in the right, and the *Samnites* in the left; ſo that *Fabius*, who commanded the right Wing of the *Romans*, faced the *Samnites*, and *Decius* was to engage the *Gauls*; and how much more formidable theſe were in Battel, than the reſt of the Confederates, will ſoon appear. Both Parties ſuſtained the firſt Onſet with equal Steddineſs; and the Reſiſtance of the Enemy made the *Romans* ſenſible, how neceſſary the Diverſion was, which they had made. Had they had all the four Armies to have engaged with at once, *Rome* might have been given up for loſt; ſhe would never have recovered the Blow ſhe would have received.

INDEED, the Advantage firſt appeared in favour of the *Gauls*, who faced the *Conſul Decius*. He was yet young, and very ardent for Victory. His Collegue was old; and his Experience, joined with the Phlegm of Age, had taught him to act with Temper, in the Beginning of an Action; in order to preſerve his Vigour to the End of it. Beſides, he knew that the *Samnites* he engaged with, never made but one briſk Attack; and that if he could ſtand this Shock, their Courage would ſoon abate. And, according to *Livy*, the *Gauls* had the ſame Fault: But what he adds concerning them, is ſcarce credible. He ſays, That their Bodies were not made for ſo hot a Climate, and that they melted at the violent Heat of the Sun. He doubtleſs confounds the Diſpoſition of the *Gauls*, when they firſt came into *Italy*, with that of the *Gauls* at this time. The latter had had time enough to become habituated to the Air of the Country, ſince thoſe who engaged *Decius* were the Grandſons, at leaſt, of them who firſt paſſed the *Alpes*. *Fabius* therefore, and *Decius*, conducted the Troops under their reſpective Commands, in a very different manner.

IN the right Wing, the *Romans* only ſtood on their own Defence, without giving any Aſſault. *Decius* in the left, exerted all his Vivacity againſt the *Gauls* immediately. *Brave Youths*, ſaid he to his Horſe, *what an Honour will it be for you, to begin the Victory in the left Wing!* And he had no ſooner ſaid theſe Words, but he put himſelf at the Head of a Squadron which was celebrated for its Bravery. The Cavalry of the *Gauls* twice made Head againſt that of the *Romans*, and was twice repulſed. Whether they gave way out of Deſign and Artifice, I am not able to determine: But it is at leaſt certain, that as ſoon as there was an empty Space left between the Armies, there enſued a new kind of fighting, which the *Gauls* had long practiſed, and was in uſe in their native Country, tho' we have not met with any Inſtance of it, in *Italy*. Some light Chariots with two Wheels, drawn by two Horſes, and other more heavy ones drawn by four, which were without doubt armed with Scythes and other murdering Inſtruments, ruſhed with Impetuoſity on the Conquerors.

THE Noiſe of the Wheels, and the Novelty of the Sight, affrighted the Horſes of the *Roman* Cavalry, and putting them into Diſorder, they were immediately diſperſed; and in this ſudden Flight, many Men and Horſes were loſt. Nor was this all; the ſame Chariots fell on the foremoſt Battalions of the *Romans*, and broke into their *Legions*. And no ſooner were they diſordered, but the Infantry of the *Gauls* fell upon them, and purſued them in their Rout, without giving them time to breathe. The *Conſul* in vain endeavoured to call back the Fugitives, with a loud Voice, and make them rally, *Whither are you running?* cried he, *Will Flight preſerve you from Danger?* When Soldiers are ſeized with a ſudden Pannick, the Voice of a General is not heard. *Decius* loſt all his Pains and Exhortations; and then remembered, how glorioufly his Father had ſaved his Country, and recovered the Victory to his Side, by voluntarily *devoting* himſelf to Death. He called upon his dear Father by Name, and cried out, *To die for the Preſervation of* Rome, *is the Fate of my Family. Why then do*

Year of ROME CCCCLVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

do I delay? What ſtops me? We Decii *are born to expiate and avert publick Crimes and Misfortunes. I will ſoon appeaſe the* Manes, *who are againſt us, by* devoting *to them all the Enemy's Army, with myſelf.* This ſaid, he immediately ordered *M. Livius*, who was one of the *Pontifices*, to be brought to him; for they attended the Armies, their Miniſtry at the Altars not being incompatible with military Employments. The *Pontifex* was not far off, for *Decius* had ordered him to keep near him in the Battel; and when he came, the *Conſul* commanded him to pronounce the Words uſed in *Devotements*, and repeated them after him. *I devote myſelf*, ſaid he, *and all the Enemy's Army, to the infernal Gods, for the Preſervation of the* Roman *People, and the Glory of our Arms.*

THIS was much the ſame Form of Words with that his Father had uſed, on the Banks of the [96] *Veſeris*, in the War with the *Latins*; and the Son uſed the ſame [97] Ceremonies, tucked up his Robe in the ſame manner, and offered up the ſame Prayers. *I carry with me to the Enemy*, cried he, *Terror and Diſorder, Murder and Slaughter, and the Anger both of the Celeſtial and Infernal Gods. Curſed be the Enſigns and Arms of the* Gauls *and* Samnites! *and may the Place on which I ſpill my Blood prove fatal to them!* At theſe Words, he rode full Speed into the thickeſt of the Enemy's Battalions, was immediately wounded in numberleſs Places, and the Victim left dead on the Plain.

AS ſtrange as it may appear, the Loſs of the General, which commonly produces the Rout of Armies, was a Means to rally the *Romans*. What Effects cannot Credulity and Prepoſſeſſion produce! They had the ſame Effect on the fugitive Soldiers, as the moſt evident Truths. They looked on their Enemies as ſo many Criminals, condemned to Death; and they returned to the Charge, as it were to put the Decrees of the Gods in Execution. The *Pontifex Livius* had been declared *Pro-Prætor* by *Decius*, before he delivered himſelf up to Death; and the *Conſul* had reſigned his *Lictors* to him, in Proof of the Command he gave him. *Livius* therefore made uſe of the Influence his Relation to Religion gave him, and of his Experience in War; and cried out, *We have conquered! The Death of* Decius *aſſures us of the Victory*; *the* Samnites *and* Gauls *are devoted to the* Manes, *and their Death is certain. The Soul of the Great* Decius *calls our Enemies to the infernal Regions after him*; *and the* Furies *have already ſeized them.* This ſaid, the military *Pontifex* immediately renewed the Battel with Fury.

DURING the Attack, two *Roman* Officers, detached from *a Corps de reſerve*, to ſuccour *Decius*, arrived; his Collegue yet knew nothing of his *devoting* himſelf, only ſaw ſome Diſorder in the left; and therefore ſent a Reinforcement to it. The Names of the Officers, who commanded this Troop, were *L. Cornelius*, and *C. Marcius*; and *Decius*'s Adventure was a Motive to them, to leave nothing unattempted, for the Preſervation of the Republick. They ſaw a Battalion of *Gauls* before them, who were cloſed, and covered with a Rank of their Bucklers, which they had placed before them. The Difficulty was, how to attack them cloſe, put them into Diſorder, and break through them. But nothing is too hard for Valour, conducted by Religion. The *Romans*, by their Commanders Orders, picked up all the Darts which were ſcattered about the Field of Battel, and threw them at the impenetrable Battalion. Some of theſe Darts were headed with long [98] ſharp Plates of Iron, others had ſhorter and more blunt Heads. The former pierced the Bodies of the *Gauls* through their Bucklers; the latter ſtuck in their Shields, and made them heavy; and, which is very ſurprizing, the Bucklers ſtuck with Darts were ſo heavy, that they weighed down thoſe who were not wounded: by which means, the Battalion was left expoſed, and was broken. Thus the Fortune of the *Romans* began to change, in their left Wing.

96 See our critical Remark on the Name of *Veſeris*, which ſome have given to a Town or City, others to a River, *B.* 16 *p.* 163. of this Volume, *Note* 50.

97 We have treated at large of the Ceremonies of *Devotements*, *B.* 16.

98 *Livy* calls theſe Darts *Veruta*. His Words are, *Quibus pleriſque in Scuta, Verutis in Corpora ipſa fixis, ſternitur Cuneus.* According to *Polybius*, this ſort of offenſive Weapon was three Cubits long. It was, according to *Feſtus*, in ſhape like a Spit. *Veruta Pila dicuntur, quod veluti Verna habeant præfixa.*

Year of ROME CCCCLVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, Consul.

In the right, *Fabius* had husbanded his Strength the greateſt Part of the Day, and had only faintly attacked the *Samnites*, or rather, only kept himſelf upon the defenſive. But when he perceived the Enemy did not ſhew the ſame Vigour in their Shouts to encourage one another, and no longer threw their Darts in any great Number, or with great Force, he judged that they were fatigued, and their Fire abated; and then he in his turn became the Aggreſſor. He ordered the Commanders of the *Roman* Horſe to widen by degrees, take the Enemy in Flank, and on the firſt Signal to fall with all poſſible Vigour and Impetuoſity on the *Samnite* Infantry. He commanded his *Legionary* Forces to advance ſlowly, to try the Reſolution of the Enemy. The *Samnites* were too much tired, to engage willingly in freſh Attacks; and this happy Opportunity *Fabius* ſeized, believing it the critical Moment to ſecure the Victory. He put all his Troops in Motion, which he had hitherto kept in a kind of Inaction; and then gave the Signal for his Horſe to fall on the Flanks of the Wing which he attacked.

The Violence of this unexpected Shock was ſo great, that the *Samnites* could not withſtand it. Several of their Battalions which were put into Diſorder, deſerted the Army, retired among the *Gauls*, and endeavoured to paſs thro' them, in order to recover their Camp. But the *Gauls* were not ſtaggered at the Rout of their Allies; they cloſed, and covering their Heads with their Bucklers, formed *a* 97 *Tortoiſe*. This was an old Cuſtom among them, which their Forefathers had practiſed, before they came into *Italy*. After this, *Fabius*, looking on the *Samnites* as defeated, turned his Troops againſt the right Wing, which yet made ſome Reſiſtance; and then he firſt received an Account of the *Devotement* and Death of *Decius*. In order to give theſe impenetrable Troops the finiſhing Stroke, he detached the *Campanian* Horſe from the reſt of the Army, and ordered them to march round, and fall on the *Gauls* in the Rear. Theſe five hundred Horſe were followed by the *Principes* of the third *Legion*, all on foot. The former had Orders to attack the *Gauls* in the Rear with Vigour; the latter, to penetrate into their Battalions, when once terrified and broken by the Horſe. And, to draw down the Protection of the Gods on his Scheme, *Fabius* made a Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter Victor*, or *The Conqueror*, and to conſecrate the Spoils of the Enemy to him. Thus, according to *Livy* himſelf, all the Helps of Religion were neceſſary to get the better of theſe very *Gauls*, whom the ſame Hiſtorian repreſents as more faint-hearted than Women, in the End of the Battel. The Orders of the General were executed, and the *Gauls* at length gave way to the two Armies, one of which was already victorious in the right Wing. But they ſeem to have retired from the Battel in good Order, and more with the Air of a Retreat, than a Flight; at leaſt, the Hiſtorian who is moſt prejudiced againſt them, has not ventured to tell us they were routed.

In the mean time, *Fabius*, ſatisfied with being Maſter of the Field of Battel, did not purſue the Bulk of the Army of the *Gauls*, but turned the beſt Part of his Troops towards the *Samnite* Camp. Thither the Fugitives fled in Diſorder, to ſecure themſelves; but the Gates of their Camp were not wide enough to receive that confuſed Multitude of terrified Men, who endeavoured all at once to get under Cover of their Entrenchments. The *Romans* therefore attacked thoſe who were not yet entered it, and a new Battel began at the foot of the Rampart. In this Action, which was hot, tho' tumultuous, fell *Gellius Egnatius*, the famous Head of the *Samnites*; who by his Intrigues had prevailed on all *Hetruria*, *Umbria*, and the *Gauls*, to take Arms againſt the *Roman* Republick. The reſt of his Troops entered the Camp; but were not long ſafe there. *Fabius* forced the Entrenchments, whilſt the *Roman* Cavalry made thoſe whom they had attacked in the Rear, Priſoners of War. Such was the Succeſs of the moſt important Battel the *Romans* had ever gained. *Decius*'s Piety repaired the Misfortunes his Vivacity had occaſioned; but the Prudence and Valour of *Fabius*, which were always equal, contributed moſt to a Victory which he deſerved to ſurvive, to enjoy all the Glory of it.

Twenty five thouſand of the Enemy were killed on the Spot, and eight thouſand taken Priſoners. Nor was the Loſs of the *Romans* inconſiderable. In the

99 See above, *B.* 13. *p.* 18. of this Volume.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, Conſul.

left Wing, where *Decius* commanded, the Number of the dead amounted to ſeven thouſand; but in the right, *Fabius* loſt no more than one thouſand two hundred. Nevertheleſs, all things conſidered, *Rome* ſtill preſerved, in the Battel of *Sentinum*, the ſame Advantage ſhe had always had over the neighbouring Nations; and the *Gauls* did not loſe that Reputation for Bravery, which made them more formidable to the *Romans*, than any other People in *Italy*.

The *Conſul*'s firſt Care, after his Victory, was to diſcharge the Promiſe he had made the Gods; and to pay all due Honour to the Body of his Collegue. He firſt ordered all the Spoils to be gathered together and burnt, in honour to *Jupiter The Victorious*; and then ſearched for *Decius*'s Body, which his *Devotement* had in a manner rendered ſacred. There was not then Day-light enough to diſtinguiſh it, among an Heap of *Gauls*, which lay dead upon the Place, and covered it; but it was found out the next Day, and brought to the Camp, with the Lamentations of the whole Army. *Fabius* himſelf diſcovered great Concern at the Remembrance of the uſual Companion of his Victories. He ordered his Troops to ceaſe from all Labour, and ſpoke the Funeral-Harangue of the Deceaſed, the Merit of whoſe great Actions he magnified, as became a Soldier.

As for the *Samnites*, their Defeat may be ſaid to have been almoſt univerſal, in the Battel of *Sentinum*. Such of them as eſcaped out of it, endeavoured to return home, through the Country of the [100] *Peligni*; but the latter ſurrounded them: and of five thouſand of theſe Fugitives, killed one thouſand.

§. XXX. With regard to the other Armies, which we have obſerved the *Romans* had in the Field; they alſo had the Advantage in all Places. The *Pro-Prætor Fulvius*, and probably *L. Poſtumius*, who had joined him, had left their Poſts on the Hill *Vaticanus*, and at *Cluſium*, by *Fabius*'s Command, in order to ravage the Lands of *Hetruria*. Their Motion had drawn off a Part of the Enemy's Army encamped before *Sentinum*; and this Diverſion had been the means of gaining the Battel. But this was not enough to ſatisfy the two Generals. They attacked the united *Peruſini* and *Cluſini*, in *Hetruria*; killed above three thouſand of them; and took from them twenty Colours. At the ſame time, the *Pro-Conſul* *Volumnius* gained a conſiderable Victory in *Samnium*, at the Foot of Mount [101] *Tifernum*, to which he had driven the Enemy. He had fought them there, notwithſtanding the Diſadvantage of the Ground, and put their Army to Flight. After all theſe Succeſſes, *Fabius* returned to *Rome* to triumph, and his Army followed him; but that Army which *Decius* had commanded, continued in *Hetruria*. The triumphant Entry of the former was made on *The Eve of The Nones of September*; and never General had had a better Title to this Honour. *Fabius* had conquered four of the moſt formidable Nations of *Italy*; and *Rome* being now for ever delivered from the moſt juſt Apprehenſions ſhe had been under, ſhe beſtowed her Liberalities on all the Soldiers of the victorious Army. To each private Centinel was given eighty two *Aſſes* of [102] Braſs, out of the Spoils of the Enemy, and a complete [103] military Habit. During the Proceſſion of the triumphant General, Praiſes and [104] Commendations were liberally beſtowed upon him, but not without giving *Decius* his Share in them. The *Devotement* of the Son recalled the Remembrance of that of the Father, and equal Encomiums were beſtowed on the domeſtick Virtues, and glorious Exploits, of both.

Liv. B. 10. c. 30.

Faſt. Capit.

But all theſe Advantages gained over the *Hetrurians* and *Samnites*, had not yet brought them into Subjection. As ſoon as *Fabius* had left *Hetruria*, they took

100 The *Peligni* formerly inhabited that Part of *Italy*, which is now a Part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, round *Sermona*, or *Sulmona*, between the *Peſcara* and the *Sangro*. *Feſtus* thinks they were originally of *Illyricum*; but others, with more probability, derive their Origin from the *Samnites*. There were reckoned three Cities in this Diſtrict; *Sulmona* the Birth-place of *Ovid*, *Corfinium*, and *Superequum*. See above, *B.* 16 *p.* 145. of this Volume, *Note* 17.

101 Mount *Tifernum*, which *Livy* alone mentions, was probably an Hill, near the River and City of the ſame Name.

102 If we reckon theſe *Aſſes* of Braſs at the rate of a *Sol per As*, the eighty two *Aſſes* amount to four *Livres* two *Sols*. [About 5*s.* 3*d.*½ *Arbuthnot.*]

103 This complete military Habit, conſiſted of a *Sagum*, and a *Tunick*. We have obſerved, *B.* 16. *p.* 143. of this Volume, that the military *Sagum* was of the ſame Shape with the *Paludamentum*. As for the *Tunick*, that which the Soldiers wore, reached down a little below the Knees; its Sleeves were ſo very ſhort, as not to reach down to the Elbows.

104 According to *Oroſius*, the Plague which then ravaged the City of *Rome*, much damped the joyful Acclamations, with which Triumphs were uſually attended.

took Courage again, and at the Inſtigation of the *Peruſini*, gathered together new Forces. After his Triumph therefore, *Fabius*, the only remaining *Conſul*, led back his Army to *Hetruria*, and gained himſelf new Honour, by a new Victory. Four thouſand five hundred *Peruſini* were killed upon the Spot, and one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty made Priſoners of War; the Price of whoſe Ranſom was three hundred and ten Pounds of Braſs *per* Head. This was the laſt Exploit of an Hero, who did not leave off conquering, till Age diſabled him from ſerving his Country, otherwiſe than by ſhewing it an eminent Example of all domeſtick Virtues. *Fabius* had a Son, who had been ſurnamed *Gurges*, that is, *The Gulph*, on account of his Depravity of Life, and exceſſive Intemperance. This Man, after he had ſquandered away vaſt Sums in Debauchery, began to reform; but the Son never equalled the Father, in Genius, Probity, or Ability for War. However, he had at leaſt left his vicious Courſes; and when a better Behaviour had rendered him worthy of aſpiring at publick Offices, he became rigidly ſevere, the better to wipe off the Shame of his paſt Exceſſes. When he was promoted to the *Curule Ædileſhip*, in his Father's laſt *Conſulſhip*, he ſeverely puniſhed the Licentiouſneſs which had been introduced among the *Roman* Ladies.

Year of ROME CCCCLVIII.

Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, Conſul.

Macrob. Sat. B. 2. c. 9. and *Juven. Sat. 9.*

THE Severity of the firſt Ages of the Republick, wherein we ſaw *Lucretia*'s and *Virginia*'s prefer Death to the leaſt Blemiſh on their Characters, was now much relaxed. Luxury and Plenty were introduced into *Rome*, ſince the Conqueſt of ſo many Countries, which abounded with Delights. Softneſs, and its Attendant Incontinence, infected many *Roman* Women, and their Unfaithfulneſs to their Husbands became publick. This therefore was an Abuſe, which the young *Ædile* made it Matter of Merit to reform. He brought a Complaint of it before the People, and Adultery was puniſhed in *Rome* for the firſt time, with a pecuniary Fine. Moſt of the guilty Women were Perſons of Diſtinction; which was perhaps the Reaſon why their Puniſhment was ſo moderate. Or it might have been thought, that as the Diſeaſe was not an inveterate one, a ſlight Remedy would cure it. But be that as it will, it is at leaſt certain, that the Shame of the Criminals was perpetuated, by conſecrating the Money exacted of them to the building an Edifice, which was a laſting Monument of their Infamy. The *Ædiles* built a Temple to *Venus*, with it, near *The Great Circus*; which Temple we muſt take care not to confound with another more ancient one, dedicated to the ſame Goddeſs, almoſt in the ſame Place.

§. XXXI. WHILST the two *Fabii* were thus ſignalizing themſelves, the one in the War, the other in the City, the *Samnites*, notwithſtanding their Loſſes, continually harraſſed the *Romans* with their Hoſtilities. After dividing themſelves into two Bodies, they had very lately come and ravaged the Lands of the Allies of *Rome*. One Body of them was aſſembled on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*, near *Eſernia*, a City formerly belonging to them, but ſince taken from them by the *Romans*; the other had fallen down upon the Confines of *Campania*, and pillaged the Neighbourhood of [105] *Formiæ*, on one Side, and the Lands of *Veſcia* [106] on the other. The *Romans* thought two Armies neceſſary to diſperſe or deſtroy theſe Robbers; and the *Pro-Conſul Volumnius*, whoſe Victories had made him formidable, being already upon the Spot with one; the *Prætor Appius* put himſelf at the Head of another. The latter Army was the ſame which *Decius* had commanded, and rendered victorious by his *Devotement*. We have already obſerved, that the *Prætors*, whoſe proper Office was that of Judges, became Generals of Armies, as Occaſion required. *Volumnius* therefore, and *Appius*, both chaſed the *Samnites*; and by purſuing them thro' ſeveral Places, at laſt forced them all to aſſemble together. The Plain where they joined was in *Campania*, between the *Vulturnus* and the *Savo*, and was, as it were, the Bottom of a Baſon, ſurrounded with Mountains and Hills. It was called *Campi Stellates*. There *Appius*'s Troops, and thoſe of *Volumnius* joined alſo, and both Parties were intent upon giving Battel. Never did any two Nations, which had long been Enemies, fight with more Animoſity. The *Romans* propoſed to themſelves no leſs than the utter Deſtruction of a Nation which had ſo often rebelled, and had always been troubleſome to their Republick. The *Samnites* looked on this Battel as a deciſive Stroke, on which

[105] See above, *B.* 16. *p.* 176. of this Volume.

[106] See above, *B.* 16. *p.* 169. of this Vol. *Note* 67.

their

Year of ROME CCCCLVIII. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, Conſul.

their laſt Hopes depended. But the Valour of the *Roman* Soldiers prevailed over the Fierceneſs and Rage of the *Samnites*. The latter loſt ſixteen thouſand three hundred Men in the Battel, and the *Romans* took two thouſand ſeven hundred Priſoners: Whilſt *Appius* and *Volumnius* loſt no more Men, than they had taken Priſoners from the Enemy. A happy Year for the Republick, had her Tranquillity and Felicity at home been equal to her Proſperity abroad!

THE *Romans* had never before made War in ſo many Places at once, or with more Advantage; but Heaven ſeverely chaſtiſed a City, which was grown too proud and haughty, on account of ſo many Victories. If we judge right, the Incontinence of the Women, which then began to appear, was its greateſt Calamity. And this was followed by a Plague, among a People who were degenerating from their former Virtue. How terrible a Contraſt did this make, ſays an ancient Author, with the great Joy of the City, during *Fabius*'s Triumph! Funeral Proceſſions croſſed that of the triumphant Victor; and the Applauſes of the People were interrupted by the Lamentations of thoſe who mourned for their dead, or the Anxiety and Groans of thoſe who dreaded the Fate of their ſick. And in proportion as Vice increaſed in *Rome*, ſo did Superſtition daily get more footing there. Never were ſo many Prodigies talked of, as in this Year, which abounded with ſo great a Variety of Events. It was ſaid, that in three Days, three different Sorts of Liquors had been ſeen to run ſucceſſively, from the Altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. The firſt Day Blood flowed from it; the ſecond, Honey; and the third Milk. It was reported, That in ſome [107] Parts of the Country it had ſeveral times rained Earth; and That many of the Soldiers in *Appius*'s Camp had been killed by Lightning. The *Augurs* and *Sybilline* Books were conſulted about theſe Prognoſticks; and this at leaſt may be depended on, That the publick Rejoicings were at preſent very much damped by the Fear of what might afterwards happen.

Oroſ. B.2. c.1.

Zonaras, B. 8. c. 1.

Liv. B. 10. c. 31.

107 Theſe Sorts of Prodigies were doubtleſs invented by the Prieſts and Magiſtrates, whoſe Intereſt it was to impoſe on the Vulgar. They drew great Advantages from it, as well with regard to the Safety of their Country, as by gaining thereby the more Credit to their Religion. This was a Bridle to keep a credulous and ſuperſtitious Populace in their Duty. When intimidated by theſe menacing Signs, they became more tractable and ſubmiſſive. Great care was therefore taken to publiſh Accounts of theſe wonderful Events, in Times of War, and publick Calamities. They then made a more lively Impreſſion on Mens Minds. The People, naturally inclined to believe every thing, loved to conſider them, as the fatal Prognoſticks, which ſhewed the Anger of the Gods.



THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XX.

§. I. *ROME* had now made War with the *Samnites* for forty Years, almoſt without Interruption, and always with Succeſs. The laſt Campaign ſeemed enough of itſelf, to have extinguiſhed their martial Ardour, or at leaſt to have obliged them to diſſemble their Pride, and appeaſe their Enemies by Intreaties, or by Negotiations. The *Romans* were not inexorable. Moſt of the neighbouring Nations had but too much abuſed their Lenity. And Repentance muſt, one would have thought, have now been the laſt Refuge of the *Samnites*, in the preſent State of their Affairs. They had juſt loſt four Battels in one Year. The braveſt, and moſt able of their Generals, had been killed. All the Flower of their Youth had juſt been cut off. The *Hetrurians*, *Umbri*, and *Gauls*, whom they had drawn into a Confederacy, and ſtirred up againſt the *Romans*, were ſcarce in any Condition to intereſt themſelves in their behalf. And *Rome*, after all theſe Trials, ſhould have appeared invincible to them. But nevertheleſs, their Fury made them obſtinate, and tho' always hitherto conquered, they ſtill hoped to be able, one Day, to conquer.

When *Fabius*'s Year was expired, he preſided at the Election of *Conſuls*; and the *Centuries* promoted [1] *L. Poſtumius Megellus* to that Dignity, a ſecond time; and gave him for a Collegue *M. Attilius Regulus*, who was the firſt *Conſul* of the *Attilian* Family. And it was determined, that the two *Conſuls* ſhould go together, and jointly make War in *Samnium*. It was reported, that the *Samnites* were raiſing three Armies, one to return to *Hetruria*; another to come again into *Campania*, and lay it waſte; and a third, to defend their Frontiers: and it was therefore neceſſary to carry all the Forces of the *Romans* to the Place where ſuch great Preparations were making. But *Poſtumius* could not take the Field with his Collegue; a ſudden Fit of Sickneſs detained him in the City. Nevertheleſs, the Senate haſtened *Attilius*'s Departure; becauſe it was of Importance to attack the Enemy, before they got out of *Samnium*, and ſpread themſelves abroad, in the Provinces of the Friends or Allies to *Rome*. The *Samnites* and *Romans* therefore met on the Confines of *Campania*, as if that had been their appointed *Rendezvous*. *Attilius*'s Army had not yet entered *Samnium*, or committed any Hoſtilities; neither had that of the Enemy yet penetrated into the Country ſubject to the *Romans*. And here, which may juſtly ſeem incredible, the *Samnites*, who had been ſo often vanquiſhed, undertook to execute, what the *Romans* would ſcarce have ventured to have attempted.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLIX.
L. Postumius Megellus, M. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 32.

As ſoon as the *Conſul* was encamped, they formed a Deſign, of forcing his Lines. It was a deſperate Stroke, but which had like to have ſucceeded, and deſtroyed a *Roman* Army. At Break of Day, the *Samnites* marched out of their Camp undiſcovered, by means of a Fog, which laſted the beſt Part of the Day. It was ſo thick and black, that the *Romans* were ſo far from being able to diſcover what paſſed without their Ramparts, that they could ſcarce diſtinguiſh one another.

[1] This is that *Lucius Poſtumius*, who had already been raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*, in the Year of *Rome* 448. Some Editions of *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*, give him the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. A Miſtake which ought to be corrected upon the Authority of the *Triumphal Tables*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLIX. L. Postumius Megellus, M. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls.

Aſſiſted therefore with ſo favourable an Opportunity, and as it were wrapped up in a Cloud, the *Samnites* drew near to the [2] *Decuman* Gate of the *Roman* Camp. This Name was always given to the largeſt Gate of the Camp, and it generally faced the Enemy on one Side, and the *Prætorium*, or General's Quarters on the other. But now it happened, that the *Romans*, having encamped in an unuſual manner, had placed it behind the *Quæſtor*'s Quarters, and very near the *Prætorium*: and it was by this *Decuman* Gate, that the *Samnites* attempted to make themſelves Maſters of the *Roman* Entrenchments. They found the Advanced-Guard there much in Diſorder; and being ſuddenly ſurprized with the unexpected Arrival of the Enemy, it made but little Reſiſtance. The *Samnites* therefore made themſelves Maſters of the Gate, and penetrated to the *Quæſtor*'s Tent. There was the military Cheſt, or Treaſure, for the Payment, and Subſiſtence of the Troops; and whilſt the Enemy was taking Poſſeſſion of that, the Alarm ſpread to the General's Quarters. He, awakened by the Noiſe, ordered a Body of the Auxiliaries to defend the *Prætorium*; and putting himſelf at the Head of ſome *Manipuli* of his *Legions*, haſtened through the great Street of the Camp, to defend the Poſt, of which the Enemy had taken Poſſeſſion. The Darkneſs was ſo great, that the *Romans* could not diſtinguiſh their own Men, from thoſe of the Enemy; but nevertheleſs, they marched to the Place where they heard the Shouts; and the Fog not ſuffering them to diſcover the Number of the *Samnites*, they retired, and let them advance quite to the Center of the Camp. Then the *Conſul* cried out; *Are we then driven out of our Entrenchments? Muſt we beſiege our own Camp, and have the Trouble of retaking it from the Enemy?* At which Words, the *Romans* encouraged one another with their Shouts; and after being ſome time on the defenſive, they afterwards attacked the *Samnites*, preſſed hard upon them, overthrew them, and repulſed them fighting to the Place where they had begun the Battel. And from thence, it was no difficult matter, to force them back through the *Decuman* Gate, and drive them quite out of the Entrenchments. The *Romans* were very eager, they would have purſued the Enemy very far, if the Thickneſs of the Fog had not made the *Conſul* fearful of an Ambuſcade: But under theſe Circumſtances, it was enough for them, to have prevented their Camp's being ſurprized. The *Samnites* loſt three hundred Men, in this tumultuous Action, and the *Romans* about two hundred and thirty.

But if this Enterprize of the *Samnites* was not ſucceſsful, it at leaſt ſhewed Boldneſs, both in the Deſign, and the Execution of it; and this increaſed their Pride. They now thought themſelves in a Condition to attempt any thing; and hoped, that another time *Fortune* would favour them in their bold Attempts. They at firſt pent up the *Romans* ſo cloſely, as to hinder them from entering *Samnium*, and living upon free Quarter there: So that the *Conſul*, who had Acceſs only to the Countries behind him, was forced to bring his Proviſions from *Sora*, and its Neighbourhood.

§. II. This diſadvantageous Situation of *Attilius*'s Army, alarmed the Senate and People of *Rome*. The Danger to which the *Conſul* was expoſed, was magnified in the City; and Fear made the *Romans* double their Precautions. Then *Poſtumius*, who was not yet perfectly recovered, thought himſelf obliged to ſet out for *Samnium*, and he was to carry a *Conſular* Army with him, which then never conſiſted of leſs than two *Roman Legions*, excluſive of the Auxiliaries, which were equal in Number to the *Legionary* Troops. But in order to have time to re-eſtabliſh his Health, he ſent away his Troops before him, commanding them to wait for him at *Sora*, which was the general *Rendezvous*; and in the mean time, he performed a religious Ceremony. *Poſtumius* had, in his *Ædileſhip*, built a Temple to [3] *Victory* with the Fines he had laid on ſeveral Offenders; and he took this Opportunity, of his Recovery, to dedicate it. It was uſual for none but *Conſuls*, or *Dictators*, to conſecrate ſuch Buildings.

This,

2 See the Diſpoſition of the *Roman* Camps, *B.* 21.

3 The *Greeks* and *Romans* had perſonified *Victory*, in order to place her among their Divinities. The *Sabines*, ſays *Varro*, worſhipped her under the Name of *Vacuna*. Many Monuments of Marble, Stone, and Braſs, and many Medals, have tranſmitted the Image of this Goddeſs to us. She is generally repreſented with Wings, holding a Crown in

Year of *ROME* CCCCLIX.
L. Postumius Megellus, M. Attilius Regulus, Consuls.

This, in the Opinion of the *Romans*, was a very auſpicious Beginning; after which, *Poſtumius* marched to *Sora*, and from thence went to join his Collegue. Upon his Arrival, the Enemy, who were in no Condition to reſiſt two united *Conſular* Armies, decamped in haſte, and left their Country a Prey to the *Romans*. The two Generals therefore ſeparated; and taking each his Part of *Samnium*, went to ravage the whole Country. *Poſtumius* applied himſelf more to the taking of Cities, than pillaging the Country; and ſate down firſt before *Milionia*. This was a ſtrong Place belonging to the *Samnites*, which was not immediately taken, but beſieged in Form. After ſome time, the *Romans*, by their continual Labours, and the Help of their Engines, made themſelves Maſters of it. The Beſieged ſuſtained the Attack for four Hours; but were at laſt forced to give way, and the City was taken by Aſſault, after many Battels, fought on all Parts of the Walls, at the ſame time. The Enemy loſt three thouſand two hundred Men on the Spot; the Priſoners of War were four thouſand two hundred; and the City was given up to be plundered by the Soldiers.

From thence the *Conſul* turned his Arms againſt 4 *Triventum*, on the Banks of the 5 *Trinius*, a River, which riſes in *Samnium*, and after it has watered the Country of the *Frentani*, diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatick* Sea. Upon the Approach of the *Roman* Army, the Inhabitants were ſeized with Fear, deſpaired of being able to withſtand the victorious *Legions*, and ſilently marched out of their City in the Night, leaving only the Sick and the Old in it.

In the mean time, the *Conſul* drew near the City, in Order of Battel. He expected as long and difficult a Siege as that of *Milionia*; and was extremely ſurprized to ſee the Towers and Ramparts unguarded, and to hear no Noiſe in the Place. The Ardour of the *Roman* Soldiers prompted them immediately to mount the Walls, which ſeemed deſerted; but the General feared an Ambuſcade, and reſtrained the Vivacity of his Troops. He choſe two Squadrons out of the *Latin* Horſe, and ordered them to march round the Place, obſerve every thing, and make their Report to him. Theſe taking notice, that two of the City-Gates were open, and ſeeing in the great Road, the freſh Footſteps of People, who had eſcaped out of the City in the Night, and fled away; they therefore advanced quite up to the Gates, which they found unguarded. From thence they ſaw the Streets of the City at a great diſtance, perceived that there were none of the Inhabitants in them; and therefore inferred, that the Place was totally deſerted. And when they were returned to the *Conſul*, they gave him this Account of their Diſcoveries.



In her Right Hand, and a Palm-Branch in her Left, as we have drawn her above from an antique Agate, in *Beger*'s Cabinet. She ſtands upon a Globe, to ſignify that ſhe gives Laws to the Univerſe. But we ſometimes find her without Wings. The *Athenians* painted her ſo, ſays *Pauſanias*, for fear ſhe ſhould fly away from them. And agreeably to this, *The Greek Anthologium* mentions two Verſes, inſcribed on the Pedeſtal of a Statue dedicated to a *Victory*, whoſe Wings had been burnt with Lightning. The Senſe of them is this. *The Glory of Rome ſhall never decay.* Victory, *having loſt her Wings, is now forced to continue there for ever.* *Lampridius* ſpeaks of an Image of *Victory*, which was erected, in the Place where the Senate uſed to aſſemble. And according to *D. Hal. B.* 1. the *Arcadians* who followed *Evander*, erected a Temple to *Victory*, on the Hill *Palatinus*. They had likewiſe inſtituted Sacrifices to her Honour, which were renewed every Year: And the *Romans* continued this Cuſtom. Nevertheleſs, this Feſtival is not mentioned, in the old *Roman* Calendar.

4 *Triventum*, an ancient City of *Samnium*, ſtill preſerves its firſt Name, with a very little Variation, and is now called by the Natives of the Country, *Trivento*. But moſt Manuſcripts give it the Name of *Feretrum*. Whereas we know of no City in *Samnium* which was ſo called. In *Livy* we read *Ferentinum*; but that City belonged to the *Hernici*.

5 The River *Trinius*, now the *Trigno*, watered the Country of the *Frentani*, which is now a Part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, and *The Capatinata*. It ſeparated this little Country from that of the *Samnites*.

Year of ROME CCCCLIX. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS, M. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

The Triventini *have left their City open to us. We conclude from the Footſteps and Bundles we found in the great Road, that we have no Enemies to fear in* Triventum. This News rejoiced *Poſtumius*; but he was not in haſte to take Poſſeſſion of this very eaſy Conqueſt. One of the chief Qualities for which the *Roman* Generals were famous, was Precaution.

POSTUMIUS advanced with his Infantry towards the Gates which had been found open; but before he entred them, he detached five Horſemen, with Orders to go into the very Heart of the City; and if they found there was no Danger, three of them were to continue there, and the other two, to bring an Account of the State of the City. They found *Triventum* a perfect Deſert, and upon their Report, the *Conſul* entered it, with his light-armed Troops; and commanded his other Forces to fortify a Camp in that Neighbourhood. The Soldiers broke open the Houſes, in which they found a few old, and ſome ſick, Perſons; who being examined, concerning the Reaſon of the precipitate Departure of their Fellow-Citizens, declared, That all the People in that Neighbourhood had agreed together, to abandon their Towns to the *Romans*; and That they would find all the neighbouring Places as deſolate as *Triventum*. The *Conſul* believed theſe honeſt Men on their Words; and accordingly marched from *Triventum*, and made himſelf Maſter of the Country, without trouble, and without fighting.

§. III. BUT *Attilius* met with more Obſtacles, and more Danger, in the Place where he went to make War. He had received Intelligence, that the *Samnites* had began the Siege of *Luceria*, a City of the *Apulians*, which was in Alliance with the Republick; and he marched to relieve the faithful *Lucerini*, but found the Enemy in his Way. It is probable, that the *Samnites*, who were leſs afraid of him, than of his Collegue, had turned all their Forces againſt him; and left their Cities open to *Poſtumius*, in order to go and fight *Attilius*. *Samnium* being exceedingly exhauſted of Men, I know not whether the *Samnite* Army was as numerous as the *Roman*; but their Rage and Deſpair made them equal to the *Romans* in Strength, if not in Number. The Field of Battel was narrow and confined; and neither could the *Samnites* return into their own Country, nor the *Romans* gain *Luceria*, without paſſing through their Enemies. They therefore engaged, and during the Action, the Succeſs ſeemed equal. But after it was over, the *Romans* perceived, that they had ſuffered moſt in it; and as thoſe who are uſed to conquer, are generally moſt affected with the Loſs of a Battel, they were mightily dejected at their Misfortune.

THEY found that the Number of their Wounded was much greater than that of the Enemy; and this much increaſed their Fear, which was now greater than it had been, during the Action; otherwiſe, their Loſs would have been more conſiderable. The *Conſular* Army paſſed the Night with great Uneaſineſs in their Camp; continually expecting the Enemy to force their Lines, or at leaſt taking it for granted, that they muſt renew the Battel, as ſoon as Day appeared; whereas, the *Samnites* were as much terrified as the *Romans*. The ſlight Advantage they had gained, had not increaſed their Courage; and they were ſo far from deſiring a new Battel, that they were wholly bent upon decamping the next Day, and returning home. But how could this be done, without making themſelves a Way through the midſt of their Enemies? Out of Neceſſity therefore, they determined to go directly to the *Roman* Camp, march along by the Side of it, and make the Plain. This Step mightily terrified the *Romans*, who were already in a Conſternation; and they imagined the Enemy was coming to attack them. Under this Perſuaſion, the *Conſul* firſt ſent away his Orders in all haſte, to his Lieutenant-Generals, the *Tribunes* of his Army, and the Commanders of the auxiliary Forces, and then commanded his *Legions*, to march out of the Camp, and follow him. But now *Attilius* perceived, how much the Action the Day before had diſcouraged his Troops. His Officers told him, That they were ready to obey him; but That the Soldiers were faint, and extremely fatigued; That ſome of them had ſpent the Night in dreſſing the Wounded, others in comforting the dying; That if the Enemy had come before Day, they had found the Camp deſerted by the *Romans*; That Shame alone had kept them from running away in the Day-time; and That they would be vanquiſhed as ſoon as attacked. This gave *Attilius* great Anxiety; and thinking to gain himſelf the Confidence of his Troops by Freedom and Familiarity, he ran

Year of ROME CCCCLIX. L. Postumius Megellus, M. Attilius Regulus, Consuls.

ran into all the Tents, and every where rouzed his indolent *Romans*. *Brother-Soldiers*, said he, *what Stupefaction detains you here? The Enemy is coming to besiege you in the Camp, if you don't appear in the Plain. Do you chuse rather to come to a Battel, in the midst of your Entrenchments, than at the Foot of your Ramparts? In a pitched Battel, you may have an equal Chance for Victory; but you will infallibly be slain, in the Camp, if you wait for the Enemy there, after you have encouraged them, by declining a Battel.* But the *Consul* at first made no Impression on his intimidated Men. He in vain pressed them on, and invcighed against them; he heard nothing but Groans throughout the Camp; and the Soldiers replied, *How shall we be able to defend ourselves, when so much exhausted already?* Their Fear had made such strong Impressions on their Imaginations, that they fancied the *Samnite* Army was now much greater, than the Day before.

In the mean time the Enemy continually advanced towards the Camp, and when the *Romans* could take a distinct View of them from the Top of the Ramparts, they perceived that the *Samnites* were loaded with Stakes and Fascines. At this the *Consul* in great Emotion cried out, *How shameful is this for* Romans! *What! Shall we tamely wait to be slain here like devoted Victims? Shall we prefer the Shame of perishing with Hunger in a besieged Camp, to the Glory of dying an honourable Death, with our Swords in our Hands? O ye Gods! dispose of my Army as you please! but as for* Attilius, *he will march out and meet the Enemy alone, if not a Man follows him. If he is cut in pieces by the* Samnites, *he will at least escape the Mortification of seeing his Camp at the Mercy of a People so often conquered.* It has been already observed, that the *Roman* Soldiers enjoyed the Liberties of a popular Government, even in the Army, the great Enterprizes of the Generals being determined by their Suffrages; and in the present case, all the Officers were of the *Consul*'s Opinion, but it was Shame alone that brought over the Troops to it. The Soldiers took to their Arms very unwillingly, and marched out of the Camp with great Reluctance. Their Dislike appeared even in their March. The Battalions were not closed; and the Lines were broken in several Places. It strangely happened, that both Parties were afraid of one another, and the *Samnites* made no better an Appearance than the *Romans*. As soon as the first Troops of the latter came into the Plain, a general Murmur ran thro' the *Samnite* Army; *What we dreaded is come to pass; the* Romans *are coming out to dispute with us our Return home. What Way then is there to escape, but to force our Way through them?* Thus being reduced to a Necessity of fighting, the *Samnites* acted like brave Men. Every one laid down his Baggage, which was all thrown together in an heap, and placed in the Center of the Army; and then they drew up in Battalia, and were ready to receive the first Onset. The two Armies were now advanced very near one another, and it was time to begin the Attack; but they both continued without Motion. Each waited for the other to give the first Shout for the Battel; but they had so little Inclination to fight, that they all continued silent; and in short, both Armies would have retired without Action, had they not feared that the first which drew off would be assaulted in the Rear by that which kept its Ground. At length however they mutually charged each other, but in a very faint manner; the Shouts of both Parties were weak and broken; and they did not draw nigh enough to come to a close Engagement. So much Dilatoriness therefore tired out the *Consul*'s Patience, and he sought all Means to encourage his Troops, whose Valour seemed to be extinguished.

He commanded some Squadrons of Horse to advance out of their Ranks, to the Head of the Army; in order thereby to awaken his *Legionaries*, who seemed stupified, out of their Lethargy. But this new Attack did the *Samnites* little Mischief; several of the Horsemen were dismounted, and the rest put into Disorder. However, their Rout had this Effect at least, that it gave a little Spirit to the Combatants, who fought more briskly. Some *Samnites* left their Posts to fall upon these dismounted Horsemen, and some *Romans* ran to their Assistance. But the Aggressors being more numerous than their Opponents, the *Romans* gave way, and, to complete their Misfortunes, were trodden under foot by the Horses of those very Men whom they came to assist.

This first Check which the *Romans* received, encouraged the *Samnite* Army; which fell upon that of the Enemy, repulsed it, and forced it to retire towards its

Year of ROME CCCCLIX.
L. Postumius Megellus, M. Attilius Regulus, Consuls.

Entrenchments. But this Disaster seems to have given the *Consul* no other Concern, than that of shewing the more Constancy, and the greater Presence of Mind. He instantly commanded a Body of Horse to advance to the Gate of his Camp, with Orders not to suffer any Person to enter it; and then running into the midst of the flying Infantry, he said, *Friends, whither are you running! You will meet with more certain Death at the Gate of the Camp, than by making Head against the Enemy. As long as I live, you shall none of you return to your Tents, unless you are victorious. Take your Choice, either to engage the* Samnites, *or to be cut in pieces by the* Roman *Cavalry*. This said, the Horse instantly surrounded the Infantry, presented their Darts towards them, and forced them to return to the Fight. It very fortunately happened, That the *Samnites* did not pursue the Fugitives briskly; and That there was room enough left between the Enemy and them to face about. Then the *Romans* mutually encouraged one another, to begin a new Attack. The *Centurions* snatched the Colours out of the Hands of those who bore them, rallied the Soldiers, and led them on towards the Enemy. *See*, said they, *the few* Samnites *which come towards us are in Disorder; let us fall upon them.*

And whilst they were preparing to charge the Enemy, the *Consul* lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and with a loud Voice made a Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, if he would *put a Stop* to the Flight of his Soldiers, and give them Success in the Battel. *Romulus* had formerly made [6] a like Vow, on the like Occasion; the Prejudices of Religion had induced his terrified Troops to rally; and Superstition had now again the same Effect. All unanimously concurred in resolving to renew the Fight with all the Valour of *Romans*. Officers, Soldiers, Cavalry, all followed the Example of the General. They returned back upon the Body of *Samnites*, which pursued them, attacked it, repulsed it, recovered the Ground they had lost, placed themselves in their former Posts, in order to renew the Battel with quite another Heat; and then the Fortune of the Day changed. The *Samnites* were reduced to a Necessity of taking Care of their Baggage, which they had placed in the middle of the Ground, on which they had first posted themselves; and they at first deliberated, whether they should abandon it, to ease themselves in their Flight. But they chose rather to surround and defend it; which brought on a fresh and sharp Action, in which the *Romans* had all the Advantage. Their Infantry pressed the *Samnites* in Front, and their Cavalry in the Rear, and utterly overthrew them. The Enemy is said to have had four thousand eight hundred Men killed upon the Spot; and to have had seven thousand three hundred made Prisoners of War; whom the *Consul* made all *pass under the Yoke*, after he had stripped them.

Upon the whole indeed, the Loss of the *Romans* was as great as that of the *Samnites*. They numbered those which had been killed in the two Battels, and found them to be seven thousand three hundred; and certainly the *Consul Attilius* would have gained but little Honour this Campaign, if he had not repaired his Losses by a new Advantage. Whilst he was making War in *Apulia*, a Body of *Samnites* had entered into the Country of the *Volsci*, and endeavoured to surprize [7] *Interamna*, a *Roman Colony*, on the Banks of the *Liris*; and after having been disappointed in that Design, they were returning home, laden with the Spoils which they had taken in the Country. This Company carried with them a great many Men, and much Cattel, which they had taken from the *Romans*; and unfortunately fell in with the victorious Army of *Attilius*, who was returning from *Luceria*, after he had made the Enemy raise the Siege of it. The *Samnites* marched in Disorder,

6 *Livy* here tells us, that *Romulus* never performed his Vow. Only the Place which had been set apart for the building of the Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, was afterwards consecrated by the *Augurs*.

7 There were several Cities in *Italy*, which bore the Name of *Interamna*. The first was in *Umbria*, near the *Nera*, formerly the *Nar*; the Neighbourhood of which River gave its Inhabitants the Name of *Nartes*. *Pliny* calls them so *B.* 3 *c.* 14. This City is now called *Terani*, or *Terni*, by the Natives of the Country. The second was a City of *Picenum*, now called *Teramo*, or *Terano*. A third stood in the Country of the *Bruttii*, which is at present a Part of *The Lower Calabria*. Some Footsteps of it are yet to be seen, near the Conflux of the *Cochilé* and the *Esaro*, not far from the Ruins of the City of *St. Anthony*. And the fourth, which is here spoken of, had the Surname of *Lirina*. Some Traces of it are yet remaining in the Neighbourhood of *Ponte Corvo*, on the Banks of the *Liris*, or the *Garigliano*. We have spoken of it before.

Year of ROME CCCCLIX. L. Postumius Megellus, M. Attilius Regulus, Consuls.

and in one Line, being more attentive on their Prey than their Safety. The *Consular* Army attacked the Pillagers ſuddenly, defeated them eaſily, killed a great Number of them, and ſeized their Booty. From thence the *Conſul* continued his March to *Interamna*, called together the Owners of the Goods, which the *Samnites* had taken there, reſtored every Man what he claimed, left his Army in Winter-Quarters in this Country, and returned to *Rome* to preſide at the Elections.

§. IV. As for the other *Conſul Poſtumius*, after having taken the Cities of *Milionia*, and *Triventum*, he had left *Samnium* of his own Head, and without Orders from the Senate. He was uneaſy to find nothing to do there, but to pick up ſome wretched Remains of Booty, which were left in a ruined Country. It is well known, how deſirous the *Conſuls* were of finiſhing their Year with ſome ſignal Victory, in order to obtain a Triumph at the End of the Campaign. This Deſire of Glory induced *Poſtumius* to leave *Samnium*, the Province aſſigned him jointly with his Collegue, and to march into *Hetruria*, where there was more Booty and more Honour to be gained. He firſt laid all the Lands round *Volſinii* waſte; and theſe Hoſtilities made the Militia of the Country take Arms. They aſſembled near *Volſinii*, and gave Battel, almoſt under its Walls. The *Hetrurians* loſt two thouſand two hundred Men in the Engagement; and the Slaughter had been much greater, if the greateſt Number of the defeated Troops had not found Refuge in *Volſinii*, which was ſo near them. From thence *Poſtumius* marched into the Diſtrict of *Ruſſellæ*, and, not content with ravaging that, he took the City by Aſſault, killed two thouſand Men, or near that Number, in the Battel he fought on the Walls of it, and took above two thouſand Priſoners of War. Advantages, which would have forced the *Romans* to have honoured *Poſtumius* with a Triumph, if they had not been followed by a Peace, which brought him more Glory than the War. Three of the moſt conſiderable *Lucumonies* in *Hetruria*, namely, thoſe of *Volſinii*, *Peruſia*, and *Aretium*, deſired to treat; and *Poſtumius* gave them leave to ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to confer with the *Roman* People, upon Condition that theſe three Cantons furniſhed his Army with Proviſions, and gave each Soldier a military Habit, by way of Preliminary. The Condition was accepted, and the three *Lucumonies* obtained of the *Roman People* a Truce for forty Years; they immediately paying each five hundred thouſand Pounds of Braſs, into the Treaſury of the Republick.

As for *Poſtumius*, preſuming upon his Exploits in ſo ſucceſsful a Campaign, he ventured to demand a Triumph. Not that he expected to obtain it of the Senate, to whom he offered his Requeſt; he addreſſed himſelf to the *Conſcript Fathers*, only in Compliance with Cuſtom; and was very ſure it would not be granted, in a Court where he had many Adverſaries. Accordingly, ſome pretended he had ſet out too late from *Rome*, to begin the Campaign in time; others reproached him with having deſerted his Province without Orders, and tarniſhed the Glory of his Arms, by a Want of Obedience; and *Poſtumius*, who was a Witneſs to the Refuſal the Senate gave him, made this Reply; *I know what Duty I owe to the Dignity of the* Conſcript Fathers; *but then I likewiſe know, that I am a* Conſul, *and a Conqueror. Notwithſtanding your Denial, I will obtain the Triumph to which I have a Right, by my Exploits, my publick Services, and the Peace I forced the Enemy to demand. I will obtain it of thoſe who gave me my Commiſſion.* In ſhort, *Poſtumius* offered his Petition to the *Roman People*. This was indeed an Innovation in the Republick. The Cuſtom was, for the Senate to order the Triumph, and the People to confirm it; provided alſo, that none of the *Tribunes of the People* made any Oppoſition to it. But none of theſe Rules were now obſerved. Three only of the *Tribunes of the People* were for *Poſtumius*'s Triumph, ſeven proteſted againſt it; and yet the Perſeverance of the *Conſul* ſurmounted all theſe Difficulties. He [8] preſented himſelf before the *Comitia*, gave the *Romans* to underſtand, that more *Conſuls* than one had triumphed by Order of the People, and contrary to the Inclination of the Senators; and

8 *Poſtumius* would not have appeared in the *Comitia*, but that he was ſent for by the People, to explain the Reaſons of his Demand, and give an Account of his Expeditions. *Vocatuſque eo Conſul*, ſays *Livy*, *B.* 10. Whereas we have already obſerved more than once, that the Generals who demanded a Triumph, were obliged to keep without the Walls of *Rome*, till their Demand had been accepted, or rejected.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLIX. L. Postumius Megellus, M. Attilius Regulus, Consuls.

then added, *I should not have had Recourse to the Senate in the first Instance, I had not been apprehensive of the Ill-will of your* Tribunes, *who are for the mo part contemptible Men, and enslaved to the* Patricians. *But your Affection,* Ro mans, *and your Suffrages, shall supply the Place of the Decrees of the Senate, an the Favour of the* Tribunes. Thus spake *Postumius*, and the People, always fon of increasing their Power, decreed him a Triumph, for having conquered 9 th *Samnites*, and the *Hetrurians*. If the Senate did not assist at his Procession, whicl was made on *The Sixth of the Calends of April*, at least the People did, and con sidered it as their own Work.

Tabulæ Triumphales.

An Honour, which according to *Livy*, was refused the brave *Attilius*. This Histo rian declares that two Objections were made to it; one, That he had lost seven thou sand three hundred Men in a Battel; and the other, That he had only made the Prisoners of War he had taken *pass under the Yoke*, and had not made a Treaty with them. But whatever Difficulties were started before a Triumph was granted to *At-*

Tabulæ Triumphales.

tilius, it is certain he did [10] triumph the Day before his Collegue. This Honour was conferred upon him, as the Conqueror of the *Samnites* and *Volsones*. It is surprizing, that none of the ancient Geographers should mention the Name of the latter; whose Country, I judge from the Circumstances of their Story, to have laid between *Apulia* and *Samnium*. *Livy* is also guilty of another Mistake in this Place; but it is a pardonable one. He transfers one of the most important *Lustra*

Fast. Capit.

in all the *Roman* Story, to the next Year.

Euseb. in Chron.

In the *Censorship* of *Cornelius Arvina*, and *Marcius Rutilus*, the thirtieth *Lustrum* of the People was made; in which were found two hundred and seventy thousand *Roman* [11] *Citizens*, fit to bear Arms. After the *Lustrum*, a new List was made of the Senators, by the *Censors*; who placed the greatest Man, and the most venerable Sage then in *Rome*, at the Head of it, as *Prince of the Senate*. This was *Q. Fabius Rullianus*; an Hero who yet served his Country with his Counsels, and whom *Rome* would not suffer to pass his old Age without the Em-

Plin. B. 7. c. 41.

ployments and Honours proper for it. It was remarked as something particular, that *Fabius Ambustus* his Father, and his Son *Fabius Gurges*, were both *Princes of the Senate*, as well as himself; and probably in the Decline of their Age.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLX. L. Papirius Cursor, Sp. Carvilius Maximus, Consuls.

§. V. The Republick never abounded more with illustrious Generals, than in the time of her Wars with the *Samnites*. She then seemed to have a Race of them; and it was common to see the Son of an able General equal his Father in Courage and Wisdom. The famous *Papirius Cursor*, who gave the *Samnite* Nation such terrible Shocks, had left another *L. Papirius Cursor* his Heir, who inherited his Virtues, as well as bore his Surname. The Father had been five times *Consul*; the Son was now raised to that Dignity the first time, made him his Pattern, and even from his first Campaign, equalled, if not surpassed him. It is not to be imagined, but that this new Warrior, who appears upon the Stage all on a sudden, must have given some Proofs of his Valour and military Genius, in inferior Posts; yet such is the Negligence of the *Roman* Historians, that they scarce mention, or give us any previous Account of the chief Personages concerned in their History, till they come to act their first Part. The preceding Actions, which ren-

9 *Livy*, in his Relation of the *Consulship* of *Lucius Postumius* and *M. Attilius*, honestly confesses, that the ancient Annals give different Accounts of both their Campaigns. According to the ancient Annalist *Claudius Quadrigarius*, *Postumius* first conquered the *Samnites*, and brought some of their Cities into Subjection to *Rome*. But at the same time, he says, that the *Roman* Army was entirely defeat-

* *Livy, B. 10. c. 37.*

ed in the Plains of *Apulia*: and adds, that the *Consul* was wounded in the Battel, and was forced to fly for Refuge with the weak Remains of his *Legions*, to the Walls of *Luceria*. The same Author also robs *Postumius* of the Glory of the *Hetrurian* Expedition, and gives it to *Attilius*. *Fabius* the Historian, quoted by *Livy*, pretended, that the two *Consuls* for this Year, shared between them the Command of the Troops of the Republick, both in *Samnium*, and near *Luceria*. According to him, one of the two Generals was ordered to lead a Part of the Army into *Hetruria*; but he has not told us, which of the two was charged with this new Expedition. He also mentions a Battel fought in sight of *Luceria*; says the Number of Slain on both Sides was considerable; and affirms, that in this Action the General made a Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter Stator*, as *Romulus* before had done. And *Livy* observes on this Occasion, that the Senate made it Matter of Religion to discharge this double Vow, made by * *Romulus* formerly, and again lately by the *Consul Postumius*.

10 *Claudius* the Annalist, agrees with the *Fasti Capitolini*, as to the Triumph granted to the *Consul Attilius*, with this difference, that according to him, the General triumphed, as Conqueror of the *Hetrurians*.

11 In the oldest Editions of *Livy*, those who were found capable of bearing Arms, in this *Lustrum*, are reckoned to be but 262322; and *Marianus* does not make them exceed 240000.

dered them worthy of the *Conſulſhip*, are often paſſed over in Silence. The Col-
legue who was raiſed with *Papirius* to this eminent Dignity of the *Conſulſhip* was
12 *Spurius Carvilius*, who had never been promoted to it before; and the ſame
Aſſembly which choſe them *Conſuls*, nominated 13 *Attilius*, who had ſo lately
triumphed, to the *Prætorſhip*. As for *Poſtumius*, he had drawn upon himſelf the
Hatred of the Senate, and of the *Tribunes of the People*. The Commons had indeed
procured him a Triumph; but the Affection of the People is very inconſtant, and
changes whenever thoſe who govern them think fit.

Year of ROME CCCCLX. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls.

IT is very ſtrange, that *Samnium* ſhould again be the Seat of War; nevertheleſs, the two *Conſuls* had no ſeparate Provinces aſſigned them, but were both ordered to march thither. *Carvilius* was placed at the Head of the old Army, which *Attilius* had commanded the laſt Year. But *Poſtumius*'s Troops ſeem to have been recalled. At leaſt *Papirius* was ordered to make new Levies, and raiſe an entirely new Army. As for *Poſtumius*, he was made to repent of having gained a Triumph, againſt the Will of the *Tribunes of the People*. *M. Scantius*, one of that College, accuſed him before the *Tribes* 14, doubtleſs for having quitted his Province, without the Conſent of the Republick. However, the artful *Poſtumius* found Means to avoid the Condemnation he dreaded; by prevailing on *Carvilius* the *Conſul*, to make him one of his Lieutenant-Generals. It was then ſettled, that a *Conſul*, after his Year was out, might without Scruple ſerve under his Succeſſor: and by this means *Poſtumius* avoided his Proſecution, which was ſuperſeded.

§. VI. WHEN every thing was ready for the War, the *Conſuls* had Thoughts of ſetting out for their Province, where their Preſence was neceſſary to ſuppreſs the freſh Inſolence of the *Samnites*. The Heads of theſe People had found out an Expedient to equal their Forces, had it been poſſible, to that of the *Romans*, both in Number and Valour; and there was a Mixture of Superſtition, Inhumanity, and Pride, in this new Scheme. In the firſt place, they took an extraordinary Method to raiſe Troops throughout all their Dominions. They publiſhed a Law commanding all who were of Age to bear Arms to appear, upon the firſt Summons from the General of their Nation, under Pain of Death. The Heads of all thoſe who diſobeyed this Law, were *devoted* to *Jupiter*; that is, it was lawful for any one to kill them, wherever they were found. The general *Rendez-vous* was appointed in the Neighbourhood 15 of *Aquilonia*, a City of *Hirpinia*, belonging to the *Samnites*. Fear brought all the Youth in the Country thither, to the Number of about forty thouſand; which was ſufficient to make a great Army. What re-

Liv. B. 10. c. 38.

12 *Caſſiodorus* is miſtaken in the Name of the Conſul *Spurius Carvilius*, whom he calls *Cornelius*.

13 Moſt *Civilians* make the *Prætor Attilius* Author of the Law, which was from him called *Lex Attilia*. It related to Guardianſhips. The XII. *Tables* had indeed made Proviſion for them. See what we have ſaid on this Subject, *B.* 10. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 449. According to the fifth Law of the fifth *Table*, it belonged to the Father of the Family, to declare by Will, whom he pleaſed Guardian of his Children, during their Minority. This was generally ſome Friend in whom he confided, and who muſt have been a *Roman Citizen*. In the ancient *Civil Law*, he has the Title of *Tutor Teſtamentarius*. If the Father died inteſtate, the *Roman* Laws conferred the Guardianſhip on the neareſt Relation by the Father's Side, who was called *Legitimus Tutor*. And in default of both theſe, the new Law, according to *Carius* the *Civilian*, gave the *Prætor* a Power to nominate the Guardian. But *Ulpian* ſays, That the Choice of the Guardian was referred to the *Prætor*, jointly with the Majority of the *Tribunes of the People*. But however that be, this Precaution was neceſſary. It often happened, that this burdenſome Office, interfered with Mens indiſpenſable Engagements; and in that caſe, the ſafeſt Way was, to have Recourſe to the Wiſdom of the Magiſtrates. A Perſon of known Probity was propoſed to them, to take care of the Eſtate of the Minors: and generally, the Perſons propoſed were accepted, unleſs the Judges thought it for the Advantage of the Children to do otherwiſe. Nor did the *Attilian* Law reach only to Children under the Age of *Puberty*, but likewiſe to Women, who were, all their Lives, under the Government of a Guardian, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve elſewhere. But the *Roman* Law concerning Guardianſhips, was afterwards altered ſeveral times; and often corrected by the Magiſtrates and Emperors, who ordered their Corrections to be inſerted in the ancient *Code*. We ſhall ſpeak of them, in their proper Time and Place. Some have conjectured, that The *Attilian* Law was made at the Requeſt of one *Lucius Attilius*, a *Tribune of the People*, in the Year of *Rome* 442, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*. But the Name of *Attilius*, which is the Foundation of the Conjecture, no more proves the Law to have been made in that Year, than in the Year 460, when one *Marcus Attilius Regulus* was *Prætor*.

14 *Livy* has not indeed told us, what *Poſtumius*'s Accuſation was; but it is probable, that *Scantius* charged it upon him as a Crime, that he had procured a Triumph to be decreed him, notwithſtanding the Oppoſitions of the Senate, and *Tribunes of the People*.

15 The Situation of *Carbonara*, a Town of *The Further Principality*, agrees well enough with that which the Hiſtorians and *Itineraries* give the ancient City of *Aquilonia*, which formerly belonged to the *Hirpini*. Nevertheleſs, *Holſtenius* thinks that *Aquilonia* ſtood in the Neighbourhood of a City, now called *La Cedogna*, near the River *Anſidus*, or the *Ofanto*.

Year of ROME CCCCLX. L. Papirius Cursor, Sp. Carvilius Maximus, Conſuls. *Liv. B.* 10. *c.* 38.

mained was, to inſpire them with as much Courage by Artifice, as the Virtue of the *Romans* gave them; and the Expedient made uſe of for that Purpoſe, was this. They incloſed a Place two hundred Foot ſquare, with Planks and Hurdles, in the midſt of a Plain; and ſhut it up ſo cloſe that none without could diſcover what was done in it. In order to ſcreen it from the Heat of the Sun, it was covered with Sails hung up upon Maſts; and in this Place was built an Altar, on which were to be offered ſeveral Sorts of Victims. An old *Samnite*, named *Ovius Paccius*, more venerable for his Age and long Beard, than his Prieſthood, preſided in the Ceremony of the Day. He began with reading in an old Book, written on Cloth, the Ceremonies of the Sacrifice he was going to perform. He pretended, that the religious Act he was about to do, was as old as the *Samnite* Nation, and had been revived by their Fathers, when they formed the Deſign of taking away *Capua* from the *Campani*. After he had ſtained the Altar with the Blood of ſome ſlain Victims, he brought the General firſt into the Incloſure, then the chief Officers of the Army, after one another; and after them, the chief Flower of the young Nobility. The ſolemn Apparatus of the Sacrifice, the Altar, the Blood ſpilt, and the Victims weltering in their Gore on the Ground, filled them with a religious Dread. Round the Sanctuary, the *Centurions* were placed in order, with threatning Looks, and their Swords drawn. As faſt as any were brought into the Encloſure, they were led to the Altar, and the firſt Oath taken there was, Not to reveal to any Perſon the dreadful Myſteries of which they were going to be Witneſſes: And all theſe Preparations were only deſigned to pave the Way for a ſecond Oath, which the General extorted by Force, of all thoſe who were admitted into this Place. It was drawn up in ſtrong Terms, and could not be pronounced without Horror. It was this. *May all the Curſes of the Gods fall upon me, and my Poſterity; May I become the Curſe of Heaven and Earth, if I don't follow my Generals, in the Battels, wherever they ſhall lead me; if I ever turn my Back, to fly; or do not kill thoſe whom I ſhall ſee flying?* Some of thoſe who were firſt brought into this Encloſure, made a Difficulty of loading themſelves and their Poſterity with ſo many Imprecations; and they immediately ſuffered for their Timorouſneſs. Their Blood was mingled with that of the Victims; and their Carcaſſes were thrown to the Heap of dead Sheep and Bulls, which had been ſacrificed. So that this new Sight increaſed the Terror of thoſe who were afterwards called in to take the Oath.

Liv. ibid. It is ſaid that the General himſelf named only the firſt ten who were admitted, and gave them Orders to take their Turns of chooſing every one his Companion or Friend, to enter into the ſame Engagements, till the Number of this devoted Company amounted to ſixteen thouſand Men; which was thought a ſufficient Number, both to give Example to the reſt of the Army, and raiſe their Emulation. This *Legion* was called *The Linen Legion*; not becauſe they were clothed in Linen, or light-armed; but becauſe they had taken their Oaths under a Canopy, or Covering of Linen. Before theſe Victims were expoſed to the Blows of the Enemy, they were finely equipped. Magnificent Bucklers were given them; and, that they might be the better diſtinguiſhed in an Engagement, their Helmets were adorned with ſtately Creſts. The reſt of the *Samnite* Army, which amounted to above twenty thouſand Men, were neither ſo richly clothed nor armed, as this choſen Body.

Legio Linteata. *Liv. B.* 10. *c.* 38.

§. VII. The *Conſul Carvilius* firſt left *Rome*; the Army he was to command being ready for him, and waiting his Arrival near *Interamna*, where *Attilius* had left it. From thence he took his Way towards *Samnium*, before the *Samnites* had finiſhed their Preparations, and at the very time that they were buſy, in endeavouring to inſpire themſelves with Courage, by the Help of Religion.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 39.

The firſt Exploit of the *Romans*, was the taking of [16] *Amiternum*, a City of *Sabinia*, near the *Veſtini*, which nevertheleſs belonged to the *Samnites*. The Enemy loſt two thouſand eight hundred Men in the Aſſault, and *Carvilius* took four thouſand two hundred and ſeventy Priſoners of War, in the Place.

16 *Brietius* mentions two Cities which bore the Name of *Amiternum*; one, in the Country of the *Veſtini*, which is now a Part of *The Further Abruzzo*, between the Rivers *Piomba* and *Peſcara*; which was the Birth-place of the famous Hiſtorian *Salluſt*; and the Ruins of which are now known by the Name of *Amiterno Rovinata*. Another, near the Head of the River *Aternus*, now the *Peſcara*, near the City which the Natives call *San-Vittorino*, five Miles from *Aquila*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Year of ROME CCCCLX.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls.

In the mean time, *Papirius* was haſtening his Levies in *Rome*; and when his new *Legions* were completed, he took the Field with all ſpeed. His firſt Enterprize was upon [17] *Furconia*, another City of *Sabinia*, or of the *Veſtini*, in the Poſſeſſion of the *Samnites*. He killed more Men in taking it, than *Carvilius* had done in the Siege of *Amiternum*; but he took fewer Priſoners. From thence the two *Conſuls* marched together, to lay waſte the Diſtrict of [18] *Atina*, and that Part of the Country of the *Volſci*, which was ſubject to the *Samnites*. After this, *Carvilius* turned off towards [19] *Cominium*, to lay Siege to it; and *Papirius* towards *Aquilonia*, a Place made famous by the execrable Oaths of *The Linen Legion*. There never was a more perfect Underſtanding between any Collegues, than now between the *Conſuls*. Their Armies were not above twenty Miles diſtant from each other, and they mutually aſſiſted each other with their Advice, as they were ready to do with their Forces. Whilſt *Carvilius* was preparing to lay Siege to *Cominium*, *Papirius* came in ſight of the formidable Army of the *Samnites*; and the War he was now going to make here, ſo much reſembled that which his Father had formerly carried on againſt the ſame Nation, that one might eaſily be thought the Copy of the other. But however that be, (for it is probable, that in general, *Livy* has related many Fables, in his Account of the Wars in *Samnium*;) *Papirius* tried the Enemy a great while, before he came to a general Action. Only ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes paſſed; and they often threatned one another, without fighting. Sometimes a Battel ſeemed ready to begin; but neither Army purſuing it, it was poſtponed to the next Day. As for *Carvilius*, he was more anxious about what paſſed near *Aquilonia*, than about his Siege of *Cominium*: and in the mean while, he received a Letter from his Collegue. *Papirius* ſent him word, that he was at laſt reſolved to give Battel the next Day, if the *Auguries* ſhould be in any degree favourable: and he exhorted him to purſue the Attack of *Cominium* with Vigour, leſt the Enemy ſhould ſend Detachments from thence, to increaſe the Number of the *Samnite* Troops near *Aquilonia*. *Papirius*'s Courier had all the Day to carry his Letter, and in the Night he brought back an Anſwer; importing that *Carvilius* approved of the Deſign. Upon which, *Papirius* immediately aſſembled his Troops, before his Tent, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner.

Liv. B. 10. c. 39.

Liv. ibid.

Liv. ibid.

IF Courage was to be acquired by juggling Tricks, or Creſts could do Execution, we ſhould have reaſon to be under the greateſt Apprehenſions of the Enemy. But it is our Happineſs, that our Darts will pierce painted and gilded Bucklers, as well as plain ones. Theſe ſhining white Habits will ſoon change their Colour, and be died with the Blood of thoſe that wear them. It was thus, that my Father formerly vanquiſhed ſome Battalions of theſe very Samnites, *who were covered all over with Gold and Silver; and our Soldiers had the richer Booty for it. It is perhaps the Fate of the* Papirian *Name and Family, to withſtand the greateſt Efforts of the* Samnites, *and to bring ſuch Monuments of our Victories over them to* Rome, *as are fit to adorn Temples, and publick Places. Is it to be imagined, that Heaven will favour a perfidious People, who have ſo often bound themſelves to us by Treaties, and ſo often broken them? If I may preſume to dive into the Counſels of the Gods, thoſe Gods who revenge the Proſtitution of Religion to infamous Practices, muſt ſurely be exceedingly enraged againſt our Enemies? With what Abhorrence muſt they have ſeen human Blood mingled with that of their Sacrifices?*

17 *Livy* calls the City *Papirius* made himſelf Maſter of, *Duronia*. But we don't know any City of that Name in ancient *Italy*. It is ſuppoſed, that the City here ſpoken of, was called *Furconia*. At leaſt, this City was near *Amiternum*, which the Roman Army had taken by Aſſault, a few Days before. The Ruins of *Furconia* are to be ſeen to this Day, and are called *Forconio*; they are over-againſt the Right Bank of the River *Aternus*, oppoſite to *Aquila*, which is but three thouſand geometrical Paces from them. *Holſtenius* places the Footſteps of this City near a Church of *St. Felix the Martyr*, which is built in a Place now called *S. Feli*.

18 The Territory of *Atina*, which the *Romans* ravaged, took its Name from that City which ſtood in the Country of the *Volſci*, where the *Samnites* had made ſome Conqueſts. We have ſpoken of it already.

19 It is evident from *Livy* himſelf, that *Cominium* and *Aquilonia* were twenty thouſand geometrical Paces from each other. Whence it follows, that the former ſtood on the Extremity of *Samnium* Eaſtward, or in the Country of the *Hirpini*. So that it could not poſſibly ſtand in the Place now called *Comino*, between *Atina*, *Sora*, and the Lake *Fucinus*. And according to *Scipio Mazella*, if that was the Situation of *Cominium*, we muſt look for the Remains of it, towards the Confines of *Samnium* to the Weſt. According to which Account, *Aquilonia* and *Cominium* muſt have had the whole Territory of *Campania* between them.

How

Year of ROME CCCCLX. L. Papirius Cursor, Sp. Carvilius Maximus, Conſuls.

How muſt they look upon theſe Samnites, *who are doubly-guilty; firſt, for having broken their moſt ſolemn Oaths to us; and then for binding themſelves to continue to violate them, by other Oaths, and thoſe the moſt execrable? Even the Minds of our Enemies can never be at Peace, after ſo many Crimes. Men will not act with the more Vigour or Steadineſs for Oaths, which have been extorted by Fear and Violence: they always fight faintly, when they are afraid of the Gods, their Countrymen, and their Enemies, at the ſame time.*

PAPIRIUS had no ſooner finiſhed his Diſcourſe, but he ſaw Joy painted on the Faces of all the *Romans*; which they further expreſſed by the Shouts they made, to ſhew their Deſires of a Battel. This was the manner in which the Troops gave their Suffrages in Camps. They were only uneaſy to ſee the Battel put off to the next Day; and their Impatience to come to an Engagement, made them think the Night long. From the General to the meaneſt Soldier, all were equally eager to engage, and every one communicated his Gladneſs to his Companion. All the Officers were inſpired with the ſame Deſires, as much as the Soldiers; even he, whoſe Buſineſs it was to obſerve the Preſages, choſe rather to tell his General a Lie, than check this univerſal Ardour. It was then cuſtomary to judge of the Succeſs of Battels beforehand, by the Greedineſs with which the conſecrated Chickens ate the Food which was provided for them. The *Augurs* always kept ſome of theſe Birds in Cages, and Battel was never given, till they had been conſulted. Their Haſte, or Slowneſs, in picking up their Food, was a good or bad Prognoſtick, of what would happen: And the Perſon now appointed to obſerve this *Augury*, perceived, that the Chickens fed but ſlowly. Nevertheleſs, as it often happens, that the Miniſters of Religion are not the moſt ſcrupulous, or the moſt credulous; the *Augur* choſe rather to falſify, than let ſlip ſo favourable an Opportunity. He depended more on the Ardour of the Soldiers, than the Greedineſs of the Birds, and made this falſe Report to the *Conſul*. *I ſaw the Birds come ſlowly out of their Cage, devour their Food greedily,* [20] *leap about, and ſcratch the Ground with their Feet.* *Papirius* heard the *Augury* with Joy, told his Troops, that the Gods had declared themſelves in their Favour, and hoiſted the Signal for the Battel. But this Obſervation having been made before Witneſſes, they, in the mean time, declared, That the Preſage was at leaſt doubtful; and the Report ſpreading from one to another, eſpecially among the *Roman Knights*, they thought it a Matter of ſuch Importance, as to deſerve to be communicated to the General. The *Conſul* had a Nephew in his Army, named *Sp. Papirius*, who was brought up in the Fear of the Gods, and educated as the young *Roman* Nobility then uſually were; and *The Roman Knights* made uſe of him to undeceive the General. Whilſt the young *Papirius* was informing himſelf exactly of the Truth of the Fact, leſt he ſhould make as indiſcreet a Report to his Uncle, as the *Augur*'s had been unfaithful; the *Conſul* was getting every thing ready for fighting the next Day. The [21] Eagles were already taken out of the little Temple where they were kept, and where they were honoured as a ſort of Divinities. The General had already aſſigned his Lieutenant-Generals their Poſts. He had appointed *L. Volumnius* to command in the Right Wing, and *L. Scipio* in the Left. *C. Caditius* and *C. Trebonius* had received Orders to command the Cavalry. *Sp. Nautius* was already gone to take Poſſeſſion of a Hill in the Plain; and was almoſt got thither, after having marched round about, at the Head of the Servant-Boys and Blackguard of the Camp, mounted upon the Mules, and other Beaſts of Burden. He had taken with him ſome *Manipuli* of the Infantry of the Allies, and was upon the firſt Advice to fall upon the Enemy, and raiſe as great a Cloud of Duſt as poſſible. And laſtly, *Papirius* had already diſpatched a Courier to his Collegue, to give him notice, that the *Samnites* had juſt detached twenty of their Regiments, of four hundred Men each, to go to the Relief of *Cominium*. All theſe Diſpoſitions were made, and nothing was more to be done, but to march out and engage; when young *Papirius* came and told his Uncle, That he had been deceived by him who obſerved the *Auguries*; and That the Preſage of the Chickens was at leaſt

Liv. B. 10. c. 40.

Val. Max. B. 7. c. 2. §. 5.

Livy, ibid.

20 This Motion of the Chickens, when they ate greedily, was called *Tripudium Soliſtimum*. Then the *Augury* was perfectly good. See what we have ſaid of this *Augury* of the Chickens, *B.* 14. *p.* 72. of this *Volume*, *Note* 38.

21 See what we have ſaid of the *Roman Eagles*, and the idolatrous Worſhip the *Legions* paid their Enſigns, *Vol.* 1. *B.* 7. *p.* 278.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLX.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls.
Livy, ibid.

leaſt doubtful. The *Conſul* was not one of thoſe daring Men, who glory in Impiety; or of thoſe weak ones, whoſe too great Credulity makes them timorous. He had taken his Meaſures, and he ſaid to his Nephew, *Be of good Courage, and behave yourſelf in the Action like a brave Man. If the* Augur *has made me a falſe Report, the Gods will inflict on him alone the Vengeance he has drawn upon himſelf by his Irreligion. As for me, I conclude it to be a favourable Augury, ſince it was ſo declared.* Thus ſpake *Papirius*, and then ordered theſe unfaithful Keepers of the ſacred Chickens to be placed at the Head of the firſt Line. He thought either to appeaſe the Gods by this Sacrifice, or raiſe the Courage of his Soldiers, who might perhaps have been alarmed by the Reports ſpread in the Camp.

AFTER theſe wiſe Precautions, the *Conſul* led out his *Romans* to the Battel. At the Head of the Enemy's Army appeared that formidable Body of *Samnites* who were ſo finely dreſſed. This *Linen Legion* was ſupported by the reſt of the *Samnite* Battalions, placed in the laſt Line. The firſt Line of the Enemy was indeed an agreable Sight to the *Romans*. So fine a Body of Infantry, in Helmets ſo richly adorned, and drawn up in Battalia, made a moſt charming Appearance. *Livy, ibid.*

THE two Armies ſoon drew near each other; but before they engaged, or had made their firſt Shout, a Dart was thrown, by an unknown Hand, which killed the *Augur*, who had been guilty of Lying, and Impiety. It is more probable, that he died by the General's Order, than that he was ſlain accidentally; but nevertheleſs, when the thing was told *Papirius*, he ſeemed to look upon it as a Stroke from Heaven, which gave him an Aſſurance of the Victory. He cried out, *The Vengeance of the Gods is wholly exhauſted on him alone who deſerved it. We have nothing more to fear from their Anger.* To which ſome add, that whilſt the General was ſaying this, a Raven appeared over his Head, and [22] croaked with a ſhrill, and not a hoarſe Voice; and upon this happy Preſage, which repaired the Defects of the former, the General is ſaid to have pronounced theſe Words, which were diſperſed throughout the Army. *If ever Heaven declared for us, it doubtleſs does ſo now, with regard to the Battel we are going to fight.* Thus the prudent *Papirius* concealed the little Faith he had in ridiculous *Auguries*, under the Cover of Religion; and increaſed the Ardour of his Troops, in Circumſtances which in all Appearance ſhould have damped it. *Liv. B. 10. c. 40.* *Oroſius, B. 3. c. 22.*

§. VIII. AFTER this, the Onſet was no longer deferred. *Papirius* ordered a Charge to be ſounded; and the *Romans* gave a Shout, as uſual when they began a Battel. The Engagement was ſharp and bloody; but the two Parties acted upon different Principles. The *Romans* were animated by the Love of Glory, the Hopes of fine Booty, and the Thirſt of Slaughter. The *Samnites* fought out of Neceſſity; and as the Fear of violating their Oaths, was the only Principle on which their Valour was founded, they in a manner kept themſelves wholly on the defenſive. They would probably have been ſtaggered at the firſt Onſet, and the firſt Shout, had they not lain under the moſt terrible Engagements not to give way. They knew they would infallibly be put to death if they fled, and they believed, the Puniſhment of Perjury would be extended to their Poſterity. *Liv. B. 10. c. 41.*

THE *Samnites* made a Reſiſtance for ſome time without retiring, but like Men whoſe Fear only keeps them from flying. The firſt Ranks of their *Linen Legion* were already over-run; and the Slaughter was carried to the Center of their firſt Battalions, where their Enſigns were, when they ſaw a great Cloud of Duſt driving before the Wind. It ſeemed to be raiſed by the marching of a great Army; but it proceeded only from that little Body of Infantry and Cavalry whom *Nautius* commanded. The Boys of the Camp, who were mounted upon Mules, artfully increaſed it very much, by dragging Boughs of Trees after them, which ſwept the Ground, and help'd to darken the Air. *Papirius*, tho' the Author of the Stratagem, pretended to be ſurprized at it himſelf; and both *Romans* and *Samnites* were equally deceived by it. Nothing could be ſeen through the Cloud, but the Tops of ſome Standards and Lances, and ſome Cavalry ſurrounded with the ſame Duſt, who being placed at the two Wings, ſeemed to flank a Body of Infantry.

THE *Conſul* likewiſe confirmed the Cheat, by crying out, with an Air of Joy,

[22] We have already obſerved more than once, the ancient *Romans*, upon the trifling Principles of *Augural* Science, judged of the good or bad Succeſs of an Enterprize, by the different Motions, and Cries, of Birds.

Year of ROME CCCCLX. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls.

Cominium *is taken. This is my Collegue, who is coming to help us. Courage, Fellow Soldiers, Courage; let us ſtrive to gain the Victory ourſelves, before another Army comes to ſhare the Glory and the Spoils with us!* Theſe Words were heard far, for *Papirius* was on horſeback, in the midſt of his Battalions; and then he directed his Cavalry to fall on the Enemy. *Trebonius* and *Cædicius* who commanded it, had Orders to begin the Attack, when they ſaw the General hold up his Spear, and ſhake it; and upon this Signal, the Horſe rode full ſpeed between the Spaces of the Lines, and came and fell upon *The Linen Legion*. *Volumnius* and *Scipio* alſo made new Efforts, at the ſame time.

WHEN the Enemy's Ranks were broken, by the Attack of the *Roman* Cavalry, the *Legions* immediately made themſelves a Way into the midſt of the *Samnite* Battalions. And then, notwithſtanding all human Precautions, and the Fear of the Gods, this Company of Men, who had bound themſelves by terrible Imprecations never to fly, were routed. Their Fear of the Enemy was too great to ſuffer them to attend to any other Apprehenſions. And the Flight of theſe Bravoes, who were the Choice of their Troops, occaſioned all the reſt of the *Samnite* Army to do the ſame. The Foot in their left Wing retired to *Aquilonia*, as being the neareſt Fortreſs they could come at; and thoſe in the right Wing regained their Camp. As for the Horſe, which conſiſted of the Nobility of the Country, they fled a great way from the Field of Battel, to [23] *Bovianum*, a City which, after having often changed its Maſters, then belonged to the *Samnites*.

THE Conduct and Valour of *Papirius* had begun the Victory; and his good Fortune, together with the Courage of his Soldiers, completed it. Whilſt the *Roman* Cavalry was purſuing the *Samnites*, the *Legions* were at the Heels of the Enemy's Infantry. One Part of the *Roman Manipuli* followed thoſe who retired to their Camp; and the other cloſely purſued thoſe who fled to the City. And *Volumnius*, who led the Conquerors to the Enemy's Camp, ſoon made himſelf Maſter of it.

BUT *Scipio* met with more Reſiſtance before *Aquilonia*: Not that the Vanquiſhed had more Courage, to ſuſtain the Aſſault made on the City, than to defend their Camp; but becauſe it is always more difficult to ſcale Walls, than to break thro' Paliſades. Beſides, *Scipio* had but few Men with him. The *Aquilonians* endeavoured firſt to drive the *Romans* from their Walls, by throwing Stones at them; but *Scipio* thought it not proper to ſuffer the Ardour of his Troops to abate, and judged it beſt to take a Place upon the Spot, which it would require Time to reduce, if he ſuffered his Men to cool. He therefore addreſſed himſelf to his little Troop, and asked them, *Whether ſuch brave Men as they could bear to ſee the right Wing take Poſſeſſion of the Enemy's Camp, whilſt the left wanted Courage to take* Aquilonia?

Liv. B. 10. c. 41.

THEN Emulation gave theſe Men, tho' fatigued with a long Battel, new Strength; and they conſented to make the Attempt. *Scipio* inſtantly covered his Head with his Buckler, to guard himſelf from the Stones which were thrown from the Walls; and his Troop all following his Example, they advanced, in good Order, to one of the City-Gates. There they formed themſelves into *a Tortoiſe*, broke open the Gate, made themſelves Maſters of it, and ſeized a Part of the Rampart. So that hitherto the *Romans* ſeemed to have taken the moſt prudent Meaſures; but when they came to penetrate into the Heart of the City, they were ſenſible they had been guilty of a raſh Attempt. They were too few in Number to be able to withſtand the Multitude of the *Samnites* who had fled into *Aquilonia* for Refuge. But *Fortune*, who attended the *Roman* General, came to their Relief. *Papirius* was then buſy in collecting together his victorious Army, which was diſperſed in ſeveral Places by an eager Purſuit of the Fugitives. The Day was cloſing, and Night is formidable even to Conquerors. *Papirius*'s Uneaſineſs therefore made him very active. He was running over the Plain, to bring back his Soldiers to his Camp, when he on the left ſaw the *Samnite* Entrenchments forced, and to the right, on the Side of the City, heard the Shouts of Combatants, and the Groans of thoſe who were engaging in an Engagement; and he therefore inſtantly haſtened thither, and carried with him the *Manipuli* he had picked up.

HE arrived very ſeaſonably; ſaw the Danger to which a ſmall Number of reſolute *Romans* were expoſed, at the Gate of the City, which they had broken down; and tho' he did not approve of their Raſhneſs, was well pleaſed with this Opportunity of completing

23 We have given an Account of the Situation of this City already.

completing a difficult Conqueſt, without much Trouble. He therefore marched his Troops thro' the Gate he found open; but Night approaching, he contented himſelf with entrenching his Men, juſt within the Walls of the City, without advancing any farther. And then, by the help of the Darkneſs, the Enemy eſcaped, and left the Place to the *Romans*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLX. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls.

THIS Battel of *Aquilonia*, was thought one of the moſt honourable the *Romans* ever fought. It was ſaid, that *Papirius* the Son, had equalled the Glory of his Father, in his firſt Aſſay. No young Officer had ever ſhewn more Intrepidity, Conduct and Strength of Mind. During the whole Action, which was ſharp, *Papirius* appeared with an Air of Chearfulneſs and Confidence; which encouraged his Troops, and aſſured them of the Victory. But he was chiefly commended for that Greatneſs of Mind, which raiſed him above the common Apprehenſions and Uneaſineſſes, which doubtful *Auguries* generally produced; and it was reported, that in the moſt critical time of the Engagement, when any other General but himſelf would have made a Vow to build a Temple to ſome Divinity, he only promiſed to make *Jupiter* a [24] Libation of a little Wine mixed with Honey, before he drank any Wine himſelf. It gave the *Romans* great Pleaſure, to ſee that every thing ſucceeded with him, even to the Meanneſs of his Vow, and his little Concern at the Falſhood of the *Augur*. But notwithſtanding all theſe Talents, we ſhall with Surprize ſee him long buried in the Obſcurity of a private Life. So unaccountable were the Elections at *Rome*! *Papirius* was not replaced in the higheſt Dignity, till long after his firſt Victory; nor would he have been drawn from his Solitude then, had it not been for the preſſing Wants of the Republick.

ACCORDING to *Livy*, the *Samnites* loſt thirty thouſand three hundred and forty Soldiers, in the Battel of *Aquilonia*; and the *Romans* took from them three thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy Priſoners, and ninety ſeven Standards. But this Number of ſlain ſeems incredible, and *Livy* contradicts himſelf [25] concerning it. I rather believe, with *Oroſius*, who doubtleſs made uſe of better Memoirs, that it ought to be reduced to twelve thouſand.

§. IX. AND whilſt his Collegue was deſtroying the *Samnite* Army, *Carvilius* was preparing to purſue the Siege of *Cominium* with Vigour; but upon the Arrival of *Papirius*'s Courier, who brought him Intelligence of the conſiderable Detachment ſent from the *Samnite* Army to relieve the City he beſieged; he delayed the Attack a little, and firſt diſpatched away one of his Lieutenant-Generals to meet this Reinforcement, and with Orders, to amuſe, or fight it, wherever he found it. *Brutus Scæva* led the firſt *Legion*, and twenty *Cohorts*, of Auxiliaries on this Enterprize, and went to meet the *Samnite* Detachment; whilſt *Carvilius* in the mean time, ſtormed the Town. At Break of Day the Scaling begun; and the Wall was ſurrounded by the Beſiegers. The *Romans* made a ſort of *Tortoiſe*, in order to approach the City; that is, a Body of them led up by the *Conſul*, covered their Heads with their Bucklers, cloſed their Ranks, and advanced with equal Pace quite up to the Gates of *Cominium*; Guards being poſted at all the Avenues of the City, to prevent Sallies. At the ſame time, the *Romans* broke down the Gates, and fought Man to Man upon the Walls. Then the Strength and Courage of the Beſieged failed them all at once. They were exceeding proud, as long as they ſaw the Enemy at a diſtance, and could beat them down with Darts and Stones, from the Top of their Ramparts: But when the *Romans* had with much Difficulty raiſed themſelves up to a Level with the Beſieged, and they could engage them, as it were, upon even Ground, from their Machines, the Inhabitants of *Cominium* were ſeized with Dread. They abandoned their Towers and Ramparts, and retiring to the *Forum*, in the Center of the City, drew up in Battalia. There they indeed ſuſtained the Efforts of the *Romans* for ſome time; but were forced at

[24] The *Romans* thought Wine mixed with Honey a delicious Drink. This Liquor was uſed in Libations and Sacrifices; and thoſe who triumphed, cauſed ſome of it to be diſtributed among the Soldiers who attended them in their Proceſſions.

[25] If it be true, as *Livy* himſelf confeſſes, that the *Samnite* Army conſiſted of no more than thirty ix thouſand Men, it can never be imagined that hirty thouſand three hundred of them were killed n the Field of Battel; beſides the three thouſand eight hundred, and ſixty, who were taken Priſoners by the *Romans*. Is it credible, that an Army of thirty ſix thouſand Men ſhould be reduced in one Battel to four hundred and ninety? This may ſurely be very juſtly doubted. Beſides, it is difficult to reconcile this Loſs with *Livy*'s own Relation; who confeſſes that a Part of the *Samnite* Army ſaved itſelf in *Bovianum*; and that the Fugitives hindered one another in their Flight.

laſt

Year of *ROME* CCCCLX.

L. Papirius Cursor, Sp. Carvilius Maximus, Conſuls.

laſt to give way to their ſuperior Strength. The Beſieged, to the Number of fifteen thouſand four hundred, threw down their Arms, and ſurrendered at Diſcretion, after having loſt four thouſand three hundred and eighty of the Garriſon.

Nothing now remained, but to give the Detachment Battel, which the *Samnites* had ſent to relieve *Cominium*: But the Lieutenant-General *Brutus Scæva* had not met with them, at the Place where he hoped to join them, which was between *Aquilonia* and *Cominium*. And in ſhort, when the *Conſul Papirius* appeared, and offered the *Samnite* Army Battel, the Detachment, which was got within ſeven Miles of the beſieged City, was countermanded, and immediately turned back. So that, it neither aſſiſted in the Battel of *Aquilonia*, nor the Defence of *Cominium*. Theſe Troops were indeed very near the Place, from whence they were ſent, when they heard the Shouts, and from thence inferred that there was a Battel; but ſeeing that their Camp was ſet on fire, which they diſcovered in the Beginning of the Night; this made them believe that the *Samnites* had been overcome. They therefore halted on the Place where they were, laying down upon the Graſs without entrenching themſelves, and ſpent the Night very ill, expecting the Day with Fear and Impatience. When the Morning came, they immediately diſperſed, at Sight of a Squadron of *Roman* Horſe, which, as it was purſuing the Vanquiſhed, accidentally ſaw them, and came to attack them. On the other hand, the *Legionaries*, who had alſo ſeen this Detachment, from the Top of the Walls of *Aquilonia*, came likewiſe to fall upon them; but theſe *Samnites* immediately diſperſed, before the *Legionary* Troops could come up with them. The *Roman* Horſe, who purſued them, killed about three hundred of them, the reſt eſcaped to *Bovianum*, and ſecured themſelves there.

The Succeſs the *Conſuls* had had, filled them with Joy. The two *Conſular* Armies had equally ſignalized themſelves. Rewards were therefore due to theſe brave Men, and Recompences of ſeveral kinds were accordingly beſtowed upon them. In the firſt place, the Generals gave up the Spoils of *Cominium* and *Aquilonia*, as free Booty to them; and after they had been plundered, both Cities were burnt, at the ſame time. Then, after the two Armies were united in one Camp; and the *Conſuls* had mutually congratulated each other on their Victories, their whole Care was to give the brave Men of both Armies the Rewards due to their Valour. *Carvilius* praiſed his Troops, and made them all Preſents, according to their Merit: *Papirius*, whoſe Army had diſtinguiſhed itſelf in ſeveral Places, and ſeveral Expeditions, gave his Officers and Soldiers Rewards of various kinds. *Nautius* had artfully carried on the Stratagem, and made an Handful of Servant-Boys, and Followers of the Camp, paſs for a whole Army. The young *Sp. Papirius*, the General's Nephew, had ſignalized his Valour, among the Horſe; had continued the Purſuit of the *Aquilonians* all Night; and deſtroyed a great many of them. Four *Centurions*, with one *Manipulus* of *Haſtati*, had ſeized the Gate of *Aquilonia*, and broken it. And to all theſe brave Men, the *Conſul* gave Bracelets, and Crowns of Gold. His Cavalry had performed wonderful Feats of Valour, during the Action, and purſued the Fugitives after it; and to every one of them the General gave Bracelets, and a [26] little Horn of Silver.

In this manner *Livy* relates the famous Battel of *Aquilonia*, aſcribing almoſt all the Glory of it to *Papirius*; and we have not interrupted his Relation with any impertinent Criticiſms. But I, nevertheleſs, dare affirm, that he was either deceived by unfaithful Memoirs, or ſacrificed the Honour of *Carvilius* a little, perhaps to flatter the *Papirian* Family, which was in his time illuſtrious, and *Patrician*. It is certain that *Carvilius* ſhared the Glory of defeating *The Linen Legion*, with his Collegue; ſince, as *Livy* himſelf aſſures us, it was not for having defeated the *Etrurians*, but the *Samnites*, that he triumphed, on *The Ides of January*, in the Year of *Rome* 460; that is, a Month before *Papirius*, who did not triumph till *The Ides of February*, in the ſame Year. *Pliny* adds, that *Carvilius* ſeized the Spoils of the *Samnites* which were killed in the Battel of *Aquilonia*, and out of the brazen *Cuiraſſes*, *Cuiſſes*, and Helmets, of the conſecrated *Legion*, made a gigantick [27] Statue

Tabulæ Triumphales.

B. 34. *c.* 7.

26 No Author has ſhewn us the Form and Uſe of theſe little Horns of Silver, which *Livy* reckons up among the military Rewards, with which the Generals honoured the Brave.

27 If we believe *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, *B.* 34. *c.* 7. the Height of this *Coloſſus* was ſo monſtrous, that it could be ſeen, from the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, which ſtood on the Hill of *Alba*, above twelve Miles from *Rome*.

of *Jupiter*, which was placed in the *Capitol*. And he likewiſe declares, That this *Coloſſus* was ſo great, that when it was repaired, another Statue of *Jupiter* was made, out of the Chippings only, and placed at the Foot of it. All theſe Honours beſtowed on *Carvilius*, purely for having conquered the *Samnites*, ſhew that he had a greater Share in the Victory of *Aquilonia*, than *Livy* gives him.

HOWEVER, the Campaign of the two *Conſuls*, did not end with all theſe Proſperities. They called a Council of War, in which it was reſolved to take Advantage of the Humiliation of the *Samnites*, and ſo totally to reduce theſe obſtinate Enemies, as to put it out of their Power to give the ſucceeding *Conſuls* any Trouble. The *Samnites* had now no Army to oppoſe the *Romans*. The *Conſuls* had nothing to do, but to beſiege, and take Cities; and by this means, they hoped to ruin this turbulent Nation, by degrees; to carry on the War at their Expence; and to enrich the *Roman* Soldiers with their Spoils. Which Scheme being approved by the Senate and People of *Rome*, Orders were brought to *Carvilius* to go and beſiege [28] *Velia*, in *Lucania*, near Cape *Palinurus*. Without doubt, this City then belonged to the *Samnites*, whoſe Juriſdiction reached a great way beyond *Samnium*. As for *Papirius*, he was ordered to turn his Arms againſt *Sepinum* [29], a City, ſituated at the Foot of the *Apennines*, and at the Head of the [30] *Tamarus*.

§. X. AND whilſt the two *Conſuls* were ſeparating, in order to go upon different Expeditions, all *Rome* reſounded with their Names. The Letter they had written to give an Account of their Victory, had been read in full Senate, and in the *Comitia*; and the People, and *Conſcript Fathers*, were the more rejoiced at receiving it, becauſe News was brought to *Rome* at the ſame time, that the *Hetrurians* had taken Arms again. The Citizens ſaid one to another, *If Affairs had gone ill in* Samnium, *we ſhould have been in the utmoſt Danger from the* Hetrurians. Thus the Joy of the *Romans* was increaſed, by the leſſening of their Fears. *Supplications* were appointed, by way of Thankſgiving; and all the Temples were opened and frequented for four Days. In ſhort, the particular Affection the People had for the *Conſuls*, made them celebrate the Feſtival with the more Alacrity, and Earneſtneſs.

As for the Reports which were ſpread of the Commotions in *Hetruria*, they were confirmed, upon the Arrival of Deputies ſent from ſome Cities in Alliance with *Rome*. Theſe declared, That their Country had juſt been plundered by the *Hetrurians*, becauſe they refuſed to join with thoſe Rebels, in making War upon the Republick. The Deputies were preſented to the Senate, by *Attilius* the *Prætor*, who during the Abſence of the *Conſuls*, was at the Head of Affairs. They complained, That they were pillaged by the *Hetrurians*, for their Fidelity to *Rome*; and it appeared, that the Reaſon of the Inſurrection of the *Hetrurians*, was this, that all the *Roman* Forces were employed in *Samnium*. The *Conſcript Fathers* gave theſe faithful Allies a gracious Reception, promiſed them Aſſiſtance, and aſſured them, that the *Hetrurians* ſhould in a little time be reduced to the ſame Condition as the *Samnites*. And indeed, if the *Hetrurians* only had declared againſt the *Romans*, the latter would not perhaps have been ſo much in haſte to revenge it; but the *Faliſci*, a People, who had long been faithful Friends to *Rome*, had ſuffered themſelves to be drawn into the ſame Revolt.

THE *Faliſci* being the neareſt Neighbours to *Rome*, on the Side of *Hetruria*, it was thought neceſſary immediately to take Meaſures, to prevent an Irruption into the *Roman* Territory on that Side. But before they were treated as Enemies, the

ROME CCCCLX. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls. *Liv. B.* 10. *c.* 44.

28 *Velia*, which the ancient Geographers call ſometimes *Helia*, and ſometimes *Elea*, lay about twenty five thouſand geometrical Paces South of *Poſſidonia*. The River *Halys*, now the *Halente*, watered its Territory. It had a Port which joined to Cape *Palinurus*; and from the Name of *Elea*, the neighbouring Gulph was called *Eleates Sinus*. Some think they find the Footſteps of this City near *Piſciota*, in *The Hither Principality*. The old Editions of *Livy* don't mention *Velia*; for ſo it is written in an ancient Manuſcript of that Author. The printed Copies of him, give the City to which *Carvilius* led his *Legions*, the Name of *Volana*. *Papirius ad Sepinum, Carvilius ad Volanam oppugnandam, Legiones ducunt*. The Situation of this City cannot be juſtly known; all that can be ſaid of it is, that it belonged to the *Samnites*. Some Moderns doubt, whether we ought not to read *Velinam*, as if the City here ſpoken of, ſtood near the Springs of the River *Velinus*.

29 The City of *Sepinum* became, in Proceſs of Time, firſt a *Municipium*, and then a *Roman Colony*. It ſtill retains its ancient Name with ſome Variation in that of *Supino*; and ſtands at the Foot of the *Apennines*, upon the Confines of *The County of Moliſa*, towards *Terra di Lavoro*.

30 The River formerly called *Tamarus*, is now known by the Name of *Tamaro*. It empties itſelf into the *Calore*, near the City of *Benevento*.

Year of ROME CCCCLX. L. Papirius Cursor, Sp. Carvilius Maximus, Conſuls.

Romans proceeded againſt them, according to Form. They ſent *Feciales* to them, to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done the Allies of the Republick by their Incurſions; and upon their Refuſal to give it, War was declared with them, and proper Meaſures were taken to bring them to Reaſon. It therefore being neceſſary to recall one of the *Conſuls*, and his Army, from *Samnium*, and ſend him into the Territory of the *Faliſci*; *Papirius* and *Carvilius* drew Lots, which ſhould march thither; and it fell to *Carvilius*, to the great Joy of his Soldiers. They were weary of making War in a Climate, which was much colder, than that of *Hetruria*; but as for their General, the Courſe of his Conqueſts was thereby interrupted. He had already taken three Cities, *Velia*, *Palumbinum* [31], and *Herculaneum* [32], ſince the Battel of *Aquilonia*. The two former were taken upon the firſt Aſſault; but *Herculaneum* had coſt two Battels, which were warmly diſputed, and in which the *Conſul* had ſome Advantage; and at laſt he made himſelf Maſter of the Place: and the Terror of his Name had brought a large Province into Subjection to him. It was computed, that he killed or took Priſoners ten thouſand Men, in the Sieges of the three Cities.

§. XI. Nevertheless, *Carvilius* obeyed; for the *Conſuls* were not abſolute. Their Marches and Expeditions were regulated by the Senate and People. *Papirius* was therefore left alone to finiſh the Reduction of *Samnium*; and he had already found more Reſiſtance at *Sepinum*, than his Brother *Conſul* had met with in his Expeditions. The *Samnites* were not content with defending the beſieged Place; *Papirius* had been forced to engage them ſometimes in a pitched Battel, and ſometimes in little Parties; and to ſuſtain the frequent Sallies of the *Sepinates*. He had a great Army to ſubdue, before he could force the *Samnites* to ſhut themſelves up within their Walls. But at laſt he gained his Point. The Enemy defended themſelves only from the Top of their Ramparts; *Papirius* beſieged them, and took the Town by Aſſault. Then the Rage of the Conquerors vented itſelf on the Conquered, for the Trouble it had coſt them to take *Sepinum*; they killed ſeven thouſand four hundred Men there, and made about three thouſand Priſoners of War. The Plenty of Booty which was in the Place, was all given to the Soldiers, who may be ſaid to have found the Spoils of many Cities, in *Sepinum*. Moſt of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Cities had removed their Effects thither. So that the *Roman* Soldiers, who were exceedingly enriched, were very willing to return to *Rome* with *Papirius*, to aſſiſt in his Triumph, and make a Part of the Proceſſion. The Winter was grown too ſevere in *Samnium* to be any longer tolerable; the Ground was covered with Snow, and the Soldiers could no longer live there in Tents.

The *Conſul Papirius* therefore, returned to *Rome*, loaded with Glory, in the Month of *February*. His Collegue *Carvilius* had received the Honours of a Triumph there, the Month before; doubtleſs, as he paſſed through it, in his Way from *Samnium* to *Hetruria*. And the ſame Honour was readily, and unanimouſly granted to *Papirius*, whoſe Proceſſion was as magnificent, as the Seaſon would allow it to be. The Cavalry, adorned with thoſe Marks of Honour, which their General had beſtowed upon them, entered the City on Horſeback; and thoſe *Manipuli* of the Infantry to whom the *Conſul* had given Rewards, were carried in Chariots. Several brave Soldiers appeared in the Proceſſion, with *Civick*, and [33] *Mural* Crowns on their Heads; but what made the fineſt Show, was the Spoils of the *Samnites*, eſpecially of the devoted *Legion*. Theſe rich Ornaments were compared with thoſe, which *Papirius* the Father had formerly taken, and which were univerſally known in *Rome*, becauſe ſeveral Places in the City had long been adorned with them. And what redounded yet more to the Honour of the triumphing Victor, was the Number of Captives who followed his Chariot. There

31 We dare not affirm, that the City of *Palumbinum*, ſtood two Miles below *New Capua*, in the Place now called *Palumbara*. Upon this Suppoſition, *Palumbinum* would indeed be placed in *Campania*: and we may have obſerved all along in the Body of the Hiſtory, that the *Samnites* often made Incurſions into this fine Province, and had made themſelves Maſters of ſome Places in it.

32 Whether this City of *Herculaneum* be the ſame with the City of that Name in *Campania*, which we have ſpoken of before, is uncertain. At leaſt the ancient Geographers have not told us, that there was another City called *Herculaneum*, in the Territory of the *Samnites*.

33 See what we have ſaid before of the different Sorts of Crowns, the Generals gave the Officers and Soldiers, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Valour, in a Battel.

were ſeveral Perſons of Diſtinction among them, whom either their own Merit, or that of their Fathers, had raiſed above the Vulgar. And after them, the Riches which the Conqueror had gained for the Republick, was carried on Biers. The Money ariſing from the Sale of the Priſoners of War, who were made Slaves, and of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, amounted to two [34] Millions, and about thirty thouſand Pounds of Braſs; and *Papirius* had taken one thouſand three hundred, and thirty Pounds Weight of Silver, in ſacking the conquered Cities. But though theſe Riches increaſed the Magnificence of his Triumph; they did not help to gain the General the Good-will of his Soldiers. They, tho' enriched by pillaging ſo many Cities, took it ill, that he gave all the Braſs and Silver which he had taken, to the publick Treaſury, without beſtowing upon them a Share of it: And this Frugality offended the People alſo. A Tax had juſt been laid on the Publick, to pay *Papirius*'s Troops, whom he might have ſatisfied without it, by diſtributing among them, a Part of the Money, he had delivered to the *Quæſtors*. And this perhaps made the Populace ſo little inclined afterwards to raiſe him to the *Conſulſhip*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLX. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls.

THIS Triumph, which was magnificent, was followed by another religious Ceremony, of which *Papirius* had all the Honour, before he left the *Conſulſhip*. His Father had formerly made a Vow, in the midſt of a Battel, to build a Temple to *Quirinus*. This was the third Temple erected in *Rome*, to this God, whoever he was; for ſome underſtand by *Quirinus*, the God *Mars*, or ſome other warlike Divinity worſhiped by the *Sabines*; and others take him for *Romulus*. But be that as it will, the Temple old *Papirius* had made a Vow to build, was erected towards the Cloſe of his Son's firſt *Conſulſhip*; and it was but juſt, that he ſhould conſecrate it. Accordingly, *Papirius* did it with an extraordinary Magnificence. He carried thither the fineſt of the Spoils taken from the *Samnites*, adorned the Walls and Vault of the Temple with them; and there being ſtill left a great Number of theſe rich Spoils, which there was not room to hang up, either in this Temple, or the *Forum Romanum*, the *Conſul* made Preſents of them to the *Colonies*, and Cities in Alliance with *Rome*, for Ornaments for their Temples and publick Places. *Plin. B. 7. c. 41. and Liv. B. 10. c. 46.*

NOR muſt I neglect to mention another Monument, for which *Papirius*'s *Conſulſhip* was remarkable, and with which the Temple he had juſt conſecrated, was adorned. A Sun-Dial [35] was then ſeen at *Rome*, for the firſt time; but the Hiſtorians have not told us the Workman's Name. It is well known, that the Art of ſhewing the Hours of the Day by the Sun, with the Aſſiſtance of a *Gnomon*, or *Index*, had now been long diſcovered at *Lacedæmon*, by *Anaximenes*; but this Art had not yet reached *Rome*. The *Romans* at firſt diſtinguiſhed no Parts of the Day but the riſing and ſetting of the Sun; and afterwards they obſerved Noon likewiſe, *Plin. B. 7. c. 60.*

[34] Moſt Editions of *Livy* differ as to this Sum. In ſome we read, *Æris gravis tranſvecta vicies centum millia & auri triginta millia*, that is, that out of the Produce of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, and ariſing from the Sale of the Priſoners, two millions of Pounds of Copper, and thirty thouſand Pounds of Gold, an incredible Sum for thoſe Days, was put into the publick Treaſury. In other Editions, the Sum is advanced to thirty three thouſand, *& auri triginta tria millia*. In *Galenius*'s Edition, the Text mentions only two million, five hundred, and thirty three thouſand Pounds, without ſaying any thing of the Gold. In the Manuſcript, in *Monſieur Colbert*'s Library, the Sum is exorbitant. It is there two hundred thouſand millions, and thirty three thouſand * *Aſſes*, of a Pound each. This enormous Quantity of *Aſſes*, reckoned only at one *French Sol* each, will amount to near a thouſand millions, and thirty three thouſand *French Livres*. To which if we add the thirty thouſand Pounds of Gold, the whole will amount to about ſixteen millions, five hundred and three thouſand *French Livres*, without the thouſand three hundred and thirty Pounds of Silver, reſerved out of the Plunder of the conquered Cities. But it is not probable, that ſome Cities of *Samnium* ſhould be able to furniſh ſixteen millions and an half in Gold, at a time when this Metal was very ſcarce, and conſequently much leſs common than Silver. Beſides, it is not to be imagined that the *Romans* ſhould heap up ſuch Sums in one Campaign, as would now be thought exceſſive. We have therefore followed *Mr. de Thou*'s Manuſcript, which reduces the whole Sum to two millions, thirty thouſand Pounds of Braſs ‡, excluſive of the thirty three thouſand Pounds of Gold, of which that Manuſcript does not ſay one word. It mentions only one thouſand three hundred Pounds of Silver. ‡6555*l.* 4*s.* 2*d*; *Arbuthnot.*

[35] According to *Cenſorinus*, *c.* 33. it is very difficult to aſſign the exact Year, in which Sun-Dials came firſt to be uſed in *Rome*; to which he adds, That it is as uncertain where the *Romans* firſt placed the firſt Sun-Dial they had. According to ſome, the firſt they had, was that with which *Papirius* adorned the Temple of *Quirinus*, which he built in Diſcharge of the Vow his Father had made, twelve Years before. Others are divided between the Sun-Dials placed on the *Capitol*, and near the Temple of *Diana* on the Hill *Aventinus*. Beſides, which are we to believe, concerning this Matter, one *Fabius Veſtalis*, or *Varro*, who are both quoted by *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, *B.* 7. *c.* 30? The former gives *Papirius* the Glory of having firſt marked out the Hours on a Plane. But *Varro* pretends, that there was no Dial in *Rome*, till that brought from *Catanea* by *Valerius Meſſala*. In this Contrariety of Opinions, it is not poſſible to determine which is right. *6458334 39*l.* 17*s.* 11*d.* *Arbuthnot.*

but

Year of ROME CCCCLX. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls.

but in a pretty groſs manner. When they perceived the Sun to ſhine, between *The Tribune of Harangues* and the Houſe in which foreign Ambaſſadors were lodged, one of the *Conſul*'s Heralds was ordered to make Proclamation, That it was Noon. But now, the Art of making Sun-Dials, which was firſt made known to them in the *Conſulſhip* of *Papirius*, taught them how to divide the Day into Hours. And the Water Dial, which was ſome time after invented, helped them likewiſe to reckon the Hours of the Night.

Liv. B. 10. c. 46.

§. XII. AFTER *Papirius* had received the Honours of a Triumph at *Rome*, he did not tarry long there; but ſet out, with his Troops, for the Territory of the *Veſtini*, which was infeſted by the *Samnites*, and in which they were cantoned. This *Roman* Army paſſed the reſt of the Winter there, whilſt that of *Carvilius* was in Motion in *Hetruria*. The latter began with the Siege of *Troſſulum* [36], a City pretty near the Lake of [37] *Bolſena*. Upon the *Conſul*'s Arrival, all the Inhabitants were ſeized with Fear, and every one haſtened out of the City with all Speed, to avoid the Fatigues and Danger of a long Siege. But *Carvilius*, who kept *Troſſulum* inveſted, ſuffered only four hundred and ſeventy of the richeſt of the Citizens to quit the Place; and made them pay dear for their Eſcape. After this, he laid cloſe Siege to the City, took it by Storm, and made all thoſe whom the Sword had ſpared, Priſoners of War. Then he took five Caſtles, which were advantageouſly ſituated; and in this Expedition he is reckoned to have killed two thouſand four hundred of the Enemy upon the Spot.

THESE ſucceſsful Beginnings forced the *Faliſci* to ſue for a Peace. But the *Conſul* would only grant them one Year's Truce, made them give his Troops a Year's Pay, and demanded of them an hundred thouſand *Aſſes* of * Braſs, for the publick Treaſury. So that *Carvilius* returned to *Rome*, where he had already triumphed, after having now gained as much Glory, by having ſubdued the *Falſci*, and kept *Hetruria* to its Duty, as before, for having conquered the *Samnites*. He brought from his Expeditions, three hundred and ninety thouſand * *Aſſes* of Braſs, for the publick Treaſury, beſides a pretty great Sum, which he reſerved to build a Temple to *Fortune* [38] *who favours the Bold*. *Carvilius* erected this Monument near another Temple dedicated by King *Servius* [39] *Tullius*, to the ſame Goddeſs, and which ſtood on the Banks of the *Tyber*, without the City. And after all this, he had enough left to make Preſents to his Soldiers. He gave every private Soldier an hundred and two * *Aſſes* of Braſs, and every *Centurion* and Horſeman twice that Sum. This was no conſiderable Preſent; but the Remembrance of the covetous *Papirius*, who had ſacrificed the Intereſts of his Troops to the Magnificence of his Triumph, made them accept it with Pleaſure. By this means, *Carvilius* gained a great Superiority over his Collegue, in the Minds of the People. He became powerful enough to get one of his Lieutenant-Generals acquitted; whoſe Proſecution, tho' begun, could not be finiſhed during his Abſence. The Glory and Intereſt of the General, made the former Diſobedience of the old *Conſul* almoſt forgotten. Beſides, *Scantius* the *Tribune*, his Accuſer, was out of his Office; ſo that all the Proceedings againſt him came to nothing.

*322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

*1259 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

Varro, de Ling. Lat.

*6 *s.* 7 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

§. XIII. IN the mean time, *Attilius*, who from *Conſul* was become *Prætor*, made

36 The Geographers agree, that *Troſſulum*, a City of old *Hetruria*, ſtood in the Neighbourhood of *Monte Fiaſcone*. *Pliny* and *Feſtus* obſerve, that to the time of *Caius Gracchus*, the *Roman Knights* were called *Troſſuli*, from the Name of this City; becauſe they had taken it by Force, under the Conduct of one *Numius*, without the Aſſiſtance of the Infantry, who had no ſhare in this Conqueſt. But afterwards, they were aſhamed to bear a Name which was equivocal. *Pliny* tells us, That the Term *Troſſulus* was uſed in *Rome*, to ſignify a nice effeminate young Man; and in this Senſe, *Seneca* uſes it, in his 87th Epiſtle. *Idem faciam quod Troſſuli iſti, & Juvenes.*

37 The Lake of *Bolſena* took its Name from the City of *Volſinii*, whoſe Territory it watered. It is now called *Lago di Bolſena*. *Pliny*, *B.* 2. ſpeaks of two floating Iſlands covered with Trees, which were in this Lake. But thoſe that are now in it, are fixed.

38 We have ſpoken of the ſeveral Monuments *Servius Tullius* erected to *Fortune*, *Vol.* 1. *B.* 4. *p.* 135. The *Romans* afterwards multiplied them in almoſt all the Quarters of *Rome*. *Fortune* was indeed the Idol, or Favourite-Divinity of the Republick.

39 According to *Ovid*, *Faſti*, *B.* 6. *Servius Tullius* had built a Temple to *Fortune*, under the ſame Title as *Carvilius* did, *viz.* FORTUNÆ FORTI.

Ite Deam læti FORTEM, *celebrate Quirites,*
In Tiberis ripâ munera Regis habet.

Varro adds, *de Ling. Lat. B.* 5. That *Servius Tullius* conſecrated a Feſtival to this Goddeſs, in the Month of *June*, and dedicated a Temple to her, under the Name of *Fortuna Fortis*; which Temple, he ſays, was built without the Walls, on the Banks of the *Tyber*.

a Law, which was ever after in force, becauſe deemed a very equitable one. It related to Guardianſhips. The *Twelve Tables* had only determined two things concerning them. Firſt, That the Father of a Family might, by his Will, appoint whomſoever he pleaſed, to be Guardians to his Children; which Guardians were called *Teſtamentarii.* Secondly, That if a Father died inteſtate, the neareſt Relation ſhould be the Orphans Guardian; and theſe Guardians were called *Legitimi*, becauſe appointed by the Law, and not the Will of the Parent. So that the *Twelve Tables* had not provided for all Caſes. There were ſome Families, the Orphans of which had no very near Relations, and the Heads of which died inteſtate; and *Attilius* took care that theſe poor Infants ſhould not be left utterly deſtitute. He ordered, that the *Prætor* and *Tribunes of the People* ſhould aſſign them a Guardian, by a majority of Voices; and ſuch Guardians are called by the *Civilians*, *Attilians*, becauſe nominated by virtue of the *Attilian* Law. It is likewiſe probable, that it was made in the Year when *Attilius* was *Prætor*, though the Hiſtorians have not given us the Date of it. At leaſt it's certain, it was looked on in *Rome* as a very ancient Inſtitution; and no time agrees better with the paſſing it than this. At the ſame time the *Curule Ædiles* made two other Laws, which were not of that Conſequence as the *Attilian.* The firſt related only to The *Games*; and enacted, That thoſe who had received any Crowns, as Rewards for their military Exploits, ſhould wear [40] them on their Heads, at the publick Shews; and that the Conquerors ſhould carry Palm-Branches in their Hands. The ſecond Law related to Shepherds, who had committed Treſpaſſes, by feeding their Flocks on the Demeſnes of the State; and with the Fines which were laid upon them, the *Ædiles* payed a great Road from the *Campus Martius*, to [41] *Bovillæ.*

Year of *ROME* CCCCLX. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS, Conſuls.

Ulpian de Tutelis.

Liv. B. 10. *c.* 47.

§. XIV. The *Conſuls Papirius* and *Carvilius*, had by their Conqueſts left the Republick in a more flouriſhing State than ever. It ſeems certain, that they did not quit [42] the *Conſulſhip* till *March*, at ſooneſt. *Papirius* preſided at the Election of the new *Conſuls*, which could not be made till *February.* The Perſons choſen by the *Centuries* were *Fabius Gurges* [43], a *Patrician*, and *Junius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Sæva*, of an illuſtrious, tho' a *Plebeian* Family. It may juſtly ſeem ſtrange, that the Promotion of *Fabius Gurges* to the *Conſulate* ſhould be oppoſed by him who ſeemed moſt nearly concerned to intereſt himſelf in his Favour. But ſo it was, that *Fabius* the Father became his Son's Adverſary in the *Comitia.* One Hiſtorian, who does not always deſerve entire Credit, ſays, that the Modeſty of the Great *Fabius*, who was then *Prince of the Senate*, was his only Motive to oppoſe his Son's Grandeur. He had been *Conſul* five times himſelf, and his Father and Grandfather before him had likewiſe been promoted to the *Conſulſhip*; and he is ſaid to have thought the uniting ſo many Honours in his Houſe, a pernicious Precedent for a Republick, in which it is of Importance not to heap too many Honours on any one ſingle Family. So that the Moderation of old *Fabius*, adds this Hiſtorian, got the better of his paternal Affection, and Love for his own Blood. But ſhould we grant that he acted from theſe noble Inclinations, which are never probable but in the Mouth of an Hero; who can ſay, whether this Republican Principle was the only Inducement the Father had, to thwart his Son's Election? Perhaps Family-Diſcontents might have exaſperated old *Fabius.* His Son had been ſurnamed of *Gurges*, purely on account of his Prodigality, and Debauchery in his Youth. Beſides, old *Fabius* knew better than any body elſe, the Incapacity of the Man the Republick was going to place at the Helm of Government. Which makes it probable, that a Love of the Publick, and a Fear of ſeeing his Family diſhonoured by an unworthy *Conſul*, were the real Motives that

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXI. Q. FABIUS MAX. GURGES, D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA, Conſuls.

Val. Max. B. 4. *c.* 1. §. 5.

[40] The *Romans* granted Conquerors the Privilege of appearing at the publick *Shews* and *Games*, with Crowns on their Heads, after the manner of the *Greeks*, from whom they borrowed this Cuſtom. The Right of carrying Palm-Branches, was likewiſe a ſecond Mark of Diſtinction ſhewn them, but was peculiar to the *Roman* Republick, and had never been practiſed in *Greece.*

[41] *Bovillæ* ſtood in *Old Latium*, between *Rome* and *Alba Longa*, at a little diſtance from the *Tyber.* It is now buried in its Ruins.

[42] *Livy* places the *Cenſors* and *Luſtrum* of the preceding Year, under this Year 461; and adds, That this *Luſtrum* was but the nineteenth ſince *Servius Tullius.* But this appears plainly to be a Miſtake from the Teſtimony of the *Faſti Capitolini.* So great an Authority ought always to prevail againſt that of a Writer, whoſe Chronology has been often found defective both as to the Order of Facts and Magiſtracies.

[43] According to the *Greek Tables*, it was not *Quintus Fabius Gurges*, but one *Fabius Maximus*, that the *Centuries*, now raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*, a ſecond time. But the Annaliſts have acknowledged this to be a Miſtake.

Year of ROME CCCCLXI.
Q. Fabius Max. Gurges, D. Junius Brutus Scæva, Conſuls.

ſtirred up the Father againſt the Son. We ſhall ſoon ſee that the Apprehenſions of old *Fabius* were not entirely groundleſs.

And it may be affirmed, that *Junius Brutus* had little Advantage over his Collegue, at leaſt in the Art of War. So that the *Conſulſhip* was now conferred on two Perſons, who only bore the Name of *Conſuls*, without any *Conſular* Merit; which was a very impolitick Step in the *Romans*. Had they taken care to nominate to the *Conſulſhip* two of thoſe great Generals, with which the Republick then abounded, *Hetruria* had continued peaceable; and the *Samnites*, who had been ſo ſeverely handled the laſt Year, would at laſt have ſunk. But *Papirius*, who preſided at the Election, cauſed two unexperienced Men to be choſen; perhaps for fear of having his own Glory eclipſed, by Succeſſors, who were capable of putting an End to a War which he could not finiſh. Add to this Misfortune, that the City was viſited with a Plague, which ſpread itſelf into the Country. *Rome* had often undergone the like Calamity, occaſioned either by the Multitude of her Inhabitants, or the Unwholſomeneſs of the Air; but no Plague had ever raged with more Fury than the preſent. Thoſe who give us an Account of it, ſeem to want Expreſſions to deſcribe the Havock it made; they can only ſay, It was fatal to a Prodigy! This Scourge therefore, and the Incapacity of the *Conſuls*, gave the *Samnites* an Opportunity to recover their Courage, and the *Faliſci* to break the Truce they had obtained the laſt Year. The former ſpread themſelves over *Campania*, in order to lay it waſte; whilſt the latter aſſembled their Forces againſt *Rome*, which was exhauſted of Men by the Numbers of the Dead, and oppreſſed with the Multitude of the Sick.

Zonaras, *B.* 8. *c.* 1.

Oroſius, *B.* 3. *ch.* 22.
Livy, *B.* 10. *c.* 47.

The Republick perceived her Miſtake, in placing two Men of ſmall Abilities, and no Authority, at the Head of Affairs; and remedied the Evil as well as ſhe could. When it had been determined by Lot, that *Fabius Gurges* ſhould make War with the *Samnites*, and *Brutus* with the *Faliſci*; it was reſolved to appoint the *Conſuls* two Lieutenant-Generals who were capable of ſupplying their Want of Experience. The illuſtrious *Carvilius*, who had juſt triumphed over the *Samnites*, and whoſe Valour *Hetruria* had experienced, was placed under *Junius Brutus*; and afterwards a yet greater Officer than *Carvilius*, was appointed to direct, and command under *Fabius Gurges*; which was his own Father. The venerable old Man, in order to ſave his Son's Honour, and out of Affection to his Country, did more than could have been expected from a Man of his Age. We ſhall ſee him ſo far demean himſelf, as to become a Subaltern to the young *Conſul*. As for the *Conſul Brutus*, when aſſiſted with a good Lieutenant-General, he ſet out for *Hetruria*, and by the help of *Carvilius*'s Counſels executed his Commiſſion there with Honour. His Army over-run a great Part of *Hetruria*, ravaged it, and brought off a great deal of Spoil. The *Faliſci*, who came to ſtop his Progreſs, were beaten. And in ſhort, *Rome* could not juſtly blame his Conduct, or charge any Want of Bravery on *Brutus*. But this was not wholly the Caſe with *Fabius Gurges*. As ſoon as he underſtood that the *Samnites* were ravaging *Campania*, he haſtened thither with his Army. His Father did not follow him; for he had not yet accepted of the Employment of directing his Son, and ſerving under him. And from hence proceeded the Imprudence and Temerity of the young *Conſul*. He had all the Vivacity and Ardour which the *Fabii* generally diſcovered in Battels; but he wanted Moderation and Experience. As ſoon as he came in ſight of the Enemy, he offered Battel. He, without deliberating, immediately fell upon a Troop of Scouts, which had been ſent out to *reconnoitre* him; and as he eaſily put them to Flight, this was enough to make him believe that the whole *Samnite* Army was routed. He therefore advanced againſt it, without obſerving any Order, or keeping his Troops drawn up, and with only one Body of *Romans*; for all his Forces were not yet come up with him. Nay, his Fire carried him ſo far, that he came and fell upon an Army which would have ſurrounded him, and cut him off, and all his Troops with him, if the Night had not overtaken them, and protected him from the Purſuit of the *Samnites*. And after all, he received a violent Blow. He loſt three thouſand of his *Romans* in the Action; and carried back with him a yet greater Number of Wounded, many of whom periſhed for Want of Medicines, and due Attendance; which was occaſioned by the General's Imprudence, and Precipitation to give Battel. For he had left all his Baggage, and the Surgeons of his Army, a great way behind him; and it may well be

Zonaras, *Annal.* *B.* 8. *c.* 1.

Eutropius, *B.* 2.

Zonaras, *Annal.* *B.* 8.

be presumed, that he and his Army would have undergone that Fate the next Day, which they had escaped the Day before, if the Dread of the Great *Fabius's* Name had not been of Service to his Son. The Enemy believed, That the Father commanded the rest of the *Roman* Army; and That they should soon have a powerful Avenger upon them. The Conquerors therefore decamped, without tarrying to receive him; and gave *Gurges* Time and Opportunity to escape.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXI. Q. Fabius Max. Gurges, D. Junius Brutus Scæva, Consuls.

§. XV. The News, which was brought to *Rome*, of so ill conducted an Action, and so lamentable a Defeat, justified the Father's Distrust of his Son; and the *Romans* were no longer surprized at the Opposition he had made to his being appointed *Consul*. The Indignation of the Publick against the rash *Consul*, was increased, by the Remembrance of the Victories of Old *Fabius*, and the Glory of his Ancestors. He was accused before the Senate, and it is probable the *Tribunes of the People* did not spare him, in the Harangues they made in the Assemblies of the People. At length, the Murmurs were carried to such a height, that it became necessary to call him back to *Rome*, and cite him to appear. Nay, the Depositions against him were so strong, that he was not even admitted to justify himself. And in short, every thing tending to a Condemnation, the Shame of which would have rebounded upon the *Fabian* Family; this rouzed the Zeal of the Father, in favour of the Son. He spoke for him, with all the Dignity of a Man of his Age, Merit, and Employments. *I don't pretend*, said he, *to excuse the Rashness of an imprudent General, whom you placed at the Head of your Armies, contrary to my Inclination. Nay, I would give him up to the Rigour of your Justice, were it not that the Disgrace of the Son must reflect Dishonour on the Father. Call to mind my Victories, and the Spoils I have so often taken from the Enemy; and compare them with the Disgrace, and slight Losses which* Gurges *has brought upon you; and then you will pardon the one, in consideration of the other. And after all, I have the Satisfaction of seeing that the* Consul *you have chosen does not degenerate from the martial Ardour of his Ancestors. If he dishonours me, it is rather by an Excess of Valour, than Cowardice and Fear; and the Fault he has been guilty of, does not render him incorrigible. A Want of Valour is indeed never to be repaired; but Prudence comes with Years. Experience will correct the too precipitate Sallies of my Son's Zeal for his Country; and he may yet become a very great Man, when I myself have formed him for the Conduct of Armies. I will therefore go and command under him; and what may you not expect from his youthful Fire, when corrected by the Flegm of a Man of my Age? My Son and I, when thus united, shall soon gain you more than you have lost.* These Words appeased the Minds of the People, who accepted the Offer the wise old Man made, and passed a Decree, appointing Old *Fabius* to be Lieutenant-General to the *Consul*, whom they were just ready to have deprived of the Command of the Troops. Upon this, the Father immediately followed the Son; and the Losses young *Fabius* had suffered, were soon repaired. As soon as it was reported, that the Father was coming to assist the Son with his Advice, Recruits were sent from all the *Latin* Cities, to increase the *Roman* Army. Indeed no Levies were made in *Rome*, where the Contagion daily swept away a great Number of Citizens; but the Allies supplied that Defect, and Old *Fabius's* Reputation drew him Succours from all Parts. With these Reinforcements the *Roman* Army went to try another Battel with the *Samnites*. Both Nations burned with an equal Ardour to fight; and at length they appeared in an open Country, and the Signal was given.

Florus, in Epitome Undecima.

Dio Cocceianus in excerptis a Valesio.

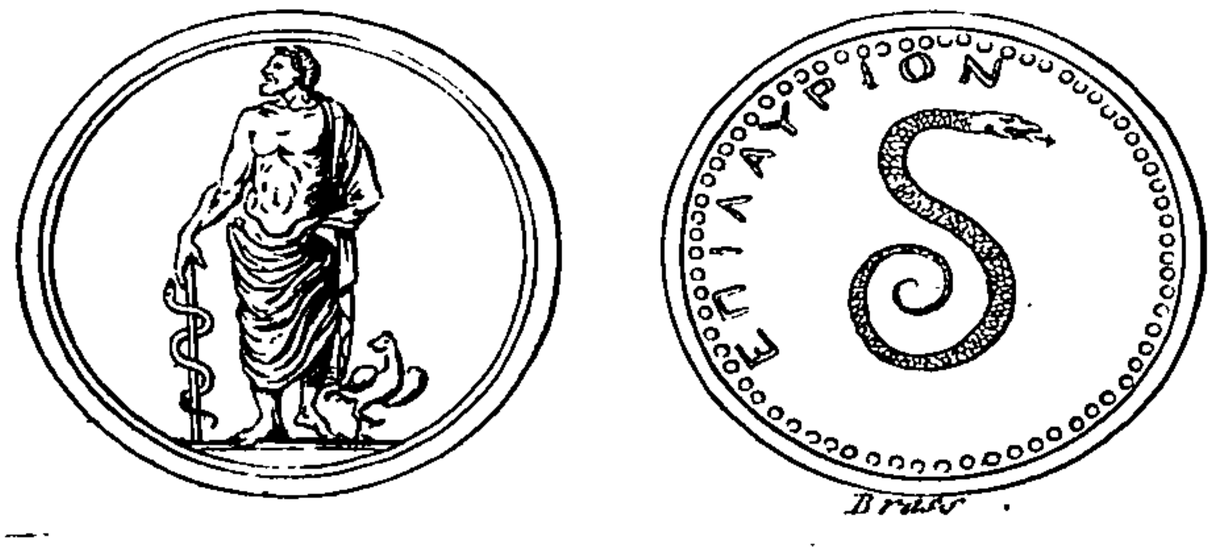
The *Samnites* made the first Onset, with their usual Vigour; and the *Romans* found it difficult to withstand their Impetuosity. *Pontius Herennius*, a Man of inefatigable Constancy in Battel, was their General, whom no adverse Fortune could hitherto discourage; he supported the weak Remains of his exhausted Nation with Fortitude. This brave *Samnite*, full of his first Victory, made incredible Efforts to gain a second. On the other hand, the *Consul*, spurred on by the Shame of his Defeat, fought as a private Soldier, in the first Line. But *Pontius* had already broken thro' the Troop which covered young *Fabius*, and the *Samnites* were surrounding him on all Sides, when his Father came to his Assistance. It was expected, that old *Fabius* would only assist his Son with his Advice, and not personally engage in Battel; but the Danger in which he saw him, rouzed his Courage, and gave him new Strength. The old Warrior exerted himself with the same Bravery, in Defence of his Son, as he had formerly shewn in *Hetruria*, and his first Campaigns in *Samnium*.

Oros. B. 3. c. 22.

Year of ROME CCCCLXI. Q. Fabius Max. Gurges, D. Junius Brutus Scæva, Consuls.

He threw himself the first Man into the midst of the Battalion which surrounded *Gurges*; and, animated by his Example, the bravest of the *Roman* Youth fell upon this Body of *Samnites*, broke it, and dispersed it. So that the Boldness of the Old General was the Fore-runner of the Victory. The *Legions* pursued the Attack, in the Place where the *Samnites* were broken; and pushed them so vigorously, that *Pontius* himself, after having done every thing in this fatal Engagement, which could be expected from a good General, or brave Man, was taken Prisoner. Twenty thousand of the Enemy were killed upon the Spot, or in the Rout, and four thousand of them, with their Chief, taken Prisoners. So true is it, that the Addition of one able Head in Councils of War, is of great Weight in military Enterprizes! The Defeat of the *Samnites* was complete. Their Camp was taken and plundered. *Samnium* was left to the Mercy of the Conquerors. And in short, the Spoils the *Romans* took in it, were partly delivered up to the *Quæstors*, to be put in the publick Treasury; and partly distributed among the Soldiers.

But *Rome* would have been more sensibly affected with the Victory of the *Fabii*, at any other time; the present publick Misfortunes much damped her Joy. The Plague daily made new Ravages; and in this Extremity, Recourse was had to the usual Remedy; that is, Superstition. The *Sybilline* Books were consulted; and they declared it necessary to fetch from *Epidaurus* 44, a City of *Peloponnesus*, in the Territory of *Argos*, the God *Æsculapius* 45, who was there worshiped under the Figure of a Serpent. The *Roman* Ambassadors might probably 46 set out at that time, to beg his Assistance; but he did not arrive till the next Year, when the Contagion was upon the decline: And we shall then see with what Applause the credulous People received the pretended Author of their Preservation. At present nothing was thought on but chusing new *Consuls*, at whose Election neither of the present ones could preside. They were both busy in carrying on the War, in their respective Provinces; and it was therefore necessary to create a *Dictator* to supply their room. This *Dictator* was



44 There were reckoned to have been formerly two Cities in *Greece*, which bore the Name of *Epidaurus*: one in *Argos*, the other in *Laconia*. The former, according to *Sophian*, was situated near *Cherronesi*; but *Niger* places it, in the Neighbourhood of *Pigiada*. It is now called *Esculapio*, and is the same which was dedicated to the Worship of *Æsculapius*. The latter was surnamed *Limera* by the *Greeks*, from the fine Meadows with which it was surrounded. It is now known by the Name of *Malvasia*, or *Malvoisie*.

45 The Ancients received as many *Æsculapii* as the Mythologists thought fit to invent. This was the Fate of the Pagan Divinities. Depending on the Caprice of the Statuary, who made them, or the Wit of the Poet, who realized them, they grew numberless, and seemed to produce one another. *Cicero*, in his Treatise *Of the Nature of the Gods*, reckons up three *Æsculapii*; but the Pagan Mythology, which gives them all, almost the same Attributes, generally confounds them, and makes them all but one. The ancient Monuments represent him, sometimes under the Form of a Serpent, as in a Medal, which bears this Inscription, ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΙΟΝ, because it was struck at *Epidaurus*. This Animal, and the Cock, are Symbols that are almost always represented with him. These allegorical Figures, are said to be designed to point out the Vigilance and Wisdom which are necessary for the Cure of Diseases. This God is represented with a Staff in his Hand, to shew that Medicine is the Support of Life. His usual Sacrifice was a Goat; and as this Animal was thought to be always feverish, the sacrificing it, was agreable enough to the Worship paid to the God of Physick. The ancient Pagans, who according to the Prejudices of their Religion, drew Conjectures concerning Futurity from the Motions and Cry of a Raven, consecrated this Bird to him; thereby to point out, as is pretended, the Sagacity of an able Physician, in foreseeing Diseases, and discovering the most hidden Causes of them, by certain Symptoms. What we have said in another Place of the Goddess of *Health*, is equally applicable to the God *Æsculapius*.

46 What is certain, is, that the Ambassadors did not set out for *Epidaurus*, before the End of the Year 460. Their Departure was delayed, says *Livy*, at the End of his tenth Book, because the *Consuls* were then employed in military Expeditions. All that was done at present, was only the passing a Decree, appointing one Day for solemn *Supplications*, in order to get an end put to the Contagion, by the Assistance of the God *Æsculapius*.

probably the famous *Appius Claudius*, of whom we have said so much; at least, one ancient Monument tells us he was *Dictator*. And as his *Dictatorship* could scarce fall in any other time but the Year 461, we shall place it here upon the Credit of an old [47] Inscription, which we take for granted is genuine. But nevertheless, *Appius*'s Nomination must have proved defective, since he did not preside in the Assembly of the *Centuries*. The Republick fell into an *Interregnum*, and *L. Postumius*, one of the Magistrates nominated to govern the State till the new Election, held the *Comitia*, in the *Campus Martius*, and presided in them. This *Postumius* was the same who had, the last Year, escaped Condemnation, by the Assistance of the *Consul Carvilius*, who had made him his Lieutenant-General. He was distinguished by his high Birth; but was in his Temper haughty, enterprizing, untractable, and above all Regards to Decency or Justice: He looked on the Violation of the Laws as a Trifle; thought every thing lawful, that helped to aggrandize him; and agreably to this, made an ill Use of the Presidentship of the *Comitia*, with which he had been entrusted, and gaining their Suffrages, got himself declared [48] *Consul*. This was an open Breach of the Laws, for which there never had been a Precedent, except that of *Appius* the *Decemvir*, which no good Citizen had approved. But nevertheless, the Election held good; and *Rome* gave *Postumius* for his Collegue, one *C. Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Bubulcus*, who had not yet [49] appeared upon the Stage.

Year of ROME CCCCLXI. Q. Fabius Max. Gurges. D. Junius Brutus Scæva, Consuls. *Apud Petrum Victorium Florentiæ.*

Liv. B. 10. c. 47.

§. XVI. This was the third time *Postumius* had obtained the *Consulship*; and he discovered as much Haughtiness and Pride in the Discharge of it, as he had done Ambition in procuring it for himself, contrary to Law. No Man was ever more regardless of the Esteem and Affection of others, than he. He had Quarrels with *Brutus* his Collegue; and with *Fabius Gurges*, who was continued General of a *Roman* Army in *Samnium*, with the Title of *Proconsul*, on condition his Father would continue to serve under him as his Lieutenant-General. *Postumius* discovered his Spleen to *Brutus*, as soon as they were entered upon their Office. It has been already observed, that the *Bruti*, tho' of the Family of the first *Brutus*, were *Plebeians*. They did not descend from the *Patrician* Branch of the Family of that Destroyer of the Regal Power and Authority; this Branch ended with his Death, and that of his two Sons, who were sacrificed to the publick Good. And hence arose the Arrogance of *Postumius*, and the Contempt he had for his Collegue. He treated him as *A New Man*, or an Upstart. So that when Lots ought to have been drawn, as usual, to assign the *Consuls* their Provinces, *Postumius* demanded *Samnium*, and pretended, that his Name alone was enough to give him a Claim to it, without putting it to the Chance of a Lot. The *Fabii* indeed then commanded an Army, which was acting against the *Samnites*; but he depended on being able to succeed against them, by the same violent Measures, which he made use of against *Brutus*. And he first practised all his Intrigues and Tricks against his Collegue; who was obliged to give way to the Senate, who took his Rival under their Protection. He did not wait for a Decree; but declared himself content to take upon him the Command in *Hetruria:* and *Postumius* despised the Indignation of the People, who were exasperated at the Injustice done to a *Plebeian Consul*. Upon this Victory, he grew more audacious than ever; and he made Preparations for marching a new *Consular* Army into *Samnium*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXII. L. Postumius Megellus, C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus, Consuls.

Suidas in Postumium.

D. Hal. in excerptis a Valesio.

§. XVII. In the mean time, *Rome* still continued to be afflicted with the Plague; and at length, *Æsculapius*, the salutary God, who had been expected a whole Year, arrived from *Epidaurus*. But we do not vouch for the Truth of all we are going to say of him. It is certain, That there were many Tricks practised in the Removal of his pretended Divinity, and That Superstition has blended many Fables with the Relations the Historians have given us of it.

ÆSCULAPIUS was a Native of *Messene*, a City of *Peloponnesus*. As soon as he was born his Parents exposed him in the midst of a Forest, where he was found by some Hunters. These had Compassion on him, and caused him to be suckled by a

Lactantius ex Tarquitio.

[47] This Inscription is written in a Style so different from that of the old *Latins*, that it is generally thought to have been made *ex post facto*.

[48] The ancient Annalists, and Historians, all exactly agree, in the Names of the *Consuls* for this Year; except *Livy*, who, *B.* 29 gives *Lucius Postumius* the false Surname of *Metellus*, instead of *Megellus*, which all ancient Monuments give him.

[49] Here *Livy*'s History breaks off; and we lament the Loss of the Continuation of this great Work for ninety four Years, which has not escaped the Shipwreck of Time. So that this Historian will now disappear, till the Beginning of the second *Carthaginian* War: but then he will again shine forth, with yet greater Lustre than before. Where he is defective, we continue to have recourse to the ancient Annalists, and other Writers of Antiquity; and have endeavoured from their rich Remains, to repair the Breach, which the Ages of Ignorance have made in *Livy*'s Story.

Year of ROME CCCCLXII. L. Postumius Megellus, C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus, Consuls.

Bitch. When he was old enough to be capable of Instruction, he was committed to the Care of the famous *Chiron* [50], who taught him Physick, or, if you will, Surgery; for the two Arts were then confounded. The Disciple soon excelled his Master, and, being grown an able Physician, settled at *Epidaurus*, a City of *Argos*, and practised his Art there. It must be granted, that *Æsculapius* made some Discoveries in the Cure of Diseases and Wounds. He is said to have invented the *Probe*; to have first made use of *Bandages*; and to have been the first who invented Purges, and the Art of drawing Teeth. And as he lived in an Age wherein it was usual to deify those who distinguished themselves by any useful Discoveries, the People were pleased to call him the Son of *Apollo*, and rank him among the Gods. After which, he soon had a Temple erected to him in *Epidaurus*; which was built upon an Eminence, without the City, because the most airy and wholsome Situations are most suitable to the God of *Health*. There the Priests, who presided over the Worship of this new God, bred one of those Snakes, which are easily tamed, and taught to follow any Persons where they please, without any Danger of being bit by them; and the silly Vulgar honoured this Snake, as the God himself. His usual Hole was under the Feet of the fine Stone Statue of *Æsculapius*, which the famous Sculptor *Thrasymedes* [51] *of Paros* had made; and whenever he came out of it, his Appearance was understood to prognosticate the Cure of the Sick. The Envoys of *Rome* were brought into this Temple, to which the Love of Life drew all *Greece*, and which Gratitude for imaginary Cures had exceedingly enriched. *Ogulnius* was the Head of the Embassy: And it's probable the *Epidaurians* made the *Romans* pay very dear for the Relief they desired; their Reputation and Interest being then very small in *Greece*. But however that be, the *Epidaurians* granted their Request, and suffered them to carry away with them the Snake, which drew all the People in the Neighbourhood into the City. It is reported as a Prodigy, that the Snake came out in sight of the Ambassadors, whilst they were attentively viewing the magnificent Statue of *Æsculapius*: And that he left the Temple of *Epidaurus* of his own Accord, and winding his great Body along, passed all thro' the City, and went directly to the Port where the *Roman* Ship was at Anchor. To which it is added, that he entered the Vessel of his own accord, went directly to *Ogulnius*'s Cabin, and curling himself into several Circles, continued quietly there. An Account, which is neither incredible nor miraculous, if we suppose (which might have been the Case,) that the Master of the Snake, who had tamed him, went before him to the Ship. Besides, this was not the first time that one of these Snakes had been taken out of the Temple of *Epidaurus*. The *Sicyonians* [52] had already carried one from thence to their City, in a Chariot; and an unknown Woman, named *Nicagore*, had conducted him thither. Thus the Impostures of the *Greeks* furnished the Nations, who were willing to be cheated, with *Æsculapius's*; and thus the *Romans*, among others, were bubbled by them.

Cicero de Nat. Deor. B. 3.

Plut. in Quæst. Rom.

Pausanias.

Auth. of the Lives of Illust. Men, c. 22.

Val. Max. B. 1. *c.* 8. §. 2.

Pausanias.

The other Adventures of the pretended *Æsculapius*, in his Passage from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*, have been celebrated both by the Historians and Poets. They relate, or feign, that the Ambassadors Galley felt the good Effects of the God's Presence, in her Voyage, it being exceeding prosperous and happy. But nevertheless, the Sea became boisterous towards the Coasts of *Italy*, and the Strength of the Winds forced the Seamen to put in, at the Port of *Antium*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Æsculapius*. The Snake had hitherto confined himself to *Ogulnius*'s Cabbin; but here he escaped, and gliding along came to the Court of the Sanctuary where he was worshipped. This Place was planted with Myrtles and Palm-trees, and the pretended *Æsculapius* got

Ovid. Metam. B. 15. *& Fast.*

50 Not to mention the fabulous Story of the Birth of *Chiron* the Centaur, it is sufficient to know the most rational Account the Mythologists give of him. He is said to have spent Part of his Life in the Mountains; and the profound Knowledge he acquired by the Study of Simples, gained him the Reputation of the most able Physician of his Time. Nor was he less remarkable for the military Education he had given *Achilles*, to whom he was *Præceptor*, than for his Skill in Physick. *S. Clemens Alexandrinus* ranks him among those, who established Forms of Religion, and introduced the Use of Sacrifices. We refer the Reader to Fable, for the manner of his Death, and the Place the Gods gave him among the twelve Signs of the Zodiack, under the Name of *Sagittarius*.

51 This *Thrasymedes of Paros* was, according to *Pausanias*, one of the most famous Statuaries of his Age. His Master-piece was an *Æsculapius* of Gold and Ivory, sitting upon a Throne, to denote the sovereign Power of this God, over all sorts of Diseases. In one hand he held a Staff; in the other, a Dragon. By the Side of the Statue was a Dog. The Pagans had consecrated this Animal to *Æsculapius*, either in Conformity to the Fable, which supposed him to have been suckled by a Bitch; or because, as *Plutarch* observes, *Quæst. Rom.* Dogs don't a little contribute to the cleansing of Wounds, by licking them. The Statue of *Æsculapius of Epidaurus*, had also a golden Beard, which *Dionysius the Tyrant* seized, under pretence that it was unnatural to give *Apollo*'s Son a Beard, when he himself was represented as a beardless young Man.

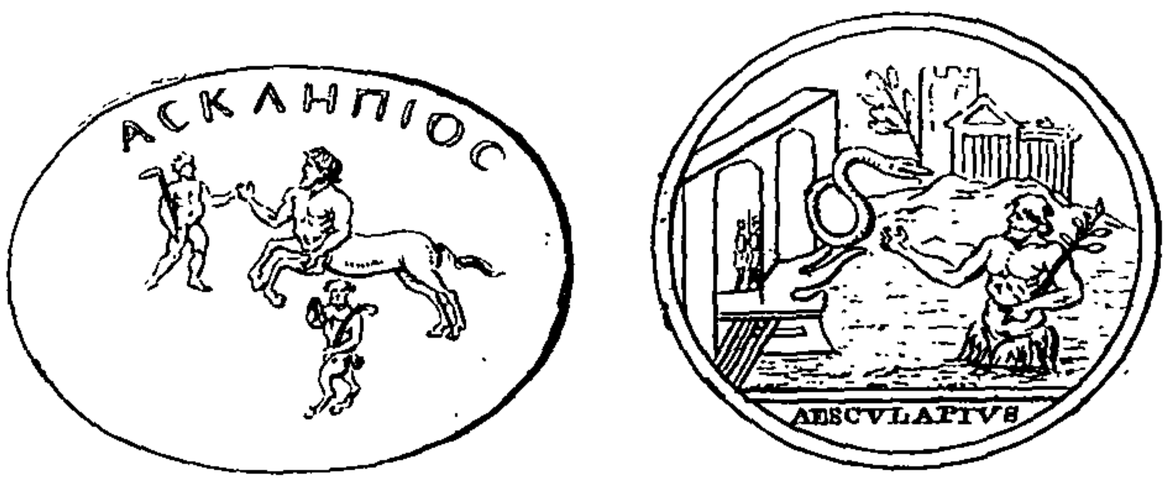
52 The Inhabitants of *Sicyone*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, had erected a Statue of *Æsculapius*, made partly of Gold, and partly of Ivory, in the Porch of his Temple. It was made by *Calamis* the Statuary.

upon the largeſt of his Trees, and twiſted his long Body round it. For three Days, it was much feared, that the divine Animal would continue there; and all Endeavours to bring him back to the Ship were vain. It availed nothing to offer him his uſual Food; he continued three Days twiſted round the Palm-tree. But at length, he returned to the Galley of his own accord, and ſuffered himſelf to be carried to the Place intended. *Antium* was at no very great diſtance from the Mouth of the *Tyber*; and the Snake was carried up that River, to *Rome*. The Joy the *Romans* ſhewed upon the Arrival of this ſalutary God, is not to be expreſſed. Altars were erected all along the Shore; and Incenſe and Sacrifices offered, even to Profuſeneſs. The *Romans* expected immediately to receive *Æſculapius* within their Walls, and build him a Temple; but the God is ſaid to have choſen his own Abode. In the midſt of the *Tyber*, over-againſt the Walls of *Rome*, there was an Iſland, formed in the Infancy of the Republick, by Straw, Trunks of Trees, Sand, and the Rubbiſh of the City; and thither the Serpent retired, ſwimming gently thro' the Water. From that time it was called *The Iſland of Æſculapius*; and a [53] Temple was ſoon erected to him there, and enriched with numberleſs Preſents. The Temple was built in the Shape of a Ship; the higher Part of it reſembled the Stern, and the lower, the Prow. But whatever the Hiſtorians ſay of it, it is very uncertain whether the Plague was not ſtopped, before the Serpent arrived; and if we believe *Pliny*, who gave no Credit to popular Traditions, the *Romans* themſelves would not ſuffer this *Æſculapius*, who had been brought from Beyond-ſea, to be placed within their Walls. He ſays, they had an Averſion [54] to Phyſicians, and their Art; and deſpiſed even the pretended *Æſculapius*, the Prince and Head of Phyſicians. But nevertheleſs, the Temple of this God of Health was very much frequented by the Commonalty at *Rome*; the Sick [55] came and paſſed the Night in it; and Imagination, or the Strength of Nature, ſometimes wrought Cures there, which were aſcribed to the Power of the God.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXII. L. Postumius Megellus, C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus, Conſuls.

Martianus.

Plin. B. 29. c. 1.



[53] There were ſome Ruins of the ancient Temple of *Æſculapius* in the Iſland of the *Tyber*, to be ſeen in the ſixteenth Century, near the Church of *St. Bartholomew*. Beſides, a *Medaillon* ſtruck by the Order of *Antoninus Pius*, renewed the Memory of *Æſculapius*'s Arrival in that Iſland, under the Form of a Serpent. We have the Figure of this God, on Multitudes of *Antiques*. He is repreſented (as above) on an engraved Stone, as a Child, who is receiving from *Chiron* the Centaur, ſome plant, probably, for the Cure of Wounds and Diſeaſes. ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΣ, or *Aſclepius*, is the Name the *Greeks* gave *Æſculapius*. Under the Centaur, is a Satyr, or the God *Pan*, holding a Rural Pipe in his Hand. Theſe were the Prepoſſeſſions of the Pagans, concerning the Power of the God of Phyſick. *Hippocrates* himſelf adviſes a Phyſician, if he would ſucceed in the Cure of a Diſeaſe, to invoke firſt *Apollo*, and then *Æſculapius*, and his two Daughters, *Hygia* and *Panacea*.

[54] *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 29. *c.* 1. that *Archagatus* was the firſt Phyſician, who came from *Greece* to *Rome*, where he practiſed Phyſick and Surgery, with Reputation, in the Year of *Rome* 535, according to his Way of reckoning, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Lucius Æmilius*, and *Marcus Livius*. To which he adds, That his *Greek* was commonly looked upon as a kind of Executioner, becauſe he had an heavy Hand. It is probable *Rome* was not abſolutely deſtitute of Phyſicians, before *Archagatus*'s time; but they were in leſs Credit, and their Knowledge of the Nature of Diſeaſes, and the Virtue of Remedies, was very little. *Terence* introduces Phyſicians upon the Stage, and *Plautus* calls their Shops *Medicinæ*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe of the Barbers, and Perfumers, which he calls *Tonſtrinæ*, and *Myropolia*. But it muſt be confeſſed, that the *Romans* had not that regard for Medicine, which an Art of that Importance deſerves. They, for a long Courſe of Years, left the Practice of it wholly to Perſons of a ſervile Condition, or *Freedmen*. And this Art was ſunk ſtill lower in the Opinion of the *Romans*, by the Roguery and Ignorance of Quacks, who, under the Title of Phyſicians, abuſed the Credulity of the People, made their Market of them, and at the ſame time much endangered the Sick which were under their Care.

[55] If ſick Perſons recovered, they, by Way of Thankſgiving, ſacrificed a Cock, to the God, whoſe Protection they thought they had experienced. It was in Alluſion to this Ceremony, that *Socrates*, when condemned to die, and thereby delivered from all the Evils of Life, ordered the ſame Animal to be ſacrificed to *Æſculapius*. By which we may judge of the Offerings which Perſons cured of Diſeaſes made to their ſuppoſed Benefactor.

§. XVIII. It

Year of ROME CCCCLXII.
L. Postumius Megellus, C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus, Consuls.

§. XVIII. However, it is probable, *Rome* [56] was delivered from the Plague, when the *Consuls* set out, one for *Hetruria*, and the other for *Samnium*. As for *Junius Brutus*, his Exploits in his Province were so inconsiderable, that the Historians have not thought them worth remembring; and we shall see *Postumius* behaving himself with the same Haughtiness at the Head of his Troops, which had made him odious at *Rome*. The two *Fabii*, Father and Son, made War also in *Samnium*, and that with a great deal of Prudence and Valour. The Father was only Lieutenant-General to the Son, who as *Pro-Consul* commanded in chief; and the wise old Man took Care to govern the young General with all possible Address and Circumspection. He was the main Spring of all the Expeditions which were undertaken; but without appearing to be so. The Schemes and Advice were his; but he did not propose them with the Authority of a Father. He artfully and imperceptibly insinuated them into his Son's Mind, who adopted them with the more Pleasure, because he fancied himself to be Author of them. They had already reduced all that Part of *Samnium*, which was called *The Canton of the* [57] *Pentri*. The Father and Son had already laid Siege to *Cominium*, an important Place formerly taken and burnt by *Carvilius*; but since re-taken, and re-built, by the *Samnites*. In the mean while, *Postumius* was also preparing to enter *Samnium* with a *Consular* Army. Before he left *Rome*, he had sent away a Detachment of his Army, and employed his *Legionary* Troops in his own private Business. He had made them grub up a Forest which belonged to him, without furnishing them with Utensils; and this first Act of Tyranny was followed with greater Impositions. As soon as he arrived in his Province, he made it his Business to interrupt the *Fabii* in their Enterprize, and assume to himself the Credit of the Siege of *Cominium*, which they had begun. He sent Orders to the *Pro-Consul*, to desist from his Enterprize, and leave it to him to carry on the Siege. *It belongs to me only*, said he, with an imperious Air, *to command here*. But *Fabius* had the Authority of a Decree of the Senate, who had nominated him *Pro-Consul*, to support him. Besides, the *Fabian* Family did not think themselves inferior to that of the *Consul*; and old *Fabius*, on whom the Insult partly fell, was an Hero, whose Merit was much respected. The *Conscript Fathers* therefore supported him in his Pretensions, and sent an Order to *Postumius*, not to thwart the *Pro-Consul*, but to leave him in Possession of his Province, and go upon some other Expedition in *Samnium*, in order to gain himself Glory there. But the *Consul* was too proud to pay any Regard to publick Authority. He gave the Messenger from the Senate this insolent Answer; *Tell the* Conscript Fathers, *it is their Business to obey their* Consul, *and not their* Consul's *to submit to their Directions*. Nor did *Postumius* confine himself to Words. He marched towards *Cominium*, with Resolution to give the *Fabii* Battel, in case they did not yield to his obstinate Humour. Then would a *Roman Consul* have fought with a *Pro-Consul* for the first time; and the *Samnites* would have triumphed, upon the Division of the *Romans*. But the Wisdom of old *Fabius* inclined him to Moderation; and he brought his Son into the same Measures, whose Youth would otherwise have given him more Spirit; and the Justice of whose Cause would have warranted his sustaining the Attack of a rash Aggressor. The *Pro-Consul* gained more Glory by the Conquest of himself, than he could have done by that of the Enemy. He left the Place to *Postumius*, after he had protested, That the publick Welfare was his only Motive to quit so glorious a Conquest; and That he was very little afraid of the Menaces of an imperious Rival.

Dio. Cocceianus in excerptis a Valesio.

D. Hal. in excerptis a Valesio.

Then the *Consul*, seeing the Way open to him, pressed *Cominium*, with all the Vigour of a fiery Man; and in few Days he made himself Master of it. From thence he turned his Arms towards [58] *Venusium*, an important Place, situated between three Provinces of *Apulia*, *Lucania*, and *Samnium*, which it was necessary to keep in Awe. *Postumius* wanted neither Courage nor Dispatch. He soon gained the City, and brought it into Subjection to the *Romans*: and hoping, that so considerable a Service would efface the Stain of his Disobedience, the *Consul* wrote to the Senate, to give them an Account of his Conquest. But the Republick valued Submission at a

56 The Priests of *Epidaurus*, who were well acquainted with the Art of curing Diseases, by reading the *Physical* Books, which were kept in the Temple of *Æsculapius*, may possibly have communicated Part of their Knowledge to the *Romans*. Perhaps some Remedies judiciously applied, wrought the Cures, which simple Persons ascribed to the Power of the God.

57 All that *Livy* tells us, *B.* 9. of the Country of the *Pentri*, is, that it was near *Bovianum*.

58 *Venusium* was so situated, that it bordered upon *Lucania*, *Apulia*, and the Country of the *Samnites*, or *Hirpini*. *Strabo* ranks it among the Cities of *Samnium*. *Pliny* makes it a City of *Apulia Daunia*; and *Ptolomy* places it in *Apulia Peucetia*. But this last Situation does not agree with that, which all Geographers unanimously give it. *Venusium* now bears the Name of *Venosa*. It had the Honour to give Birth to *Horace* the Poet. And according to *Livy* it had the Title of a *Roman Colony*, from the time of the second *Carthaginian* War.

much higher rate than Valour; and from that time *Rome* made him ſenſible, how diſagreeable his Conduct had been. *Poſtumius* repreſented to the Senate, in his Letters, that it was proper to ſend ſuch a *Colony* of *Romans* to *Venuſium*, as ſhould be able to keep a great Province in Order, which was always ready to take Arms: and his Propoſal was approved. But Occaſion was taken from this very thing to mortify him. It was natural and cuſtomary, for the Conqueror of a City to be one of the three Collegues, who were ſent thither to ſettle a *Colony*; and for him to aſſign the new Inhabitants their Places of Abode, and diſtribute among them their Shares of the Land which was given them for their Property. But in the Caſe of *Venuſium*, no regard was had to the *Conſul*'s Requeſt, to be the Founder of the *Colony*. The Senate named three other Perſons to conduct it, without giving him a Share in the Glory, which ſeemed to belong to him. Twenty thouſand *Romans*, according to ſome, and two thouſand, according to others, went from *Rome* to *Venuſium*, much to the Diſſatisfaction of the General who had conquered it. Nor was this all. The better to humble the proud *Poſtumius*, and at the ſame time reward young *Fabius* his Rival, the Honours of a Triumph were granted the latter, who made his Proceſſion on *The Calends* of the Month *Sextilis*. The brave *Pontius*, the General of the *Samnites*, who was famous for the Defeat of the *Romans*, at *The Caudian Forks*, followed the Chariot of his Conqueror; and by an Act of Inhumanity unworthy of *Romans*, loſt his Head. But there was another Sight, which was more ſurprizing to the Eye, and made a greater Impreſſion on the Minds of the Spectators. Whilſt *Fabius Gurges* was riding in a Chariot, his Father followed him on Horſeback; and took a pleaſure in mixing with the reſt of the Officers of the Army. He heard the Acclamations of the People, and the Songs of the Soldiers, in Praiſe of the triumphant Victor, with inexpreſſible Delight. And as old *Fabius* had formerly carried this dear Son upon his Knees, in his own firſt Triumphs; it was now his Joy to march after him. However, the Spectators did him Juſtice; they ſaid the Son was honoured with a Triumph, but the Father had deſerved it. This venerable old Man lived a great while after this, influenced his Son in all his Conduct, made him worthy of new Honours, and preſided in the Senate with Dignity.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXII. L. Poſtumius Megellus, C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus, Conſuls.

Tabulæ Triumphales.

Plut. in Fabio Cunctatore, & Val. Max. B. 5. c. 7. §. 1.

So many Marks of Diſtinction, granted or refuſed reſpectively, to the two Rivals, filled the violent *Poſtumius* with Rage. His Jealouſy vented itſelf in an angry Behaviour towards the People and Senate; and he invented a new kind of Revenge. He diſtributed all the Booty he had taken in the two Cities among his Soldiers, without ſending any Part of it to the publick Treaſury: and then disbanded his Troops before his Succeſſor arrived. Which ſpightful and paſſionate Behaviour makes me give no Credit to what ſome Hiſtorians ſay, of his having triumphed by the Conſent of the People, which he found means to extort from them, contrary to the Inclinations of the Senate. We ſhall ſoon ſee the Commons as much exaſperated againſt him, as the *Conſcript Fathers*. And it is improbable, that *Poſtumius* preſided at the Election of the new *Conſuls*, in the *Campus Martius*. This Honour was doubtleſs conferred on his Collegue *Brutus Junius*. The *Conſuls* the *Centuries* choſe, were *P. Cornelius Ruſinus* [59], a *Patrician*, and *Manius Curius Dentatus*, a *Plebeian*.

D. Hal. in excerptis a Valeſio.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXIII. P. Cornelius Rufinus, M' Curius Dentatus, Conſuls.

§. XIX. As ſoon as the new Governors were in Office, and *Poſtumius* out, a Deſign was formed to puniſh him, for his Abuſe of Power. Two *Tribunes of the People* were his Accuſers. The *Tribes* were aſſembled; and the Offender appeared on the Day appointed. His Accuſation chiefly turned, on his employing his Troops in ſo mean an Office, before he ſet out for *Samnium*. Nothing made him more odious to the People, than the Slavery to which he had, for a time, reduced the *Legionary* Troops; who were Men of free Condition, and owed no Service, but to the Publick. This crime offended the Commons more, than his Diſobedience to the Orders of the Senate. A conſiderable Fine was laid on *Poſtumius*; a Blemiſh was long caſt on his Reputation; and we ſhall ſee him no more promoted to the *Conſulſhip*. And yet it is probable, that he was the Man, who after Age had abated his Fire, was ſent on an Embaſſy to the *Tarentini*.

Liv. Epitome 11. & D. Hal. 16. ibid.

The War with the *Samnites* was now drawing to a Concluſion. The Strength of theſe old Enemies was upon the decline; and the Loſs of *Pontius* had weakened them much, that one Campaign was ſufficient to reduce them. *Pontius*, equally able to engage the Minds of his Countrymen, and to fight for them, had ſupported their Cou-

[59] This *Cornelius Ruſinus* was probably the Son of *Publius Ruſinus*, who was created *Dictator*, in the Year of *Rome* 419. As for *Manius Curius* his Collegue, the *Triumphal Tables* have reſtored us his *Prænomen*, and Name; which had been ſo much altered by moſt ancient Authors, that ſome have called him *Marcus Curio*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXIII.

P. Cornelius Rufinus, M' Curius Dentatus, Conſuls.

rage in publick Aſſemblies, and had commanded them in Battels with more Bravery than Succeſs. His Addreſs appeared by the great Number of Nations which he had raiſed up againſt the *Romans*; he often excited even their moſt faithful Allies to act againſt them. And it is even ſaid, that he ſometimes complained of the too great Diſintereſtedneſs which he found in the many Generals the Republick continually ſent againſt him. *How unhappy am I*, ſaid he, *to have to do with a People, who are not to be wrought upon by Preſents and Promiſes! Had the* Romans *been capable of being influenced by their private Intereſts, I had long ſince put a Stop to the Rapidity of their Conqueſts.* And as ſoon as the *Samnites* were deprived of this brave Leader, *Rome* thought it neceſſary not to delay giving them the finiſhing Stroke.

Cic. de Offic. B. 2.

It muſt be confeſſed that the *Romans* were a little weary of having the ſame Enemy continually to engage with, every Year. Tho' this War had furniſhed Matter for twenty four Triumphs, yet it had coſt the Conquerors a great deal of Blood, many Fatigues, and vaſt Expences. And it was therefore with deſign to put an End to it, that the two *Conſuls* were ordered to ſet out together for *Samnium*; where it is certain they acted ſeparately, each at the Head of a *Conſular* Army.

Epit. 11. Livii, & Eutrop. B. 2.

Nevertheless, *Curius Dentatus* diſtinguiſhed himſelf above his Collegue. He ravaged the Country, took Cities, won Battels, and at laſt reduced theſe untractable People to become Suppliants, and ſue for Peace; which *Rome* granted. She now entered into a Treaty of Alliance with the *Samnites*, a fourth time. The Conditions ſhe impoſed upon them are not known; but it is probable ſhe took proper Precautions, to cure the Inconſtancy of a warlike and reſtleſs People. And it is alſo probable, that the Senate left it to *Curius Dentatus* to ſettle the Articles of the Treaty. He was a Man whoſe Probity was equal to that of the moſt renowned Sages of the *Greeks*. He was almoſt as poor as the famous *Diogenes*; but did not pervert his Philoſophy, by making himſelf a Spectacle, and leading an idle unactive Life, in barren Contemplations. He was a great General, who did his Country much Service by his Victories; and who, without any Affectation or Vanity, practiſed the Rules which the Philoſophers oſtentatiouſly dictate. He was extremely negligent of Dreſs and Out-ſide Shew, and a Man of exceeding great Frugality. This appeared, upon the Embaſſy the *Samnites* ſent to him, without doubt to procure of him favourable Terms. The Ambaſſadors found him ſitting near the Fire, upon a bad wooden Seat, like thoſe the Peaſants uſed, and dreſſing his own Dinner, which conſiſted of a few Roots, which he was boiling. All his Furniture for his Table was only one wooden Diſh. This evidently ſhewed, that he liked to live in this abſtemious and poor Way; and, out of a Superiority of Understanding, preferred it to Luxury and Exceſs.

Plut. in Apoph. Val. Max. B. 4. c. 3. §. 5. Plin. B. 19. c. 6, &c.

The Envoys offered *Curius* a large Sum of Money, which the generous *Conſul* reſented; but expreſſed his Indignation, only by a diſdainful Smile. *Without doubt*, ſaid he, *my Indigence prompts you to enrich, in order to corrupt, me. But your Attempts are vain. I had rather govern the Rich, than be rich my ſelf. Carry back with you this fatal Metal, which Men brought into uſe, only for their own Deſtruction; and tell your Countrymen, they will find it as difficult a Matter to corrupt, as to conquer, me.*

The *Samnites* accepted the Treaty, as it was offered them; and the *Conſul* returned to *Rome*, where he enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph, which was as agreable to the *Romans*, as any ever had been. They were exceedingly rejoiced, to find themſelves at laſt diſburthened of a War, which had laſted forty nine Years, and employed fifty four *Conſuls*, not without ſome Diſadvantages, though upon the whole with great Succeſs. The conquered Nation were a brave People, and gave the *Romans* as much Trouble as any Nation had hitherto done. The Riches of *Samnium* were immenſe; and, if we believe the *Latin* Hiſtorians, its Inhabitants were without Number. Their Arms were made of Gold, and Silver, or at leaſt were ſometimes adorned with both thoſe Metals. Their Luxury in Dreſs ſignally appeared, even in their Armies. They were skilful in laying Snares for their Enemies, in their Foreſts and Mountains, where they found ſure Retreat, after Defeats. But it muſt be owned, that their Courage was rather the Effect of Fury, than regulated by Reaſon, or conducted by Counſel, and military Skill. And laſtly, tho' very humble and ſubmiſſive when conquered, they made no Scruple of breaking thro' Treaties, as ſoon as they had recruited their Forces.

It is difficult to conceive, that the Dominion of the *Samnites* could be then confined to the Limits of *Samnium*, properly ſo called, and to ſome few Cities which they had conquered in the Neighbourhood. Nay, it is certain, their Empire extended far on the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea; and therefore *Curius* gave the *Roman* People the

A ſecon

Account of his Conqueſt. *I have increaſed your State with ſo large a Tract of Ground, that the Coaſt of* Italy, *where I have made War, would become a vaſt Deſart, if I had not ſubdued Men enough to cultivate it; and I have brought ſo great a Number of Men into Subjection to you, that they muſt periſh with Hunger, if I had not conquered ſo much Land to ſupport them.* It was doubtleſs at this time, that the Conqueror diſtributed the Lands, with which he had enriched the Republick, among thoſe *Romans* who had none of their own. He would allow no more than ſeven Acres to be given to each Perſon; nor would he receive more himſelf, tho' a much more conſiderable Portion was offered him. All the reſt was appropriated to the Publick. The more covetous complained of it; but the wiſe *Conſul* made them only this Anſwer, *That in order to preſerve the Frugality of the* Romans, *it were to be wiſhed, that no Perſon poſſeſſed more Land, than was barely neceſſary for his Subſiſtence.* Such was the Great Man, whom Providence had reſerved, to finiſh the Work ſo many illuſtrious Generals had begun. By the Reduction of the *Samnites*, *Curius* put *Rome* into a Condition of becoming firſt Miſtreſs of *Italy*, and then of the whole World.

Year of ROME CCCCLXIII.

P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS, M' CURIUS DENTATUS, Conſuls.

Auth. de Vitis Illuſtr.

Plut. in Apoph.

It is uncertain, what kind of Government that of the *Samnites* was. I believe they were divided into ſeveral Cantons, which aſſembled annually in a Diet, wherein general Reſolutions were taken for the publick Good; and that in time of War they choſe a Head, whoſe Authority was abſolute. At leaſt, I find the Title of King given to *Pontius Herennius*, their laſt General. The *Samnites* had one Cuſtom which was very particular. They every Year aſſembled the marriageable young Men and Women, in one Place, where there were Judges appointed by publick Authority, to match them. Theſe Judges enquired ſtrictly into the Merit of the Boys and Girls; and he among the former, who deſerved to be diſtinguiſhed for his Wiſdom or Conduct, obtained the Woman who had moſt good Qualities for his Wife. Thus the Choice was carried on through them all, till they came to the moſt defective of the Men, and the leaſt deſerving of the Women. By this means, a Love of Virtue was kept up among the Youth of both Sexes; and an Emulation to ſee their Children handſomely provided for, made Parents the more careful of their Education.

Boſſuis. B. 3. c. 23.

§. XX. AND now the Conqueſt of *Samnium* drew after it, the entire Reduction of the *Sabines*. Their Confederacy with *Rome*, was almoſt as ancient as the City itſelf; but notwithſtanding their Alliance with the *Romans*, they ſtill were governed by their ancient Laws, and dreaded nothing ſo much, as to ſee themſelves reduced by the Republick, to the State of a *Province*, and forced to ſubmit to the Laws of Foreigners. The approaching Ruin of the *Samnites* their Neighbours, had made them apprehenſive of a total Loſs of their Liberty; and this had induced them to join the *Samnites*, and aſſiſt them againſt the *Roman* Armies.

NOR was this all. The *Sabines* had not only permitted their Youth to take Arms, but had alſo ſuffered them to make Incurſions on the Lands of the Republick, and lay them waſte. *Curius* was therefore charged with this Expedition; for his *Conſulſhip* was not yet near expiring; and he marched thither with all the Aſſurance of a Conqueror, who haſtens to complete a certain Conqueſt. He led his Troops into thoſe fine Fields, which are watered by the [60] *Nar*, and the [61] *Velinus*; and brought the whole Country, from the Head of the former River, that is, from the *Apennines*, to the Springs of the latter, that is, to the very Center of *Sabinia*, under the *Roman* Dominion. In order to compaſs this, it was indeed neceſſary he ſhould do two things at once. Firſt, force the Enemy to quit the Territory of the *Romans*, which they infeſted by their Rapines; and Secondly, beat them, and diſperſe them in their own Country. And to this end, he divided his Army into ſeveral Detachments, and ſending them into the Enemy's Country, filled it with Terror, and made more Noiſe, than he did miſchief. Then the *Sabines* laid aſide their Thoughts of pillaging the *Roman* Lands; and made it their Buſineſs to defend their own, which were become a Prey to the Enemy. By this means, the formidable Army the *Sabines* had abroad, was diſperſed in a few Days. The *Romans* attacked them in Parties, as they were returning home,

[60] We have already ſpoken of the River *Nar*, now call'd *Nera*.

[61] The *Velinus* is the ſame River the *Italians* now call the *Velino*. It overflowed all the neighbouring Lands, and turned them into Marſhes; for which reaſon, all the Territory it watered, was called *Velinum*, from the *Greek* Word ἕλος, which ſignifies a Marſhy Country. This River firſt runs into the Lake *Velinus*, and then diſcharges itſelf into the *Nar*, by a Canal, which *Manius Curius* built, or rather enlarged. He was forced to cut through the Rock, to complete his Deſign, as we are told by *Cicero*, in the 14th Epiſtle of the 4th Book, to *Atticus*. *Lacus Velinus a Manio Curio emiſſus interciſo Monte in Narem deſtuit.* The Natives now call this Lake, *Lago di pie di Luco*; it is the ſame with the Lake of *Rieti*, formerly called *Reate*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXIII. P. Cornelius Rufinus, M' Curius Dentatus, Conſuls.

and gained a more complete Victory, in ſeveral little Engagements, than if they had fought a general Battel.

So that this ſingle Expedition reduced the rebellious *Sabines*, from the Condition of Allies to that of Subjects, to the Republick. They ſubmitted, and ſurrendered themſelves up to her at Diſcretion; and *Rome* ſhewed them Favour. The *Sabines* were, after all, old Friends, who had furniſhed the *Roman* Monarchy with ſeveral Kings, in its Infancy: and they had not aggravated their Offences, by any long Revolt, or obſtinate Hatred. The Weight of the Yoke of their Slavery, was therefore leſſened. The Right of *Roman Citizenſhip* was beſtowed upon them, as a Favour; but without the Right of Suffrage.

Flor. in Epit. *Vell. Paterc.* *B.* 1.

Flor. in Epit. 11.

Auth. de Illuſ. Viris.

Plin. B. 34. *c.* 7.

THEN the brave *Curius*, who had brought the *Sabines* to their Duty, received an Honour, which not one of all the Generals his Predeceſſors, had enjoyed before him. He triumphed a ſecond time, in the ſame *Conſulſhip*. He was an illuſtrious *Plebeian*, and warlike Philoſopher, who gained more Glory in his firſt Magiſtracy, than the moſt noble, and richeſt *Patricians*, had acquired in many *Conſulſhips*, and by many Victories. It is not to be doubted, but his Virtue muſt have made many envy him; and in order to deſtroy that Character of Diſintereſtedneſs, which he had ſo juſtly gained, he was accuſed of having converted a Part of the Spoils he had taken from the Enemy, to his own private Uſe. He gave in his Anſwer to the Accuſation; which being very general, his own Oath was taken. And he confeſſed, that he had kept out of the Spoils of the Enemy, a little wooden Oil Pot, which he uſed in the Libations he made to the Gods. He was believed upon his ſingle Teſtimony, and the Malice of his Accuſers, turned into an Admiration of the Accuſed.

A new Accident gave him likewiſe new Luſtre. The *Lucani* thought fit to make War with the Inhabitants of [62] *Thurium*, a City, formerly called *Sybaris*, from the River of that Name, becauſe it ſtood at the Mouth of it, upon the Borders of *The Gulph of Tarentum*. The *Thurini* had recourſe to the *Roman* People, and one of their *Tribunes*, named *Ælius*, undertook to protect the attacked City. He prevailed on the Republick to ſend ſome Troops under the Command of *Curius*; and this indefatigable General made the *Lucani* raiſe the Siege. Nevertheleſs, the *Tribune Ælius* robbed him of a Part of his Honour; the *Thurini*, to reward his Zeal, erected a Statue to *Ælius*, in their City.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXIV. M. Valerius Corvinus, Q. Cædicius Noctua, Conſuls.

§. XXI. WHEN the Time for a new Election drew near, it is certain *Curius* returned to preſide at it; for all the Hiſtorians who have recorded this memorable *Conſulſhip*, have entirely forgotten the Name of his Collegue *Cornelius Rufinus*. The ſame *Comitia* then, which appointed *M. Valerius* [63] *Corvinus*, and *Q. Cædicius Noctua*, *Conſuls* for the next Year, nominated alſo *Curius Dentatus* for *Proconſul*, to go, and make War in *Lucania*. So that being continued in the ſame honourable Employment, at the Head of the Troops, which had procured him two Triumphs, he penetrated into the moſt Eaſtern Part of *Italy*. And the Succeſs of his Arms againſt the *Lucani* is unqueſtionable; but we don't know how he behaved himſelf in this new Province. Only, if we may judge of his Expedition by the Conſequences of it, it will appear, that he did ſomething more than deliver *Thurium* from the Oppreſſion of the Enemy: ſince, when he had finiſhed his Campaign, he returned to *Rome*, and received the Honour of an [64] *Ovation*. This was a leſs honourable kind of Triumph; but it was ſcarce ever granted to any but thoſe, who had quieted, or conquered Provinces, without Loſs of Blood. I am much inclined to believe, that *Curius* re-eſtabliſhed a good Underſtanding between the *Lucani*, and the Inhabitants of *Thurium*; and made them both Friends to the *Romans*, by the Terror of his Name, and by treating them with great Moderation. Thus this great and wiſe General brought all the

62 See what we ſay of the City of *Thurium*, and the River *Sybaris*, *B.* 21.

63 The Surname of *Corvinus* given to *Valerius*, makes us believe, that he was the Son of the famous *Valerius Corvus*, whom we have ſeen honoured with the *Conſulſhip*, no leſs than ſix times. His Collegue *Quintus Cæditius*, was the Father of a *Conſul* of the ſame Name, who was promoted to the *Conſulſhip*, in the Year of *Rome* 487, and died before his Office expired.

64 According to *Livy*, *Manius Curius* triumphed twice, the firſt Year he was *Conſul*, *viz.* over the *Samnites*, and the *Sabines*: to which the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men* adds, That he afterwards received the Honour of an *Ovation*, for having reduced the *Lucani*. But it is not credible, that he ſhould have ſubdued three different Nations in one Year; nor is it more probable, that the Republick ſhould grant him three Triumphs in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. It is more rational to ſuppoſe, as ſome modern Annaliſts do, That he was ſent into *Lucania* with the Title of *Proconſul*, after his *Conſulſhip* expired; and That the Senate and People decreed him his *Ovation*, after this laſt Expedition. Upon this Suppoſition, *Livy* had reaſon to ſay, that he obtained the Honours of two Triumphs only whilſt he was *Conſul*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXIV.
M. VALERIUS CORVINUS, Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA, Conſuls

Country, which extends from the *Adriatick* to the *Tyrrhenian*, and *Sicilian* Seas, under the *Roman* Dominion. There yet remained indeed, ſome Cities to conquer, and Nations to ſubdue; but *Rome* having now ſcarce any more Enemies abroad, gave herſelf a little Reſt, after ſo [65] many Fatigues.

VALERIUS CORVINUS, and *Q. Cædicius*, the preſent *Conſuls*, were wholly employed in Works of Peace. It is not improbable, that they ſent out three *Colonies*, to as many important Places, which being become *Roman*, might be made a good Barrier to the *Roman* State. At leaſt we know, that thoſe kind of Garriſons, which the *Romans* called *Colonies*, were ſent to *Adria* [66], a maritime City, which is ſaid to have given Name to the *Adriatick* Sea, to *Caſtrum* [67]; a Place in *Picenum*; and to *Sena* [68], another City on the Coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea, at the Mouth of the *Seno* [69], and in the Country of the *Senones*: tho' we cannot exactly aſſign the Time when it was done. *Flor. in Epit.* 12.

§. XXII. IN *Rome*, Men were grown more vitious, ſince they enjoyed Peace; and indeed it is not to be wondered at, that Violences ſhould be common in a City, which was wholly devoted to War, and whoſe Inhabitants were all Soldiers. The *Prætor* alone was not ſufficient to maintain good Order in it; nor could the People hear all the criminal Cauſes, which were brought before them, when aſſembled *by Tribes*, which was ſeldom done, and then not without Difficulty. And it was therefore neceſſary to erect a new Tribunal, to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of the Villains. This, *Papirius* the *Tribune* moved to the People, and they conſented to create three Judges, who ſhould have a Right to hear and determine all Cauſes relating to publick Crimes. The Law which was made for this Purpoſe, is yet in being; and is drawn up in more intelligible Terms, than the more ancient Laws are. It is this. *Every* Prætor *who ſhall be hereafter elected, ſhall preſent his Petition to the People, deſiring them to nominate three Judges. Theſe* Triumviri *ſhall have a Right to lay Fines upon thoſe who deſerve it. Their Decrees ſhall have the Force of Laws, and be as obligatory, as if the People themſelves had paſſed them.* Whence it appears, that the Puniſhments theſe Judges could inflict, reached no farther than pecuniary Fines, which were always applied to the Worſhip of the Gods, and Works of Religion. But nevertheleſs, theſe Magiſtrates were ſtiled [70] *Triumviri Capitales*; *Feſt. Pomp. B.* 17.

65 *Dion. Hal.* gives us a memorable Inſtance, much about this time, of the *Roman* Severity, againſt thoſe who debauched Youth. *Caius Latorius Mergus*, a Man as much diſtinguiſhed by his Birth, as Valour, was a *Legionary Tribune*, in the laſt War *Rome* had with the *Samnites*; and then conceived an infamous Paſſion for a young Man of great Beauty, who ſerved in the *Legions*, as a common Soldier. The brutiſh *Tribune* firſt made uſe of Careſſes and Artifices to enſnare his Innocence; but nothing could move the young Soldier. He rejected the infamous Sollicitations of this execrable Debauchee, with a Courage, which was Proof againſt all Temptations; and then *Latorius*, confounded, and enraged, at his Refuſal, made uſe of Violence. The News of this wicked Attempt was ſoon ſpread through the Army; and *Rome* trembled at the Recital of ſo monſtrous a Crime. The *Tribunes of the People* did not delay executing Vengeance on this Violator of the Laws of Chaſtity; but cited the Wretch to appear at the Tribunal of the *Comitia by Centuries*; which inflicted on the guilty *Latorius*, the Puniſhment he deſerved. The People pronounced Sentence of Death upon him.

66 Some had falſly pretended, as we have already obſerved, that the City of *Adria* gave Name to the *Adriatick* Sea. We can now ſcarce find any Footſteps of this City, which is nothing but a miſerable Retreat for Fiſhermen. It ſtands in the *Poleſin de Rovigo*, in a little Iſland formed by the River *Tartaro*. *Atria*, now *Atri*, ſtill retains the Name of a Biſhopprick, tho' the See has been transferred to *Rovigo*. *Ptolomy* mentions a City of the ſame Name, in the *Marquiſate of Ancona*.

67 *Polybius* and *Livy* ſpeak of this City, under the Name of *Caſtrum Novum*. It belonged to *Picenum*. We have only ſome Ruins of it remaining near *Flano*, in *The Further Abruzzo*, not far from the South of the *Trontino*.

68 The City formerly called *Sena Gallica*, and ſometimes *Seno Gallia*, ſtill retains the ſame Name, with ſome little Alteration in it, and is called *Senegaglia*, or *Sinigaglia*. It was founded by the *Senones*, (a People who came originally from *Tranſalpine Gaul*) when they came into *Italy*, with *Brennus*. *Silius Italicus* aſcribes its Origin to them, in his 15th Book.

.....*Qua* Sena *relictum*
Gallorum a populis traxit per ſæcula nomen.

This City ſtood in a Canton of *Umbria*, which is now a Part of *The Marquiſate of Ancona*; and is ſtill ſubſiſting, near the River *Nigola*, which makes a pretty deep, but a very narrow Port, on the Sea-ſhore, four Miles from the River *Ceſano*.

69 This River, which is called by antient Authors, *Sena*, or *Seno*, is the ſame which now waters *The Dutchy of Urbino*, and is called *The Ceſano*.

70 The *Triumviri Capitales* had not indeed Power to put a *Roman Citizen* to death; but they had this Power over the Slaves which lived in *Rome*. The Republick granted them an abſolute Authority over the latter, and full Right to puniſh them in any manner for their Crimes. This appears from *Valerius Maximus*, who ſays, *B.* 5. that *Alexander*, one of *Fannius*'s Slaves, was condemned to be crucified, by *Lucius Calpurnius* the *Triumvir*. *Feſtus* quotes a Law, which obliged the Parties who had a Cauſe depending before the *Triumviri*, to depoſit, each a Sum of Money, in the Hands of the *Pontifex Maximus*. He who gained his Cauſe, withdrew his *Depoſitum*; his Adverſary's was put into the publick Treaſury, and was generally applied to defray the Expences of the Sacrifices which were offered, in the Name of the People. And from hence comes the Name of *Sacramentum*, which the Ancients gave to this Sum of Money. *Varro* mentions this Law. *de Ling. Lat. B.* 4; and *Tully*, in his firſt Book *de Oratore*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXIV. M. Valerius Corvinus, Q. Cædicius Noctua, Conſuls.

Capitales; not becauſe they had a Right to puniſh capitally, but becauſe the Care of the Priſons, in which *the chief* or greateſt Criminals were kept, was committed to them, and they had the Direction of their Execution. Each of theſe *Triumviri*, had eight *Lictors* under him, who beheaded Criminals. Their Inſtitution was ancient; we find ſome Footſteps of it in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*; but then theſe Judges were only two in Number, were called *Duumviri*, and there lay an Appeal from them to the People. Whereas there lay no Appeal from the Sentence of the three now created. But the People did not grant them the Power of Life and Death, [over *Citizens*] the chief Prerogative of Sovereign Authority; and they ordered, that theſe Magiſtrates ſhould be annually choſen, in the *Comitia by Tribes*.

Flor. in Epit. II.

The time of a general Peace, was alſo thought a proper Seaſon to take a *Cenſus* of the *Roman People*, and cloſe it with a *Luſtrum*. This was the thirty firſt ſince the Inſtitution of the Ceremony. It is difficult to diſcover, who were the *Cenſors* that had the Direction of it; for the Hiſtorians have only told us, that in this laſt Enumeration of the *Roman Citizens* who were fit to bear Arms, they amounted to two hundred and ſeventy three thouſand. A prodigious Number, if we conſider what Loſſes the *Romans* had ſuffered by the Plague, and in Battels, and what *Colonies* they had planted!

Zonar. Annal. B. 8. *c.* 2. *D. Aug. de Civ. Dei. B.* 3. *c.* 18.

The Fruit of this new Peace Abroad, was Trouble and Diſſention at Home. The *Romans* had found by long Experience, that as ſoon as they were freed from a War, which had employed them, Idleneſs raiſed Tumults and Diviſions among them; and now, the firſt Sparks of the like Diſturbances broke out, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Valerius* and *Cædicius*. The People, oppreſſed by the Uſuries of the rich Citizens, revived a Quarrel, which had been begun near two hundred Years ago. They made their *Tribunes* their Speakers, and by them demanded, That the Abuſes introduced in the Contracts, whereby Creditors exacted Intereſt for Money lent, ſhould be reformed; and theſe Murmurs, which were yet but weak, grew ſtronger under the ſucceeding *Conſuls*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXV. Q. Marcius Tremulus, P. Cornelius Arvina, Conſuls.

§. XXIII. *Q. Marcius* 71 *Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius Arvina*, who were both promoted to the *Conſulſhip* a ſecond time, found the People more exaſperated than ever, by the Avarice of the Creditors, and their Cruelty to their Debtors, whom they kept in Irons; and a new Accident ſtrengthened the Complaints of the Commons, and puſhed them on to Extremities. *T. Veturius*, the unfortunate *Conſul* for the Year of *Rome* 432, who had ſuffered himſelf to be ſurprized in *The Caudian Forks*, and who was forced to ſurrender himſelf up to the *Samnites*, by way of Reparation for the Diſgrace of a ſhameful Treaty, was juſt dead, inſolvent. He had left behind him a Son, whom he had educated with Care, and formed to Virtue. Young *Veturius*, then in the Flower of his Age, was a Youth of great Modeſty, as well as Beauty; but to his great Misfortune, one *C. Plotius*, an infamous Debauchee, who diſgraces the Hiſtory of his Country with the ſecond Inſtance of the moſt ſhameful Vice, was his Father's chief Creditor.

PLOTIUS had alſo lent the young Orphan a pretty conſiderable Sum, which he had ſpent in his Father's Funeral; and his Piety coſt him dear. *Veturius* the Father was dead, exceeding poor; and the Son, being preſſed to pay *Plotius*, both his old Family-Debts, and what he himſelf had borrowed of him, for his Father's Obſequies, was forced, for want of Money and Credit, to ſubmit to be his Creditor's Slave, and work for him, till he had diſcharged the whole Debt. He bore his Servitude with Conſtancy, and ſtrictly did *Plotius* whatever Service, he could, conſiſtently with Honour and Virtue, pay him. He refuſed nothing, till he came to be ſollicited to gratify a brutal Paſſion, which his Maſter had conceived for him. But then, *Veturius* remembered his Birth, and the Leſſons he had been taught in his earlieſt Infancy. And his Conſtancy was immoveable; tho' his Maſter treated him in the baſeſt Manner for his Reſiſtance. One Day, when he had been whipped till he was covered all over with Blood, he eſcaped out of the Place of his Slavery, and appeared in the *Forum*. There, mounted upon a ſort of *Tribune*, he ſhewed the *Romans* the Marks of a barbarous Creditor's Cruelty, and diſcovered the infamous Brutality of his Tyrant. Then the People took hold of this Opportunity, to decry the Uſurers, and aboliſh the Law which permitted them to reduce thoſe of their Debtors to Slavery, who were not in a Condition to pay them. It had formerly been annulled, once before, on a like

71 The two *Conſuls* for this Year 465, had been Collegues before, when they were firſt promoted to the *Conſulſhip*.

Occaſion; but the *Patricians* had, by their Authority, revived it. The *Tribunes of the People* accuſed the execrable *Plotius*, before the aſſembled *Centuries*, and got him condemned to die. It is not indeed ſaid, that the Law was then aboliſhed; but we are aſſured, that all thoſe who languiſhed in Slavery for their Debts, were delivered from their Chains, and ſet at Liberty.

Year of ROME CCCCLXV. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS, P. CORNELIUS ARVINA, Conſuls.

§. XXIV. NOR were the *Plebeians* content with this firſt Victory over the rich *Patricians*. It had hitherto been the Fate of *Rome*, to have her greateſt Revolutions owe their Riſe to a Love of Chaſtity: And now, the Vengeance the *Romans* executed for a wicked Attempt againſt common Modeſty, ſtrengthened them in that Freedom, in which it had already more than once eſtabliſhed them. The Pretenſions of the People increaſed the next Year, in the *Conſulſhip* of *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Nautius Rutilus*; and then the Seditions begun two Years before, were carried to Extremities. The enraged People no longer kept within Bounds. Their *Tribunes* demanded the Abolition of the Law which gave Creditors a kind of deſpotick Power over their inſolvent Debtors; and the Rich, on their Parts, oppoſed it. *This is robbing us*, ſaid the latter, *of our Security for what we have lent; Debts muſt be paid*, (quoting the old Proverb,) *either in Body or Goods.*

Year of ROME CCCCLXVI. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, Conſuls. *Aut in Ære, aut in cute.*

THE Contentions daily grew more ſharp on both Sides; and the People finding that no end was put to them, had recourſe to an Expedient, which they had always found effectual, whenever they wanted to free themſelves from Oppreſſion. They left the City, ſeparated themſelves from the *Patricians*, and leaving the *Tyber* to part them, and their Perſecutors, poſted themſelves on the *Janiculus*. And this Separation had the ſame Effect on the Magiſtrates, as the former ones. By this Removal of the Populace, the City was left deſtitute of any Aſſiſtance. No more Artificers, no more Mercenaries, no more Proviſions from the Country; for we ſhall ſoon ſee, that the Villagers had alſo their Complaints to make, and a Reformation to demand. In order therefore to remedy the preſent Evils, the *Patricians*, and rich Citizens, who continued in the City, thought it neceſſary, that the *Conſuls* ſhould nominate a *Dictator*; and *Q. Hortenſius* appearing to ſtand poſſeſſed of all thoſe Talents, which were neceſſary for him, who was to appeaſe this revolted Multitude, he was promoted to the *Dictatorſhip*. Who his Maſter of the Horſe was, is not known. *Hortenſius* immediately entered into a Treaty with the ſeparated Citizens; heard their Complaints and Demands with Condeſcenſion and Temper; and by thoſe Laws of his which yet remain, and which we have collected from ſeveral Authors, we may gueſs, what the Propoſals of the Mutineers were, and what Conceſſions the *Dictator* made to them. In the Year of *Rome* 414, the People had complained, that the *Patricians* thought themſelves exempt from the Laws made in the Aſſemblies of the *Curiæ* or *Tribes*. *Since the People*, ſaid the *Patricians*, make *Edicts*, *let them obey them themſelves*. *As for us*, *we acknowledge no Laws*, but *thoſe of the Senate*. And it was then declared, That the Laws made by the People, ſhould be obſerved by the *Patricians*, as well as *Plebeians*. But notwithſtanding this Regulation, the Nobility had ſtill continued to deſpiſe the Ordinances of the People, and refuſed to pay Obedience to them; and the Revival of the Complaints of the Commons, on ſo important an Article, cauſed the neglected Law to be now renewed. *Hortenſius* declared, that for the future, whatever Decrees were made in the *Comitia Tribes*, ſhould be equally obſerved, both by the Nobility and the People. And it is probable, that better Meaſures were now taken than formerly, to prevent the Infractions of this Law. Another Law *Hortenſius* made, was in Favour of the Country-People. They complained, That Juſtice was not adminiſtered at *Rome*, on Market-days; and That when any Cauſes were depending, they were forced to leave their Work, and come to the City to have them determined: and it was granted them, That the Market-Days ſhould no longer be Vacation-Days, for the Judges; That ſo they might have their Cauſes heard, before they returned home. And the *Tribune Mænius*, who ſupported the Intereſts of the People in theſe troubleſome Times, obtained alſo another Law, which was of more Importance to the Commons, than both the former. In *Romulus*'s Time, the Edicts of the People were not allowed to be of any Force, unleſs confirmed by the Senate. So that all the Laws made in the *Comitia*, were ſubject to the Examination of The *Conſcript Fathers*, who diſannulled them, at pleaſure. This gave the *Patricians* a great Superiority over the Commons; and the *Tribune Mænius* undertook to reform this Part of the old Law, and get it abrogated, as a Condition for the Return of the Separatiſts. By the *Mænian* Law, which was accepted by the Senators,

Year of ROME CCCCLXVI. Q. HORTENSIUS, Dictator.

Liv. B.8. c.12.

Plin. B. 16. c. 10. & Aul. Gel. B.15. c.27.

Macrob. Sat.1. c.16.

Varro apud Nonnium.

Year of ROME CCCCLXVI. Q. Hortensius, Dictator. *Cicero in Orat. pro Planco.*

Senators, they gave up their Right of approving of the Elections and Regulations made in the *Comitia* of the People. The Order was changed; and for the future, The *Conscript Fathers* were reduced to give their Consent beforehand, to whatever the People should enact in their Assemblies.

ALL these Articles of Pacification were drawn up in *Hortensius*'s *Dictatorship*; and the People's Minds began to be calm. But in the mean time, a Misfortune happened, which had never befallen the Republick before; *Hortensius* died before his *Dictatorship* expired. And this made it necessary to nominate another *Dictator* to finish *Hortensius*'s Work, with as much Expedition as he had begun it. So that the *Consuls* cast their Eyes on the illustrious *Q. Fabius Rullianus*, who in an extreme old Age, was yet *President of the Senate*, and his Strength of Mind was not at all abated. He chose a famous *Plebeian*, named *Volumnius Flamma*, for his General of Horse; and the Interposition of these two great Men, could not but be very agreeable to the Separatists. The one was much respected for his Birth, his Merit, and his Offices; he being now *Dictator* a third time. The other was beloved by the Commons, on account of his being a *Plebeian* who had been twice honoured with the *Consulship*. And both together brought the People to their Duty. The Separation was at an end; and the People returned to the City, well satisfied, with having completed the great Work of establishing their Dominion; to which they had long aspired, and which they had not obtained, but gradually and slowly. This is the last time the great *Fabius* appeared on the Stage. He probably did not live long after this new Acquisition of Glory. In his Life-time his Country looked on him, as a Prodigy of Valour, Wisdom, and *Roman* Virtue; and as soon as he was dead, the People were very earnest to contribute to the Expence of his Obsequies. The Money, which was lavishly bestowed on his Son, amounted to so very great a Sum, that he made a publick Feast, and treated the whole City with the Victims, which he offered up, at his Father's Funeral.

Q. Fabius Max. Rullianus, Dictator. *Fragmentum Fast. Capit.* *Auth. de Vir. Illust.*

Year of ROME CCCCLXVII. M. Valerius Potitus, C. Ælius Pætus, Consuls.

§. XXV. SOME Moderns suppose, that the Republick chose new *Consuls* during the Separation; but this is a Paradox not to be maintained. How could the *Centuries* be assembled in the *Campus Martius*, in a time of Trouble and Division. It is more probable, that after the Reconciliation, the *Dictator Fabius*, who was yet living, presided in an Assembly, wherein the usual Elections were made. *M. Valerius Potitus*, and *C. Ælius Pætus*, were raised to the *Consulship* by it; and tho' their Year did not abound in great Events, the Republick was never happier than under their Administration. The People, now arrived at the Height of their Desires, were wholly intent on tasting the Sweets of an honourable Tranquillity. The Ballance now inclined to their Side; and they may be said to have obtained more, than that exact Equality of Power with the Nobles, after which they had thirsted, and for which they had so long struggled. The Nobility had now no other Advantage over the Commons, but that of great Riches acquired at a time, when their Power was at the Height; and the Respect which naturally attends Persons of high Birth. In short, the *Plebeians* had a greater Share of the Government in their Hands, than the *Patricians*. And therefore the Peace of the City being no more interrupted, till *Gracchus* raised Tempests in the State, long after this time; we shall see the Republick continue in almost perpetual Calm at home, and infinitely increase her Dominions abroad, by her Conquests. So true is it, that the Union of a warlike and unquiet People, is the principal Cause of their Prosperity and Grandeur.

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XXI.

§. I. ROME was now in a perfect Tranquillity, and in a flouriſhing Condition. Her Conqueſts in *Italy* were enlarged, even beyond the Hopes of the Conquerors themſelves. The Dominion of the *Romans* had extended itſelf by Degrees on the other ſide of the *Tyber*, from the [1] *Adriatick* to the [2] *Tyrrhenian* Sea. The *Latins*, *Sabines*, *Hernici*, *Æqui*, *Marſi*, and *Campani*, were brought into Subjection to them. The *Volſci*, who were formerly ſo fierce and haughty, were utterly deſtroyed. The Terror of the *Roman* Arms reached to the *Apulians*, and kept them in Awe. A part of *Lucania* on one hand; and on the other the *Umbri*,

Year of ROME CCCCLXVIII.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA, M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, Conſuls.

1 The *Adriatick* Sea, now the *Gulph of Venice*, took its Name from the anient City of *Adria*, which was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities, in this Canton of *Gallia Ciſalpina* and *Tranſpadana*, which is at preſent the *Poleſin de Rovigo*, and is under the Dominion of the Republick of *Venice*. It is now a miſerable Village, inhabited only by Fiſhermen, on the Banks of the *Tartaro*, formerly the *Adria*, or *Adrianus Amnis*, from the Name of the City it watered; as *Ptolomy* and the *Abridger of Stephens* obſerve. The *Adriatick* Sea is about 190 Leagues in length, from the *Gulph of Trieſte*, or *Aquileia* (*Tregeſtanus Sinus*) to its Mouth, where the *Ionian* Sea begins, between the Coaſts of *Dalmatia* to the North, and thoſe of *Italy* to the South.

2 The *Tyrrhenians*, who formerly inhabited *Hetruria*, gave their Name to this Sea, which waſhes the South Coaſts of *Italy*. It is of little Importance to know, whether the *Tyrrhenians* were originally Natives of *Italy*, or a *Lydian* Colony, who, forced by want to leave their native Country, came into *Hetruria*, with *Tyrrhenus* the Brother of *Lydus*. For what have not ancient Authors ſaid, who, prepoſſeſſed with numberleſs falſe Traditions, are dived into the fabulous Ages, to diſcover the Origin of Nations? Some pretend, that *Lydus* and *Tyrrhenus* finding their Patrimony too ſtrait for them, reſolved to ſeparate, and empty their little State, which had not been able to ſubſiſt their Subjects, in a barren Year. They drew Lots which ſhould leave his Country and ſeek for new Habitations, and it fell upon *Tyrrhenus*. He therefore embarked with a great Number of *Lydians*, and landed on the weſtern Coaſts of *Italy*, which were then poſſeſſed by the *Umbri*. He drove out theſe ancient Poſſeſſors; founded Cities; extended his Dominion along the Coaſts of the South *Italian* Sea, and made his Name immortal in the Provinces, of which that Country conſiſted; which from the Name of theſe new Conquerors, was called *Tyrrhenia*, afterwards *Hetruria*, from one of their Princes, named *Etruſcus*; then *Tuſcia*; and now *Tuſcany*; thence the Name of *Tyrrhenians* and *Tuſcans*. The ancient *Roman* Hiſtorians ſay the latter Appellation was taken from the *Greek* Word θύειν, which ſignifies, *to ſacrifice*; becauſe theſe People were thought to be beſt inſtructed in the Ceremonies of Religion, and to underſtand its Myſteries moſt perfectly. Whilſt others, and above all, *Dion. Hal.* inſiſt that the *Tyrrhenians* were Natives of *Italy*. Theſe contend, in Oppoſition to the former, that this Nation was ſo far from being foreign with Reſpect to *Hetruria*, that its Language, Manners, and Laws (which had no Conformity to thoſe of the *Greeks*) if at all conſidered, diſproved that *Greek* Deſcent, which was given it, without any Foundation. It is not indeed ſurpriſing, ſays *Dion. Hal.* that different Colonies of the ſame People, when diſperſed and tranſplanted into different Regions, ſhould, after a long Courſe of Years, forget their Mother-tongue, and their ancient Cuſtoms: But is it credible, that a whole Nation, long united together in the ſame Canton, ſhould entirely loſe all Marks of its Origin, ſo as not to retain the leaſt Footſtep of it? But the Misfortune is, that *Dion. Hal.* ſeems to contradict himſelf. He here ſays, that he thought their Opinion the trueſt and moſt rational, who believed the *Tyrrhenians* were originally *Italians*. But a little before, he had been forced to acknowledge, that in *Feſcennia* and *Falerii*, two *Hetrurian* Cities, there were in his Time ſome viſible Footſteps of the *Greek* Cuſtoms and Antiquities, which had there been tranſmitted down from Father to Son. See above, *B.* 15. p. 104. of this Volume, where we point out the Origin of the *Faliſci*. Nevertheleſs, *Dion. Hal.* declares himſelf to be of their Opinion, who thought the *Tyrrhenians* originally of *Hetruria*; and upon this Suppoſition, he thinks, with ſeveral others whom he quotes, that their Name was taken from the Walls and Towers with which they firſt encompaſſed their Cities, to guard them from the Inſults of their Neighbours. They, as well as the *Greeks*, called Fortreſſes, or Places ſurrounded with Walls, and flanked with Towers, τύρσεις; whence, according to him, came the Name of *Tyrrheni*. And laſtly, ſeveral Hiſtorians think that the Colony, which was conducted by *Tyrrhenus*, was a part of the ſame Nation, as the *Pelaſgi*; who being driven out of *Theſſaly*, by the *Curetes* and *Leleges*, or the *Ætolians* and *Locri*, embarked on the *Ionian* Sea,

Year of ROME CCCCLXVIII. C. CLAUDIUS CANINA, M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS Conſuls.

Caſſiodorus, Tabulæ Græcæ, & Cuſpinian.

bri, and Inhabitants of *Picenum*, quite up to the Frontiers of the [3] *Senones*, were all obedient to the Republick: At leaſt, they were awed, and kept within their Bounds, either by the great Number of *Roman Colonies*, near them; or by their late Experience, that the *Romans* were able to puniſh their Aggreſſors. On the other ſide of the *Tyber*, one part of *Hetruria* was become ſubject to the *Romans*, and the other, which was at the greateſt Diſtance from *Rome*, enjoyed the Truce, which had been granted it. *Samnium* was in all Appearance entirely quieted; *Curius Dentatus* ſeemed to have given it the finiſhing Stroke. As for the *Gauls*, both the *Senones* and *Boii*, their neareſt *Colonies* to *Rome*, now lived in Peace with the Republick; but were always ready to hearken to the Suggeſtions of thoſe, who deſired to engage them to take Arms againſt her. This was the State of *Rome*, when [4] *C. Claudius*, ſurnamed *Canina*, and *M. Æmilius*, ſurnamed *Lepidus*, entered upon the *Conſulſhip*. They had never been promoted to this Office before; (the Republick, in theſe Times of Tranquillity, being little anxious about placing experienced Men at the Helm of Affairs:) Neither was their Adminiſtration made memorable, by any conſiderable Event.

Year of ROME CCCCLXIX. C. SERVILIUS TUCCA, L. CCILIUS METELLUS, Conſuls.

§. II. FROM them the *Faſces* were tranſmitted to *C.* [5] *Claudius Servilius Tucca*, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. *Rome* was then in perfect Peace; but ſome Seeds of War were already ſown, by an artful People, who were jealous of the Proſperity of the *Romans*. The *Tarentini* had many Reaſons to believe, that *Rome* aimed at the Conqueſt of all *Italy*; and ſince they will appear to be the chief Authors of one of the moſt formidable Wars the *Romans* ever had to ſuſtain, it is highly proper to give the Character of this People. *Tarentum* was a City of *Great Greece*, which comprehended that vaſt Tract of Ground, which runs along the South Coaſt of *Italy*. Almoſt all the Cities, in this great Province, had been founded by *Greeks*, who brought thither with them, the *Grecian* Language, Cuſtoms and Manners. The *Tarentini*, in particular, were thought a *Colony* of *Spartians*, who ſettled on the Continent of *Italy*, at one end of a Bay of the *Ionian* Sea. The City, of which they made themſelves Maſters, was at firſt called [6] *Oebalia*: But this new Swarm of *Greeks*, conducted by one

and landed at one of the Mouths of the *Po*, then called *Spineticum*. After this, ſay they, theſe Newcomers, mixed with the *Aborigines*, who had joined them; diſperſed themſelves all over *Umbria* and *Hetruria*; drove out the *Umbri* and *Siculi*; ſeized their Towns, and ſettled there. But be that as it will (for who can aſcertain Facts, which are as it were buried in the Obſcurity of the firſt Ages) it is certain, that *Hetruria* was long the Seat of Politeneſs, Religion, and the liberal Arts, in *Italy*. The Ancients boaſt much of the Fruitfulneſs of its Soil, the Sweetneſs of its Climate, and the Power, Riches, and Magnificence, of its Inhabitants. But *Diodorus Siculus*, *B.* 9. and *Athenæus B.* 12. ſay, the *Hetrurians* afterwards degenerated from the Virtue of their Anceſtors, and debaſed themſelves by their Effeminacy and Incontinence.

3 We have already ſpoken of the Origin and Situation of theſe ſeveral Nations of *Italy*.

4 *Caſſiodorus* in his *Chronicon*, the *Greek Tables*, and *Cuſpinian* in his *Faſti*, all agree in the Surnames given to *Caius Claudius*, and *Marcus Æmilius*, who now entered upon the *Conſulſhip*, the firſt time. *Pighius* ſuppoſes that this *Claudius*, was the ſame Man, who triumphed over the *Lucani*, *Samnites*, and *Brutii*, in the Year of *Rome* 480.

5 The *Greek Tables* have tranſmitted to us, *Servilius*'s Surname. In ſome Copies of *Caſſiodorus*, the other *Conſul* for this Year, is called *Lucius Cælius*, inſtead of *Lucius Cæcilius*. But this is a manifeſt Miſtake, ſince none of the *Cælian* Family, were promoted to the *Conſulſhip*, till long after this; as appears by *Tully's Oration for Murena*. The *Cæcilian* Family was, according to *Feſtus*, thought to be deſcended from one of *Æneas*'s Companions, whom he calls *Cæcades*. *Alii appellatos eos* (Cæcilios) *dicant a Cæcade Trojano, Æneæ Comite.* Some make the *Cæcilii*, to have deſcended in a right Line, from one *Cæculus*, who is ſaid to have founded the City of *Præneſte*. *Cæculus condidit Præneſte, unde putant Cæcilios ortos, quorum erat nobilis familia apud Romanos.* *Virgil* ſpeaks of this *Cæculus*, *Æneid* 7, in theſe Words,

Nec Præneſtinæ fundator defuit Urbis
Vulcano genitum pecora inter Agreſtia Regem,
Juventumque focis, omnis quem credidit Ætas.

Velleius, *B.* 2. ſays, that the *Cæcilii*, tho' *Plebeian*, were a very conſiderable Family in *Rome*. *Cæciliæ familiæ notanda Claritudo eſt.* Nevertheleſs the Surname of *Metellus*, which one Branch of this Family affected, is ſcarce reconcileable with thoſe noble Titles which the Hiſtorians beſtow upon it. The Black-guard Servants, and Sutlers, attending an Army, were called *Metelli*, ſays *Feſtus* in another Place; and it is from this ſort of People, that the *Cæcilian* Family is ſuppoſed to have borrowed the Surname of *Metellus*. *Metelli dicuntur in re militari, quaſi Mercenarii. Aſtius Annalium vicesſimo ſeptimo, Calones, Famulique, Metellique Cæſaris, a quo genere hominum Cæciliæ familiæ cognomen putatur ductum.* So true is it, that among the *Romans*, the Glory and Diſhonour of Families was perpetuated by their Surnames. But the Rich and the Great, found mercenary Genealogiſts among the *Romans*, as they now do among us, who were very ready to invent Titles of Honour for them as there was Occaſion, and magnified the Glory of their Families by fictitious and fabulous Pedigrees. And where a long Roll of illuſtrious Anceſtors were wanting, their Vanity taught them, to go a ſhorter Way to work, and have immediate recourſe to Gods, and imaginary Heroes. *Italy* and *Greece* abounded much with theſe Impoſtors, who were always at the Service of the beſt bidder.

6 *Virgil*, *Claudian*, and *Silius* ſpeak of the Territory of *Tarentum*, under the Name of *Oebalia*; it was ſo called in common with *Laconia*, from whence the *Tarentini* originally came. It is well known, that the *Lacedæmonians*, reckoned *Oebalus*

one *Phalantus*, greatly multiplied the Number of its Inhabitants; and after they had fortified their new Conqueſt, they changed its Name, and called it *Tarentum*: Doubtleſs, from the Name of *Taras*, or *Tarentus*, its firſt Founder. Theſe tranſplanted *Lacedæmonians* ſoon forgot the ſevere Diſcipline of *Lacedæmon*, or *Sparta* (two Names for the ſame City) and plunged themſelves 7 into all the Debaucheries, with which the reſt of the *Greeks* were reproached. The Heat of the Climate, the Fruitfulneſs 8 of the Country, and their Opportunities of eaſily ſupplying themſelves by Sea, with all the Delights of *Greece*, ſunk the *Tarentini* into Idleneſs, and all the Vices,

Year of ROME CCCCLXIX.
C. SERVILIUS TUCCA, L. CÆCILIUS METELUS, Conſuls.



Silver.



Gold.





Silver.

to have been one of their firſt Kings: But nevertheleſs, the *Tarentini*, as we have obſerved, *B.* 16. *p.* 155. of this Volume, *Note* 30. carried up their Pedigree as high as to one *Taras*, the Son of *Neptune*, who was ſaved in a Shipwreck, and brought to the Coaſt of *Tarentum*, by a Dolphin. And ſome of the Ancients, make *Tarentus* the Son of *Taras* and *Saturia*, to have been the Founder of this City; and aſcribe the Adventure of the Dolphin to him, as *Pauſanias* does to *Phalanthus* who reſtored *Tarentum*. But be that as it will, the Tradition of this ſuppoſed Fact was conveyed down to Poſterity, by the Medals of this City; and *Julius Pollux*, *B.* 9. *c.* 6. agrees with the Medals, in this particular. *Ariſtotle*, ſays he, ſpeaking of the Republick of *Tarentum*, tells us, that the *Tarentini* engraved the Figure of *Taras* ſitting upon a Dolphin, on their Medals. They preſerved the Memory of him, by a Monument they kept themſelves, and by another they ſent to the Temple of *Delphos*. *Taras* was, according to *Juſtin*, *B.* 3. ſo much revered in this Country, that the People paid him divine Honours. The Owl, conſecrated to *Minerva*, the Trident, the pretended Sceptre of *Neptune*, and *Hercules*'s Combat with the *Nemæan* Lion, which we find repreſented on their Medals, ſhew the Worſhip the *Tarentini* paid to theſe three Divinities. *Horace* gives *Neptune* the Title of *Protector of Tarentum*, *Carm. Lib.* 1. *Od.* 28. *Neptunoque ſacri cuſtode Tarenti*. The famous *Coloſſus* of *Hercules*, which was the great Ornament of this City, was one of the fineſt Monuments of the Devotions the *Tarentini* paid this *Grecian* Hero, from whom they ſuppoſed *Phalanthus* their ſecond Founder to have been deſcended, in a right Line. This was the Maſterpiece of the famous *Lyſippus*, which was removed to the *Capitol* at *Rome*, after the Reduction of *Tarentum*, as will appear in the Sequel of this Hiſtory. In this Senſe we are to underſtand this Line of *Virgil*, *Æneid* 3.

Hinc ſinus Herculei, ſi vera eſt fama, Tarenti
Cernitur——

It is probable, that *Phalanthus*, who ſaid he was deſcended from the *Heraclidæ*, brought the Worſhip of *Hercules*, from *Greece* to *Tarentum*.

7 The Ancients all ſpeak of *Tarentum*, as a City utterly void of all Modeſty, and given up to all ſorts of Debauchery. But the ſingle Story, *Athenæus* relates, *B.* 12. exceeds all that they have ſaid of it. The *Tarentini*, ſays he, after they had made themſelves Maſters of *Carbina*, a City of *Japygia*, aſſembled together the Women and Children of the *Carbinates*, of both Sexes, in the Temples of *Carbina*, ſtripped them naked, and in this ignominious Condition, delivered them up to the Luſt of the Soldiers. Thoſe who partook in theſe monſtrous Crimes at *Carbina*, were ſtruck dead with Lightning; and in Memory of this exemplary Puniſhment, the Magiſtrates of *Tarentum*, ordered, That Pillars ſhould be ſet up before the Houſes of each of theſe Profligates, with the Names of thoſe who had been killed with the Fire from Heaven: That all Funeral Honours ſhould be denied them; and That in order to expiate their Crimes, a Sacrifice ſhould be offered to *Jupiter Catæbates*, which is the Name the *Greeks* give, to *Jupiter the Thunderer*. The Effeminacy of the *Tarentini* was ſo notorious, and ſo infamous, that it became proverbial. Hence theſe Expreſſions of *Horace*. *Molle Tarentum*, *Imbelle Tarentum*, and *Petulans Tarentum*. The Women of *Tarentum* eſpecially gloried in throwing off all Regards, to the diſtinguiſhing Virtue, of their Sex, Modeſty. They were not aſhamed to appear in a ſort of Habits, called by *Euſtathius*, *Com. in Dion Afric*, Ταραντινίδιον, which were made of Stuff which was exceeding thin and tranſparent.

8 The *Cornucopia*, on one of the Medals above imports the Riches of *Tarentum*; the Bunch of Grapes, on the other, points out the excellent Vine-

Year of ROME CCCCLXIX. C. Servilius Tucca, L. Cæcilius Metellus, Conſuls.

Vices, that attend it. The Entertainments 9 of the *Circus* and Theatre were no longer Relaxations to them after Labour and Fatigue, but their daily Buſineſs. They had almoſt as many publick Feaſts in a Year, as there were Days in it. Buffoons and Proſtitutes were admitted to a Share in the moſt important Deliberations of the State; which they often determined as they pleaſed, by a Joke, or ſome indecent Action. The ſame Acts of Intemperance were repeated Day after Day; one Feaſt ſoon drew on another; and the whole Lives of the *Tarentini*, were in a manner, one continued Fit of Drunkenneſs. Indeed there ſometimes aroſe up among them at Intervals, Men 10 wiſe enough to purſue their Pleaſures with Moderation; but Sobriety and Continence were as rare among them, as Gluttony and Debauchery, at *Rome:* So that the *Tarentini* dreaded the Dominion of the *Romans*, not only for fear of loſing their Liberty, of which all Nations are jealous, but alſo for fear of being diſturbed in their Pleaſures. And they therefore made it their Buſineſs, to find the *Romans* enough to do, and draw ſo great a Number of Enemies upon them, as ſtill to keep them at a Diſtance from themſelves. To this end, they put all their *Grecian* Subtlety in practiſe, and ſtirred up both old and new Enemies againſt the Republick, without appearing to be concerned. In the Year 469, or perhaps a little before, the *Romans* diſcovered ſome Commotions among the 11 *Volſinienſes* and *Lucani*; but all that the Hiſtorians tell us of theſe two Wars is, that *Rome* quieted thoſe Nations. This was alſo the very time, when the *Senones* indirectly declared againſt the Republick. They raiſed Troops, in order to march into *Hetruria*, and beſiege 12 *Aretium*, a City,

Zonar. B. 8.

Florus in Epitome 11.



Silver.

yards which this Country produced, near Mount *Aulon*; which *Horace* commends for producing good Wine, *L. 2. Carm. Ode 6.*

Et Amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
Incidet Uvis.

And the Wool of *Tarentum*, which was ſo much boaſted of, for its Fineneſs, is perhaps repreſented by the Diſtaff, on the ſame Medal. But what contributed moſt to the Plenty and Luxury of *Tarentum*, was its convenient Port; which *Strabo*, *Geog. B. 6.* ſays, was a hundred *Stadia*, or 12500 Paces in Circumference; that is, above four common *French* Leagues, at the Rate of 3 Miles to a League. The Mouth of this Port is now ſo filled up, that only ſmall Boats can get into it. To which we ſhall here add, by the by, that the Inſects called *Tarentulæ*, whoſe Sting produces very extraordinary Effects, in the Perſons they wound, and is only to be cured by Muſick, took their Name from that of the City of *Tarentum*. See *George Baglivi*, an Anatomy Profeſſor's Diſſertation on theſe Inſects, which was printed at *Rome* in 1696. Father *Kircher*, as *Mathiolus*, *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and *Sanguverdus* in his Treatiſe upon the *Tarentulæ*, ſay ſtrange things of them.

9 *Strabo* tells us, *B. 6.* that there was a ſtately *Gymnaſium*, or publick Building, ſet apart for Races and Wreſtling, at *Tarentum*. The *Tarentini* were much uſed to Tilting, Riding, and Horſe-racing. Before their Effeminacy and Debauchery enervated their Courage, they early inſtructed their Youth, in the Art of Fighting on Horſeback. Inſomuch, that *Euſtathius*, in his *Commentary on Dionyſius Africanus*, ſays nothing was finer than their Horſemen; and from hence, ſays he, came the *Greek* Word Ταραντινίζειν, which ſignifies, to conduct or order a well-diſciplined Army of Horſe: And from hence it is that we find the Figure of an Horſeman on moſt of the Medals of the *Tarentini*, like that which is crowned by a Victory, on the Medal above. *Pauſanias* tells us, that in the firſt Ages, the *Tarentini* ſubdued the neighbouring Countries, gained great Victories over the *Meſſapians*, and by way of Thankſgiving for them, ſent braſs Statues of Captive-women, and Horſes, to the Temple of *Delphos*. There was a large Square at *Tarentum*, even in *Strabo*'s time; and its chief Ornament was its *Coloſſus* of *Jupiter*, which was as big as that of *Rhodes*.

10 The famous Geometrician, *Archytas*, a *Pythagorean*, was born at *Tarentum*. He flouriſhed about the Year of *Rome* 346. and was promoted to the chief Magiſtracy in the City, ſeven times; though no one before him had ever enjoyed it above one Year.

11 The *Volſinienſes* were the Inhabitants of *Volſinii*, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities, in all the twelve *Hetrurian Lucumonies*. *Pliny* ſays, *B. 2. c. 52.* that it was entirely conſumed by Fire from Heaven. See *B. 13. p. 10.* of this Volume, *Note 51.*

12 *Aretium*, a City of *Tuſcany*, or old *Hetruria*, now *Arezzo*, ſtood between *Peruſium* and *Florence*, near the *Appennines*, and the *Arnus*, or *Arno*, a 1000 *Stadia* from *Rome*, according to the *Abridger of Stephens*, i. e. 125000 geometrical Paces, which make above forty Leagues, at the Rate of three Miles a League. *Pliny B. 3. c. 5.* mentions three Cities of this Name. The Inhabitants of the firſt which is here ſpoken of he calls *Aretini Veteres*, and thoſe of the ſecond and third, *Aretini Julienſes*, and *Aretini Fidentes*. There are now no Footſteps remaining of the two latter, nor are the Pla-

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXIX. C. Servilius Tucca, L. Cæcilius Metellus, Conſuls.

a City, which was quietly enjoying the Truce the *Romans* had granted it. It will appear by their Proceedings, how bold theſe *Gauls* were, and how much dreaded, by the Republick. The [13] *Senones* had continued unactive for ten Years; and the Battel they had loſt, only (as they flattered themſelves) by *Decius*'s Devotement, had kept them within their own Diſtrict. But now, they reſolved to try their Fortune once more, and promiſed themſelves, that *Rome* would ſend no more ſuch formidable Generals againſt them, as had formerly conquered them. They made Preparations to beſiege *Aretium*, with a conſiderable Force; and the *Aretini*, in their Fright and Diſtreſs, had recourſe to the *Romans*, with whom they had formerly deſired an Alliance, though they could obtain only a Truce. They were ſure, that the *Romans* would not ſuffer the *Gauls* to oppreſs them; and knew, that the leaſt Motion of theſe Enemies, who had formerly made themſelves Maſters of *Rome*, and were the only People who had conquered it, gave the Republick an Alarm.

Beſides, it was the Intereſt of the *Romans* not to ſuffer the *Senones* to make Conqueſts in *Hetruria*, and thereby open themſelves a Way to *Rome*: And they were too regardful of their own Intereſts, and had too much Compaſſion for the Afflicted, not to grant the Requeſt of the Ambaſſadors of *Aretium*, who came to implore their Aſſiſtance. They ordered an Army for *Hetruria*, under the Command of a General, whom the Hiſtorians only call by his *Prænomen* of *Lucius*. Was this *Lucius Cæcilius* [14] the *Conſul*, or ſome other Officer in the *Roman* Army? It is moſt natural to ſuppoſe, this Command was given to the *Conſul*. However, the *Romans* propoſed to march againſt the *Gauls*, and appear before *Aretium*; but nevertheleſs they thought it proper, to endeavour to prevent a Rupture, by a Negotiation. They ſent a Deputation to the *Senones*, to inform them, That the *Aretini* were under the Protection of *Rome*: That by virtue of a Truce with the Republick, ſhe was obliged to guard them againſt the Miſeries of a War; and That as the *Hetrurians* were in Alliance with the *Gauls*, it was an Injuſtice in them, to march their Troops into *Hetruria*. But the Embaſſy only enraged the *Senones* the more: They even violated the Laws of Nations, and killed the *Roman* Envoys. The Hiſtorians lay all the Blame of this cruel and barbarous Action, on a young *Gaul*, named *Britomaris*, who is ſaid to have been deſcended from the Kings of his Nation. His Age, his violent Temper, the Hatred of his People to the *Roman* Name, and his Thirſt after Revenge for perſonal Injuries, all conſpired to hurry him on to this mad Action. His Father is ſaid to have loſt his Life, in a Battel with the *Romans;* and *Britomaris* therefore, ſurprized

Polybius B. 2. c. 19.

Appian. apud. Fulv. Urſinum.

ces of their Situations known. Perhaps *Pliny* might mean by theſe three Names, the three different Colonies, which were ſent from *Rome* to *Aretium*. It is ſuppoſed, that *Arrezzo* was founded before the Siege of *Troy*, either by the *Umbri*, or *Pelaſgi*, or *Tyrrhenians*; if the latter were indeed a different People from the *Pelaſgi*. *Tully*, in his Oration for *Murena*, and *Frontinus*, *Lib. de Coloniis*, tells us, that this City was called a *Roman* Colony; and *Feſtus* make it to have been a *Municipium*. It at preſent ſtands on an Eminence; its Territory is watered by the *Clanis*, or *La Chiana*, which formed a Marſh near it, but the Great Duke has in part dried it up. *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Diodorus Siculus*, ſay, that *Aretium* was the Capital of one of the twelve *Hetrurian Lucumonies*.

13 We have already ſpoken of the *Senones*, B. 13. §. 49. of this Volume, *Note* 10.

14 *Florus* in his Epitome, gives this *Lucius Cæcilius*, who was ordered by the Senate to raiſe the Siege of *Aretium*, the Title of *Prætor*. Nevertheleſs the *Conſular Annals* agree in reckoning him to be one of the *Conſuls*, for this Year 469. But *Florus* alſo places this Event in the next Year, ſuppoſing that *Lucius Cæcilius* was made *Prætor* immediately after he was *Conſul*: And *Freinſhemius* in his *Supplement*, agrees with *Florus*. To which he adds, That the Senate had recourſe then to the *Prætor*, *Lucius Cæcilius*, becauſe *Cneius Domitius*, one of the preſent *Conſuls*, was engaged in keeping the *Lucani* in Awe (who had entered into a League with the *Samnites*, againſt *Rome*) whilſt his Collegue *Publius Cornelius Dolabella* was making War with the *Volſinienſes* in *Hetruria*. But we, without regarding the Accounts of theſe two Authors, or the order of time they have followed, adhere to the Teſtimony of the judicious *Polybius*, whoſe Authority will always be ſuperior to that of two Abridgers. He ſays, the *Conſul Lucius* was killed in the Battel. Now *Lucius* was *Cæcilius*'s *Prænomen*. We cannot be miſtaken in it, ſince his Collegue *Servilius*, and *Cornelius* and *Domitius* the *Conſuls* for the Year 470, had other *Prænomina*. The firſt was called *Caius*; the ſecond, *Publius*; and the third, *Cneius*. *Cæcilius* therefore was not *Prætor*, when he went to relieve *Aretium*: And it will at the ſame time follow, that, upon the Teſtimony of *Polybius*, we have Reaſon to place the Defeat of the *Roman* Army by the *Senones*, under the Year of *Rome* 469, in which *Cæcilius* was *Conſul*. But yet, we cannot but own, that *Polybius* neither agrees with *Livy*, nor the *Faſti Capitolini*, in point of *Chronology*, in the Account he gives of the ſeveral Expeditions of the *Gauls* againſt *Rome*, when he ſpeaks of the Siege of *Aretium*, by the *Senones*. He ſays, the *Gauls* were forced to make Peace, and quit *Rome* after they had made themſelves Maſters of it, in order to go and defend their own Country, from an Invaſion of the *Veneti*, who had juſt entered it Sword in Hand. A remarkable Circumſtance mentioned only by *Polybius!* And from that time to this laſt Enterpriſe here mentioned, he reckons but ninety nine Years at moſt: Whereas it is certain, that from the Year 362, in which *Rome* was taken, to this Year 469, were almoſt 108 Years.

Year of ROME CCCCLXIX. C. Servilius Tucca, L. Cæcilius Metellus, Conſuls.

the Ambaſſadors, as they were paſſing from one Town to another, endeavouring to diſſuade each Canton from taking Arms, broke their *Caduceus*, and put them to death; a Crime, which we ſhall ſoon ſee purſued with condign Puniſhment; but in the mean time, the *Senones* emboldened by this firſt Villany, brought their Troops before *Aretium*. The City was already actually beſieged, when the *Conſul L. Cæcilius* came to its Relief: And the *Gauls*, ſays an ancient Author, never vented their Fury againſt the *Romans*, without doing them a great deal of Miſchief. A Battel was fought, in which the *Romans* were worſted. The *Conſul* was killed in it, the *Legions* routed, ſeven *Legionary Tribunes*, the beſt part of the Nobility, that is, of the *Roman Knights*, and thirteen thouſand private Men were left dead upon the Field of Battel.

Polybius B. 2. c. 19.

But the prodigious Number of her Inhabitants, and the Experience of her Generals, ſoon enabled *Rome* to repair this conſiderable Loſs. The brave *Manius Curius* marched away with new Troops, and came to ſupply the Place of the *Conſul Cæcilius*, who had fallen in the Battel. *Curius*, ſurnamed *Dentatus*, was perhaps *Prætor* at that time; and, as ſuch, it was his Province, while the *Conſul Servilius* was carrying on a War with the *Lucani*, to command the Army in *Hetruria*, which had loſt its Leader. At leaſt, it is certain, he took upon him the Command of the *Roman* Armies; and this philoſophical General, inſtead of eagerly haſtening to take Vengeance on the Army of the *Gauls*, which was yet warm with its Victory, neglected the Relief of *Aretium*, marched along by the Confines of *Hetruria*, and came directly to the Country of the *Senones*, to chaſtiſe them for the Murder of the *Roman* Embaſſadors, in the Place where it had been committed. He croſſed *Sabinia* and *Picenum*, and entered the Enemy's Territories, who, ſurprized at the Expedition of the *Roman*, raiſed ſome Troops in all haſte, to oppoſe him. But *Curius* eaſily diſperſed this Army of *Gauls*, tumultuouſly aſſembled together, and took Advantage of the Abſence of their beſt Troops, which were before *Aretium*. After having ſo far reduced the *Senones*, that they durſt not appear any more in the Field, in their own Country, he ravaged it without Oppoſition. The Crime was an enormous one, and the Puniſhment of it was very ſevere. Every Houſe was plundered, and every Field laid waſte. What the Sword ſpared, the Fire conſumed. No Perſon who was capable of bearing Arms was ſuffered to eſcape; only the Women and Children had their Lives ſpared, and they were carried into Captivity, and forced to ſpend their Days in Slavery. In ſhort, the whole Country of the *Senones* was made a vaſt Deſart, and ſo utterly waſted, that there ſcarce remained any Appearances of its having been inhabited, and cultivated by a numerous People. This is *Polybius*'s Account, whom we prefer to *Abridgers;* and have therefore reſtored to *Curius* the Glory [15] of an Expedition, which reduced the *Senones* to the utmoſt Extremities.

Dion. Apud. Fulv. Urſinum.

Year of ROME CCCCLXX. Cornelius Dolabella, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Conſuls.

§. III. And now *Rome* had already changed her Governors; *Cornelius Dolabella* [16] and *Cn. Domitius*, ſurnamed *Calvinus*, were choſen *Conſuls;* and in the beginning of their Adminiſtration, the Effects of the ſecret Springs, the *Tarentini* had ſet at work, began to ſhew themſelves, and the *Romans* knew not the firſt Movers of them. The *Boii*, *Hetrurians* and *Senones* (whoſe Army was ſtill before *Aretium*) and the *Samnites* (who alone had found the Republick Employment for near fifty Years) all declared againſt her, at once; and ſhe was alarmed to ſee ſo many Nations conſpire againſt her, at the ſame time. But nothing diſcouraged her. Nay, ſhe had ſo much Dependence on the Valour and Conduct of the new *Conſuls*, that ſhe did not oblige them to nominate a *Dictator*, as was uſual in times of great Danger: Nor was her Dependence on them vain. *Domitius* took the Field, with a Reſolution to engage the Army of the *Senones*, where-ever he ſhould find it; and he did not march far in queſt of it. He was ſcarce entered *Hetruria* before the *Senones* appeared, and gave him Bat

15 *Freinſhemius* gives *Publius Cornelius Dolabella* the Honour of this Expedition, upon a Suppoſition that it was undertaken in the Year 470, when *Publius* was *Conſul*. But *Polybius* on the contrary aſſures us, the *Conſul Lucius*, who was killed in the Battel, was ſucceeded by the *Conſul Manius*. For that was the *Prænomen* of *Curius Dentatus*, whom the Republick inveſted with the *Conſular* Dignity, after his Predeceſſor's Death. And it was no difficult Matter to us to determine, whether the Teſtimony of an ancient Hiſtorian, of approved Credit, or that of a modern Abridger was to be preferred.

16 The *Greek Tables* call the two *Conſuls* for this Year 470, by their Surnames of *Dolabella* and *Maximus*, without mentioning either their *Prænomina* or their Names. But all the *Conſular Annals* agree, that *Maximus* was the Surname of *Cornelius Dolabella*, and not of *Cneius Domitius* who had the Surname of *Calvinus*; though *Marianus*, has falſely given him that of *Calvus*.

tel. The Deſpair to which they were reduced, by the Deſolation of their Country, and the Captivity and Slavery of their Wives and Children, made them raiſe the Siege of *Aretium*, and march directly towards *Rome*. In their Fury, they indulged themſelves in the Hopes, of retaking the Capital of the Republick, which they had formerly reduced by Force, of ſacking it, and of ſettling in it, thereby to make themſelves Amends for the Ruin of their Country. This was indeed a raſh Project; but the Hiſtorians have more extolled the Bravery of the *Gauls* than their Prudence and Conduct. They advanced towards *Rome* with the ſame Confidence their Forefathers had done, when they raiſed the Siege of 17 *Cluſium*, and came and ſet down before it. But their Succeſs was different. After they had laid a great Tract of Ground waſte, and rambled from Place to Place, without having any ſettled Rout, or forming any regular Camps, they fell in with the *Conſul Domitius*'s Army. Upon this they were forced to give Battel, and found by Experience, that Fury in an Engagement is much leſs to be depended on than the Conduct of a cool Commander, who is at the Head of diſciplined Troops. The *Romans* vanquiſhed theſe Madmen, and covered the Field of Battel with their dead Bodies. Thoſe who eſcaped Death by the Hands of the *Romans*, turned their own Swords againſt themſelves. Only a ſmall Number of theſe Wretches retired to the *Boii*, whom they preſſed to take Arms immediately, and revenge the common Cauſe of all the *Gauls*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXX.

CORNELIUS DOLABELLA. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS, Conſuls.

Appian. Apud. Fulvium Urſinum.

As for the *Conſul Dolabella*, of the illuſtrious Family of the *Cornelii*, who afterwards furniſhed their Country with ſo many great Men, he ſaw new Enemies ſtart up againſt the Republick, after his Collegue's Victory. Some *Hetrurians* and *Boii* united, continued the Attempt, the *Senones* had too raſhly begun; and marched towards *Rome* with a great Army, the *Boii* having raiſed all the young Men in their Territory, which were able to bear Arms. *Dolabella* waited for them, on the Banks of the Lake 18 *Vademonis* in *Hetruria*, very near the *Tyber;* and we may venture to affirm, that the Glory of the *Gauls* was much ſunk, by the terrible Shock they received there. This Nation, which had hitherto been ſo formidable to the *Romans*, were ſoon reduced too low, to give them any Apprehenſions. A pitched Battel was fought there, the Particulars of which are not tranſmitted to us. All we know of it, is, that almoſt all the *Hetrurian* Soldiers fell in it, and that few of the 19 *Boii* returned into their own Country. Nevertheleſs, theſe ſame Enemies made ſome faint Efforts againſt the *Romans* the next Year; but were conquered a ſecond

Polybius B. 2.

17 See what we have ſaid of *Cluſium*, *B.* 3. *p.* 113. of the firſt Volume, *Note* 3.

18 That our Deſcription of the Lake *Vadimonis* may be exact, we ſhall borrow that, which *Pliny the Younger* has given us of it, in his 20th Letter to *Gallus*, *B.* 8. It is this. My Wife's Uncle invited me to his Country-houſe, near *Amelia*, and as I was walking thither, I was ſhewn a Lake, which lies in a Bottom. It is called *Vadimonis*, and I was told wonderful Things of it. When I came to it, I found it to be of the Figure of a Wheel. It has no Nook or Angle, and is on all ſides ſo ſmooth and regular, that it looks as if it had been made by a Line: It is of a deep bluiſh Colour, with a Mixture of white and green: Its Water ſmells of Sulphur, and has a mineral Taſte: It is very good to cure Fractures. The Lake is not very large, but large enough to be very rough when the Wind blows. There are no Boats in it, becauſe it is ſacred; but inſtead of them, there are ſeveral floating Iſlands in it, covered with Graſs, Reeds, and all thoſe things that are uſually in Marſhes, and on the ſides of Lakes. They are of different Figures and Sizes; and the Sides of them all are very dry, and very bare, which is occaſioned by their often ſtriking againſt one another, and againſt the ſides of the Lake. They are cut ſmooth at the bottom, ſomewhat like the Keel of a Ship. They are ſometimes diſperſed all over the Lake, and are as much above the Water, as under it. Sometimes they are all huddled together, and make ſort of Continent. Sometimes the Wind ſeparates them; and as ſoon again, they all lye ſtill at a Diſtance from one another, in the Places where the Calm ſeized them. The little ones often follow the great ones, as long Boats follow large Ships. Sometimes you would think the great and little ones were quarrelling, and fighting with one another: Sometimes, they are all driven together on one Shore, and enlarge it: Sometimes they drive the Water of the Lake to one Place, and ſometimes to another, but as ſoon as they return to the middle of it, the Water ſettles at its uſual Level. It is certain the Cattle come upon theſe Iſlands for the Paſturage, as if they were a part of the Shore, and are not ſenſible that they float, till they are got at ſome Diſtance from the Shore. Then ſeeing themſelves carried away by the Water, a Fright ſeizes them, and they immediately get a-ſhore, at the firſt Place, to which the Wind drives them. This Lake diſcharges itſelf into a River, which after running a little Way above Ground, falls into a great Abyſs, and continues its Courſe ſo freely underground, that it brings out any thing with it that you throw into it before its Deſcent. The Lake *Vadimonis* is now called *Il Lago di Baſſano*, from the Name of a neighbouring City, which is thought to be the ancient *Ameria* or *Amelia*.

19 *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *c.* 15. ſays, that *Cornelius Dolabella*'s Victory, completed the Deſtruction of the *Boii*, a Nation which then conſiſted of 112 *Tribes*. *In hoc tractu interierunt Boii, quorum Tribus* 112 *fuiſſe, auctor eſt Cato.*

time,

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXX. Cornelius Dolabella, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Conſuls.

time, forced to implore the Clemency of the *Roman* People, ſue for Peace, and enter into an Alliance with them. As for the *Senones*, they were ſo utterly deſtroyed, that there ſcarce remained any Footſteps in *Italy*, of a Nation which had formerly diſtinguiſhed itſelf ſo much, by the taking of *Rome*. It is reaſonably ſuppoſed, that [20] *Dolabella* received the Honours of a Triumph at *Rome*, ſince it is certain, that few Generals had better deſerved them. He had, by his Victory, enlarged the *Roman* Territory more than any of his Predeceſſors; eſpecially if it be true, that he thereby extended its Frontiers on this ſide, from the [21] *Rubicon* to the [22] *Æſis*, a River of *Picenum*, which is ſaid to have been now the Boundary of the *Roman* Dominions, on the ſide of the *Adriatick* Sea.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXI. C. Fabricius Luscinus, Q. Æmilius Papus, Conſuls.

§. IV. After the new *Conſuls*, *C. Fabricius* [23] *Luſcinus*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus* were choſen, the *Tarentini* enjoyed the Fruits of their ſecret Intrigues, for ſome time. All *Italy* roſe up in Arms againſt thoſe Robbers, as the *Romans* were called, who were not ſatisfied with ſo many Rapines, and whoſe Ambition had no Bounds. The Remains of the *Boii* and *Hetrurians* on the one Hand, and the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and *Samnites* on the other, conſpired together againſt thoſe Tyrants of *Italy*. And in order to oppoſe all theſe Enemies at once, the two *Conſuls* ſeparated, and choſe their Provinces by Lot. It fell to *Æmilius* to carry on the War in *Hetruria*, and to *Fabricius*, to command a *Roman* Army in *Lucania*. The former was deſcended from an illuſtrious Family, in which Valour was hereditary; but *Fabricius*, though of mean Birth, vaſtly ſurpaſſed his Collegue. He had a great Soul; was naturally inclined to a Love of Honour, Equity, Continence, Frugality, and a diſintereſted Zeal for the publick Good; and theſe Diſpoſitions being improved by Education, he poſſeſſed all theſe Virtues in the moſt eminent Degree, to which Reaſon and Reflection could raiſe them. It is giving him the higheſt Encomium, to ſay, that *Fabricius* excelled the moſt virtuous Men, in the moſt virtuous Age of *Rome;* even the *Curii*, the *Coruncanii*, and all thoſe other great Men, whoſe Examples ſhe ever to the laſt propoſed as the moſt perfect Patterns of Virtue. He abhorred the very Name of Pleaſure, as appears by his Anſwer to *Pyrrhus*. This King was always commending to him, in private Converſation, the novel Opinion of [24] *Epicurus*, an *Athenian* Sage,

Val. Marc. b. 4. c. 3.

20 *Onuphrius* gueſſes, that *Cornelius Dolabella* acquired the Surname of *Maximus*, which the *Faſti Capitolini* give him, by this important Victory.

21 The River *Rubicon*, ſo famous for *Julius Cæſar*'s Paſſage over it, was formerly the Boundary of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, and of *Italy*, properly ſo called. It is now called the *Fiumecino*. Three Rivers run into it, one of which is called *Rugone*, and by Corruption *Urgone*. It lies more to the Weſt than the other two, and is thought by *Cluverius* to be the ancient *Rubicon*, agreeably to *Strabo*'s Account of it, who ſays, *B.* 5. that it ran near *Ceſena*. The ſecond is now called *Piſatello*; and *Leander* and *Blondus* take this for the *Rubicon*, though it is but a Rivulet, which is moſt-times dry. The third is the *Borco*, which waters the City of *Savignano*; for which Reaſon the Natives call it, *Fiume de Savignano*. Among other Proofs, that *Scipio Claramontius* brings in favour of the *Piſatello*, he quotes an ancient Inſcription, which was dug up, on the Banks of this Rivulet. The Subſtance of it, was a formal Prohibition to all Perſons whatſoever, to paſs the *Rubicon* armed. But many learned Men conclude, that it is a counterfeit one, from the Impropriety of the Words uſed in it. So that the common Opinion is, that the ancient *Rubicon*, and the *Fiumecino*, or *Luſa*, are the ſame River; and this is the Opinion of *Raphael Adimari* in his Book, *de Situ Arimini*, p. 49. and of *Jacobus Villani*, in his Treatiſe entituled, *Ariminenſis Rubicon*.

22 According to *Silius* the Poet, *B.* 8. a King of the *Pelaſgi*, who was named *Æſis*, gave this River, which ſeparates *Umbria* from *Picenum*, his own Name. It is now called *Eſino Fiume*, and by Corruption, *Fiumeſino Fiume*.

23 Some Writers have thought that *Quintus Æmilius* was the Father of that *Lucius Æmilius*, who was promoted to the *Conſulate* in the Year of *Rome* 528. But the great Diſtance of fifty ſeven Years between the two *Conſulſhips*, makes us doubt of it. The Author of the Book of *Parallels*, aſcribed to *Plutarch*, gives *Quintus Æmilius* the Surname of *Paulus*, without any Reaſon. To which we ſhall here add, that *Cicero*, in *Lælio*, propoſes the two *Conſuls* for this Year, as the moſt perfect Patterns of Unanimity. They were, ſays he, united by the Bands of the ſtricteſt Friendſhip; they were twice *Conſuls*, and twice *Cenſors*, together.

24 *Epicurus* was born at *Gargetium*, in *Attica*, in the third Year of the 109th *Olympiad*. His Father's Name was *Neocles*, his Mother's *Chereſtrata*, whoſe Buſineſs was, according to *Diogenes Laertius*, that of laying Ghoſts and *Lemures*, according to the Superſtition of theſe Times. To this end, ſhe repeated certain Forms of Expiation, in the haunted Houſes, where ſhe was wanted, and her Aſſiſtance deſired; and the ſame Author adds, that her Son, whilſt he continued very young, always went with her, and aſſiſted her in theſe Ceremonies. His Father and Mother were of the Number of thoſe, whom the Republick of *Athens* ſent to the Iſland of *Samos*, where *Epicurus* ſpent the firſt part of his Childhood: When he was eighteen Years of Age, he returned to *Athens*, and five Years afterwards went from thence to *Colophon*, to his Father *Neocles*. After this, he travelled through ſeveral other Cities; and at length, when he was thirty ſix Years of Age, he ſettled at *Athens*, where he opened a School in a fine Garden, which he had purchaſed. He had here a great Number of Diſciples, who came to him from all Parts, lived in common with him and

Year of ROME CCCCLXXI.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Conſuls.

Sage, who then began to be in vogue. This Philoſopher is ſaid to have made all Happineſs to conſiſt in Pleaſure, and the Tranquillity of an unactive Life. But *Fabricius* looked on *Epicurus* as a Monſter, born to deſtroy all Virtue, and ſaid, *May* Pyrrhus *always regulate his Conduct by a Principle ſo favourable to the* Romans, *and ſo deſtructive of his own Glory*. And the *Greek*, though very fond of the new Philoſophy, admired the right Reaſon of the *Roman*, more than the ſubtle Diſtinctions of the *Athenian* Philoſopher. But let us return, and take a View of *Fabricius* in publick Life, upon which he is now entering; we ſhall hereafter ſee him ſubdue *Pyrrhus*, more by the Splendor of his Virtues, than either the Force of his Arms, or the Skill of the Generals who aſſiſted him in the War.

and liſtened to him, as to an Oracle, till he died, *Cicero*, *B. 5. de finibus*, and *Pliny B. 31. c. 2.* affirm, that not only the Day, but the whole Month in which he was born, was ſolemnized by his Diſciples with great Solemnity. They expoſed his Picture in all Places, and paid him little leſs than divine Honours. He ſhewed an invincible Conſtancy in his laſt Sickneſs, though oppreſſed with acute Pains, occaſioned by that Stoppage of Urine of which he died, the ſecond Year of the 127th *Olympiad*, and not of the 107th, according to *Voſſius*. He was then ſeventy two Years of Age. He wrote three hundred Volumes, which were ſo entirely his own, that there was not ſo much as one Quotation in them all. On which Account; ſays *Diogenes Laertius*, he far exceeded *Chryſippus* his Rival, who ſwelled his Volumes with great Numbers of borrowed Paſſages, and Repetitions, and Miſtakes. Though *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, were the firſt Authors of the Atomical Hypotheſis, and thought their Atoms eternal, and animated; yet, they may be ſaid to have been only the forerunners of *Epicurus*. He new modelled the Syſtem, and made ſeveral Alterations in it, as well in relation to the Origin and Direction of the Atoms, as their Nature and Properties. It is well known, the only Principles, he allowed of, were Atoms, and a *Vacuum*; a *Vacuum*, becauſe it was not to be conceived, how there could be any Motion in a *Plenum*; and Atoms, becauſe, according to him, of nothing comes nothing. And this Hypotheſis, as refined by *Gaſſendi*, and confined to the juſt Bounds, which the true Religion has ſet to it, has had very eminent Followers in our Days. *Epicurus* proved that the World was not eternal, by the evident Marks of Novelty, which appear in it; and as to his Doctrine of the ſupreme Good, which he made to conſiſt in Pleaſure, ſome have taken occaſion from thence to decry his Philoſophy, as a Source of Debauchery and Impurity. But others, to clear him from this Reflection, contend, that by Pleaſure, he meant lawful Pleaſures, and ſuch as is inſeparable from Virtue. And if this was really his Meaning, there is nothing in it, but what is very rational. It muſt be granted, that a Man's Happineſs is to be computed by the Pleaſure he feels. There can be no Happineſs, if we ſeparate from it, thoſe agreeable Impreſſions, which the Soul feels, when the Paſſions are calmed, and ſubdued to the Government of Reaſon. In a Word, the Happineſs of Man, and Pleaſure (I mean the Pleaſure which flows from a pure and innocent Life) are ſo inſeparable, that the one neceſſarily ſuppoſes the other: Or, in the Language of the Philoſophers, a perfect Joy, without any Allay of Bitterneſs, is as cloſely united with true Happineſs, as the thing and its formal Cauſe, or Eſſence. The Irregularity of Man's Heart is not in its feeling of Pleaſure, but in its unlawful Purſuit of the Objects which cauſe it. The End he propoſes is lawful, and agreeable to Nature; but the Choice of the Means, in order to it, is often criminal, and irrational. The Queſtion therefore is, whether *Epicurus* meant by Pleaſure, that Pleaſure which ariſes from Feaſting, Intemperance and Debauchery: And on this Head, many ancient and modern Authors of diſtinguiſhed Merit, have entered the Liſts in his Defence. Among others, in the laſt Age were *Gaſſendi*, *Stanley* in his *Life of Epicurus*, and *Rondel* in his *Latin* Treatiſe, of *The Life and Manners of Epicurus*. What the Stoicks, his implacable Enemies, have publiſhed of him, concerning the Curtezan *Leontium*, whom he is ſaid to have admitted to be one of his Diſciples; and the Accuſations of *Timocrates*, who deſerted his Academy, are now eſteemed Calumnies, which have not the leaſt Shadow of Probability. The Altars, which were erected to him after his Death, the Paleneſs of his Complexion, his ſober and temperate Life, atteſted by *Seneca* himſelf, an Author not to be ſuſpected in this Caſe, and the Encomiums which ſeveral great Men among the Ancients have given him, are all, ſay his Apologiſts, ſo many Refutations of the Calumnies of his Accuſers. Some Debauchees indeed, ſay they, have in all Ages abuſed his Doctrine, but they were not his Scholars. They only aſſumed the Title of *Epicureans*, to ſhelter their Licentiouſneſs under a great Name. Not but that *Epicurus* allowed ſomething to the Senſes; he contended, that we cannot doubt of their Fidelity, in the Informations they give us of thoſe Things which are their proper Objects; but he declared againſt ſuffering our Reaſon to be enſlaved by them. With regard to the Gods indeed, whom he places in a State of pure Inactivity and Indolence, his moſt zealous Defenders cannot but acknowledge, the horrid Impiety of his Doctrine. They, according to him, eaſed themſelves of the Trouble of governing the Univerſe, and left it to Men to govern it, as they pleaſe. He thought the Care of this lower World too mean an Office for the Divine Nature to be concerned in; and therefore left all theſe Trifles to chance. He was Opinion, that nothing could interrupt the Repoſe and Happineſs of the Gods; and therefore ſuppoſed them to be very indifferent, in the Cauſe of Virtue and Vice. This is the Senſe of theſe impious Verſes.

Omnis enim per ſe Divûm natura neceſſe eſt,
Immortali ævo ſummâ cum pace fruatur,
Semota à noſtris rebus ſejunctaque longè,
Ipſa ſui pollens opibus, nihil indiga noſtri,
Nec bene pro meritis capitur, nec tangitur irâ.

To talk in this manner, is utterly to deſtroy Providence, or rather, as *Tully* obſerves, it is to allow of the Being of a God in Words, and in Fact to deny it. Nevertheleſs, *Epicurus* acknowledged, that God deſerved our Homage, by the Excellency of his Nature, and his Superiority to us: So that he conſtantly frequented the Temples; and when *Diocles* ſaw him at the Foot of the Altars, he could not help crying out, What Feſtival is this! What new Sight is this, to find *Epicurus* in a Temple! All my Suſpicions vaniſh. I am more ſenſible than ever of the Majeſty of *Jupiter*, now that I behold *Epicurus* upon his Knees. And upon the ſame Principle, this Philoſopher recommended nothing more than the Reſpect and Submiſſion, due to Princes and Magiſtrates, whether good or bad. A Maxim of great Importance, and Neceſſity, for the Support and Safety of Governments.

§. V. WHILST

Year of ROME CCCCLXXI. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Consuls. *Florus Epitome* 12.

§. V. WHILST his Collegue was carrying on the War againſt the *Boii* and *Hetrurians*, *Fabricius* led a *Roman* Army into *Lucania*. The revolted *Samnites* endeavoured to ſtop him, but he made his Way through them, and came to the Relief of the *Thurii*, who were in Alliance with the *Romans*. *Thurium* [25] formerly called *Sybaris*, was a conſiderable City in *Great Greece*, and ſtood on the *Gulph of Tarentum*, between the *Brutii* and *Lucani*, who were uneaſy to ſee a City ſo ſituated, in Friendſhip with the ambitious Republick, whoſe Dominion they dreaded. They had already beſieged *Thurium* ſome Years ſince, but *Rome* had relieved it; and they were now endeavouring a ſecond time, to wreſt this Key to their Dominions, out of the Hands of the Republick. Their Army conſiſted of three warlike Nations, under the Command of a General, famous for his Bravery, one *Stenus* [26] *Statilius*, who had commanded at the former Siege; ſo that *Fabricius* was to cope with the *Samnites*, the *Brutii*, and the *Lucani*, all united in one Camp. However, a Battel was fought in the ſight of the Beſieged, the whole Advantage of which fell to the *Romans*; but no Victory was then thought complete, unleſs the Camp of the Conquered was alſo taken, and plundered. The great Difficulty therefore was, after the gaining the Battel, how to force well-fortified Entrenchments, to which the Remains of three Nations were retired, in order to defend them. This was ſo very hazardous an Enterpriſe, that *Fabricius* himſelf heſitated at it, and in all Probability, made uſe of a Stratagem, which gave his taking the Camp the Air of a Miracle. Whilſt the *Roman Conſul* appeared to be in Suſpence, what to do, a young Man, full of Vigour, wearing Feathers in his Helmet, appeared on a ſudden in the midſt of the *Legions*, exhorted the *Romans*, to decline no Danger for the Honour of their Country; and then ſeizing a Ladder, marched firſt to the Rampart, through a Shower of

Pliny B. 34. *c.* 6.

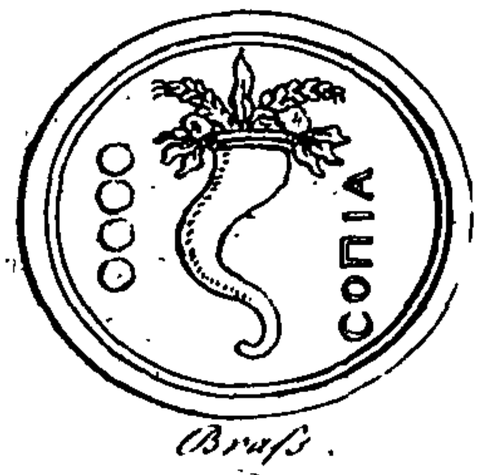
Ammian. Marcel. B. 24. *Val. Max. B.* 1. *c.* 8. §. 6. *Dion. Hal. in Legationibus.*



Silver.



Silver.



Brass.

25 We have ſpoken of the City of *Thurium*, *B.* 11. p. 515. of the firſt Volume, *Note* 22. We find ſome Footſteps of this City, on Medals, under the Names of *Thurium* and *Sybaris*. The firſt of thoſe above, is the Head of a *Pallas*, who was the Protectreſs of the *Athenians*, of whom this City was a Colony. The reverſe is a Bull, the uſual Emblem of Agriculture and Fertility. Over the Bull is a winged Victory with a Crown in her Hand, perhaps, to point out the Prize reſerved for thoſe who conquered in the ſolemn *Games* annually celebrated in this City, in Imitation of the *Olympick*. We cannot learn, what the Fiſh and Dart on the other Medal ſignify; all we know is, that according to *Athenæus*, who treats largely of the *Sybarites*, the Magiſtrates of *Sybaris* exempted the Fiſhermen, and Eel-Merchants, from all ſorts of Taxes; becauſe, ſays our Author, they were very great Lovers of this ſort of Fiſh, and were very nice in them. And *Ovid* ſpeaking of the *Crathis*, which watered the City of *Thurium*, ſays it abounded with Fiſh:

Eſt prope piſcoſos lapidoſi Cratidis amnes
Parvus ager.

We ought alſo to have obſerved in the firſt Volume, that *Thurium* was likewiſe called *Copia*; of which we have a freſh Proof in one of *Goltzius*'s Medals, On the reverſe of it, we find the Word COPIA; and the *Cornucopia* by it, agrees very well with what *Diodorus Siculus* ſays of the Fruitfulneſs of the Territory of the *Sybarites*; though *Athenæus* ſays their City ſtood in a barren Soil. *Strabo B.* 6. and *Diodorus*, *B.* 11. and 12. have given us a long Account of the Riſe, Progreſs, and Fall of *Thurium*. See *Cluverius*, *of Ancient Italy*, B. 4. *p.* 1263.

26 *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 1. *c.* 8. §. 6. gives this Commander, the Name of *Statius Statilius*.

the

the Enemies Darts, planted his Ladder againſt it, and mounted it. This bold Action, without doubt, coſt him his Life; but then it at the ſame intimidated the Confederates, and inſpired the *Romans* with new Courage. They ſcaled the Enemy's Ramparts with ſuch Intrepidity, that they made themſelves Maſters of the Camp, and thereby completed the Work of this glorious Day. The General *Statilius*, and 25000 of his Men, were killed in the Plain and Camp; and the *Romans* took thirty three Colours from the Confederates. Thus the City of *Thuria* was indebted to the *Romans* for a ſecond Deliverance. The next Day, when the *Conſul* diſtributed the military Rewards among thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves in the Battel, the brave Man, who had firſt mounted the Rampart, was not to be found. He was ſought for, and ſummoned to come and receive from the *Conſul*, one of thoſe Crowns of Graſs, which were uſually given to the Generals, who had forced the Enemy to raiſe a Siege; but no Body appeared. And from this ſingle Circumſtance only, the credulous Soldiers imagined that it was *Mars* himſelf, who had come down from Heaven, on Purpoſe to encourage the Soldiers of a City, which had been founded by his Son *Romulus*. Thanks were returned for it to the God of War, by *Supplications;* and the imaginary Service he had done them, was recorded, and tranſmitted down to future Ages, as a Prodigy.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXI. C. Fabricius Luscinus, Q. Æmilius Papus, Conſuls.

§. VI. As for the *Tarentini*, though they were the real Authors of this War, they had not yet appeared in the Field. They were a Parcel of cowardly Politicians, who contented themſelves with expoſing their Neighbours to the Danger of a Battel, and drawing them in to engage with the *Romans*, at their own Perils; whilſt they themſelves were afraid of incurring the Anger, and drawing the Vengeance of *Rome*, on *Tarentum*. But an Accident diſcovered their Perfidiouſneſs, exaſperated the *Romans* againſt them, and at length cauſed their utter Ruin, after a long Series of Events, which make one of the moſt conſiderable Periods, in the *Roman* Story. One of the *Maritime Duumviri*, that is, one of the Admirals of the *Roman* Fleet, named *Valerius*, according to ſome, or as others, *Cornelius*, came to the Mouth of the Port of *Tarentum*, with ten of the Ships of the Republick. The idle Inhabitants of this City were aſſembled as uſual, in a magnificent Theatre, by the ſide of the Port, from whence they could ſee the *Roman* Squadron; and the *Games* were inſtantly interrupted by the Terror it gave the Spectators. They imagined, that *Rome* having at laſt diſcovered their ſecret Plots, had ſent a Sea-armament to puniſh her ſecret Enemies, who had brought ſo many Wars upon her. But the *Duumvir* thought of nothing leſs; he was a Stranger to the Hatred of the *Tarentini*, and had nothing in view, but to take in freſh Proviſions, at a Port, whoſe Inhabitants he thought to be in Amity with the *Romans*. However, as the Stings of Conſcience are ſometimes moſt ſevere, at the time of publick Feſtivals, and after a Debauch, and leave the Mind but little Power of Reflection, at the ſight of ſudden Danger, the Alarm among the *Tarentini* was general; and then an infamous Debauchee, named *Philocaris*, but whoſe ſhameleſs Incontinence procured him the Name of *The* [27] *Thais of Tarentum*, harangued his affrighted fellow-Citizens. The *Tarentini* held their Deliberations about publick Affairs, in the Theatre, after the manner [28] of the *Greeks;* and there *Philocharis* addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner. *Why don't we inſtantly ſurpriſe and deſtroy the Fleet of theſe new Pirates, who are come to inſult us, even at our very Gates? Have you forgotten, that the* Romans *obliged themſelves by their ancient Treaties, not to ſail farther than the* [29] Lacinian *Promontory, nor to paſs with their Ships beyond* [30] Croton. Theſe Treaties were indeed ſo *Florus, B.* 1. and *Zonaras, B.* 8.

[27] *Thais* was a famous Curtezan of *Alexandria*, who came to *Athens*, and there debauched all the Youth of that City. *Menander* the Poet, has ſung her Praiſes in Verſe; and from thence ſhe was called *Menandrian Thais*.

[28] The *Athenians* held their Aſſemblies ſometimes in the *Forum*, and ſometimes in a Place in the City called *Pnyx*; and oftentimes in the Theatre: As we learn from *Demoſthenes*, in his *Oration for Cteſiphon*; from *Tully*, in his *Oration for Flaccus*; from *Tacitus*, *Hiſt. B.* 2. from *Varro*, as quoted by *Nonnius*; and from *Seneca*, *Epiſt.* 108. A Roſtrum was erected on this Theatre for thoſe who harangued the People.

[29] The *Lacinian* Promontory, now *Capo delle Colonne*, lay on the Extremity of the *Gulph of Tarentum*. The ſecond Gulph of *Europe*, ſays *Pliny*, *Hiſt. B.* 2. *c.* 11. begins at Cape *Lacinius*, and after taking in a vaſt Compaſs of Water, ends at Cape *Acrocerannius*, now *Capo della Chimera*. *A Lacinio Promontorio, ſecundus Europæ ſinus incipit, magno ambitu flexus, & Acroceraunio finitur Promontorio. Stephens* calls this Promontory, the *Mount of Croton*; and *Diodorus Siculus* calls it, Διοσκουρίας ἄκρα from a neighbouring Iſland called *Dioſcorides*, or *the Iſland of Caſtor and Pollux*. Near the *Lacinian* Promontory, ſtood the ſtately Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

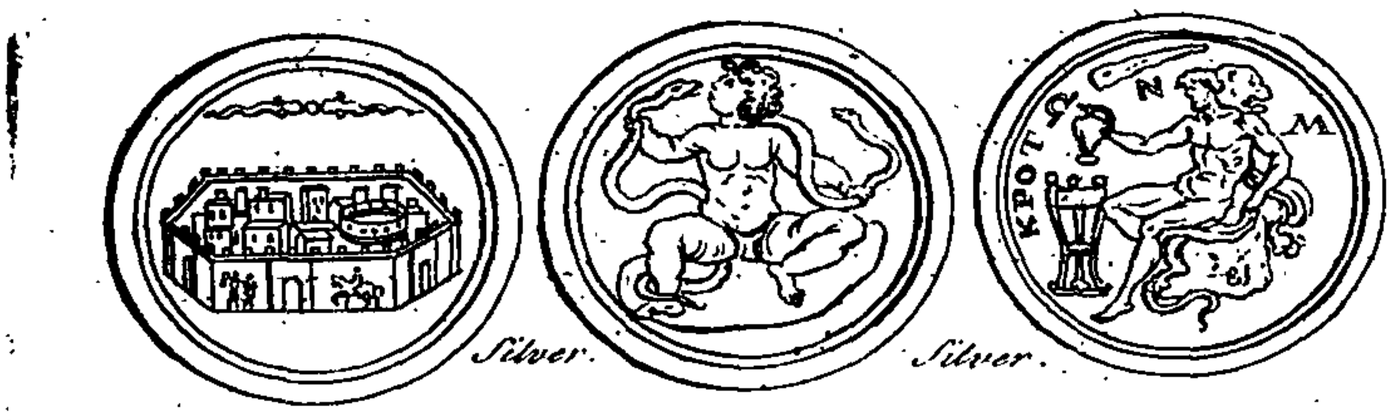
[30] *Croton*, now *Crotone*, in *The Further Calabria*, was, as ſome ſay, founded by *Diomedes*; but according to *Dion. Hal.* by one *Myſcellus* (whom *Lucian* calls *Mykillus*) in the third Year of the 17th *Olympiad*, which was the fourth Year of *Numa*'s Reign. Others ſay, that *Alcimus* and *Croto*, the Sons of *Æacus*, came into this Country,

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXI. C. Fabricius Luscinus, Q. Æmilius Papus, Conſuls. *Oroſius, B.* 4. *c.* 1.

ſo old, that they were grown obſolete; but nevertheleſs, this was enough for Madmen, whom Wine and their own Malice hurried on to their Deſtruction. The Propoſal of the effeminate *Philocharis* was received with univerſal Applauſe, and they all came, and fell upon the *Roman* Fleet, with the Fury of Madmen. They purſued, and ſurrounded it, and the *Romans*, who did not expect a Battel, endeavoured to ſheer off. Five of the Ships eſcaped; ſo that that on board which the *Duumvir* was, ſunk; and of the other five, four only were brought into the Port of *Tarentum*, and plundered. All the Men in them, who were able to bear Arms, were put to the Sword, and the reſt reduced to a State of Slavery, and ſold to the beſt Bidder.

Tabulæ Triumphales.

The News of this unexpected Act of Hoſtility was brought to *Rome*, before *Fabricius*'s *Conſulſhip* expired. He was returned to *Rome* ſince his Victory, and had received the Honours of a Triumph [31], on *the third of the Nones of May:* And as he then preſided in the publick Aſſemblies, this virtuous *Conſul*, was probably the Author of the Moderation the Republick ſhewed towards the perfidious *Tarentini*. *Rome* had then many Enemies upon her; and it was not prudent, to increaſe their Number in ſuch critical times. Beſides, no Body was more ſtrongly inclined than *Fabricius*, to obſerve that equitable Law of *Numa*, which commanded the *Romans* not to declare War with any People, though the Aggreſſor, till Satisfaction for the Injuries *Rome* had received, was firſt demanded by the [32] *Feciales*. It was therefore decreed, that an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to *Tarentum*, to require the *Tarentini* to repair the Injuries they had done, and make Amends for the Inſult they had offered to the Republick. The chief of the Deputies, was a Man of great Weight, and of an advanced Age, who had been *Conſul* a third time, nine Years before. His Name



Silver. *Silver.*

Country, and that the former ſettled in the Iſland of *Corcyra*, whilſt the latter built the City of *Croton*. Some derive the Name of this City from one of the Companions of *Hercules*, whom they call *Croto*, but don't ſay, whether he was the ſame with the *Croto* beforementioned. In ſhort, moſt Enquirers have had recourſe to Fable for the Origin of *Croton*. All that is ſure is, that it was a City of Diſtinction in *Great Greece*. Its Walls were formerly twelve Miles in Circumference. The River *Eſaro* divided it into two Parts. *Pliny*, *B.* 2. *c.* 16. boaſts of the good Air of *Croton*; whence the Proverb, *Suidas* mentions, κρότωνος ὑγιεινότερος, *Sanior Crotone*, to ſignify a wholeſome Place. It was famous for its great Number of Wreſtlers; inſomuch, that according to *Strabo*, ſeven of them gained Prizes in the *Olympick Games*, in one Day. Among others, *Milo of Croton*, *Pythagoras*'s Diſciple, was a Man of ſuch prodigious Strength, that the Ancients ſay, he firſt carried a Bull upon his Shoulders above a 125 geometrical Paces, during the Celebration of thoſe ſolemn *Games*, and then killed him with his Fiſt. The *Crotoniatæ* learned wreſtling and boxing very early, and had a ſingular Veneration for the God *Hercules*, the Protector of Wreſtlers. For this Reaſon we often find him on their Medals, as in thoſe above; in one of which he has his Club and the Spoils of the *Nemæan* Lion; and on the other he is repreſented under the Figure of a Child ſqueezing two Snakes to death, which Fable ſays he did ſoon after his Birth. The *Tripos* alludes to the Oracle of *Delphos*, which the *Crotoniatæ* conſulted, in the time of a Plague, or other great Calamity. On the third Medal above, we have, as is ſuppoſed, the City of *Croton*; the Conqueror crowned by Victory, and the Horſeman, on this Medal, point out the Games which uſed to be ſolemnized by its Inhabitants. *Cicero* commends them for their Strength, and Skill in bodily Exerciſes, *Rhodoric*, *B.* 2. *Etenim quondam Crotoniatæ multum omnibus corporum viribus & dignitatibus anteſteterunt; atque honeſtiſſimas ex gymnico certamine victorias domum cum maxima laude, retulerunt.* But they afterwards degenerated from this martial Vigour, which made them formidable to their Neighbours. After they had conquered the *Sybarites*, they ſunk into the Effeminacy and Delicacy of that Nation. *Croton* had the Honour to give Birth to ſeveral great Men, eſpecially, to *Alcmon*, a Diſciple of *Pythagoras*; *Democedes* the Phyſician, who was a great Favourite of *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, and of *Darius*, King of *Perſia*; and to *Philolaus*, who firſt invented the Syſtem, of the circular and annual Motion of the Earth.

31 Notwithſtanding the Silence of the Hiſtorians, it is certain, that *Caius Fabricius* triumphed for the firſt time, this Year, over the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*. There are yet ſome Marks of this Triumph in the *Faſti Capitolini*; and they give him a ſecond Triumph, in the Year of *Rome*, 475, which was his ſecond *Conſulſhip*: So that it is not to be denied, that he had triumphed once before this time; which could not be but in his firſt *Conſulſhip*. By the ſignal Victory he then gained over the Enemies of the Republick, he had merited this great Honour.

32 See our Account of the *Feciales*, *B.* 1. *p.* 6 of the firſt Volume.

was *L. Posthumius*, his Surname *Megellus*; and his Quality as Ambassador, his hoary Head, and his personal Merit, ought to have gained him Respect. But what can be expected from a People, heated with Wine, who know no Law, but their own Frenzies? *Posthumius* and his Collegues arrived at *Tarentum*, and were admitted to an Audience of the People in the Theatre. The *Greek* Tongue was at this time taught in *Rome*, it being necessary for the *Romans* to understand it, since they had made such Conquests in *Italick Greece*; and *Posthumius* harangued the *Tarentini* in that Language. It is not to be wondered at, that a Foreigner should not speak the Language of the Country, with the Exactness of a Native. However, they let the Orator go on, but gave much less Attention to what he said, than this Affair required, on which their common Safety or Ruin depended. Nay, they were not only inattentive to his Discourse, but burst out into loud Laughs, and insolently Hissed, whenever *Posthumius* dropped an improper Expression, or pronounced a Word ill. Nor was this all. They rather drove the Ambassador out of the Assembly, than dismissed him; and some add, that they offered Violence to his Person, and struck him several times. At least, it is certain, that the *Tarentini*, offered him the basest Insults, they could have been guilty of. As *Posthumius* was walking out of the Theatre, with an Air of Gravity and Dignity which he preserved, notwithstanding the ill Reception they gave him, a Buffoon named 33 *Philonides* came up to the Ambassador, and pissed upon his Robe. The mad Multitude applauded the Insolence; and *Posthumius* replied, without any Emotion, *Laugh on now*, Tarentini, *laugh on. The Time will come when your Laughter will be turned into Tears.* Rome *will find means to wash my Robe clean in Blood.* So that amidst all these Indignities, the Ambassador did nothing unworthy of his Character; and keeping strictly to his Commission, he repeated the Form prescribed him, Word for Word; as it was the ancient Custom of the *Roman* Embassadors to do.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXI. C. Fabricius Luscinus, Q. Æmilius Papus, Consuls.

Dion. Hal. in Legat.

Flor. Epitom. 12.

Dio in Legat. Val. Max. B. 2. c. 2. §. 5. and Zonaras, B. 8. c. 2.

§. VII. But when the *Tarentini* were a little come to themselves, and recovered from the Disorders of their Drunkenness, they began to reflect a little more seriously, on the Enormity of their Conduct. They had offered the *Romans* the most outragious Insults, and now looked upon them as irreconcileable Enemies. Nor did they think, the *Brutii*, *Samnites*, and *Lucani* together, able to defend them, against all the Forces of the Republick. Besides, the Nations they had stirred up, had just been subdued, by *Fabricius*, and his Collegue; and they therefore thought, they had nothing left to do, but to get those necessary Succours from beyond Sea, which they could not hope to obtain, in *Italy*. With this View, they cast their Eyes upon *Pyrrhus*, the King of *Epirus*, whose great Reputation for Valour, and long Experience in War, had gained him the Character, of one of the Heroes of *Greece*. And indeed, this *Pyrrhus*, was descended from *Achilles* 34, by his Son *Pyrrhus*, or *Neoptolemus*, who conquered *Epirus*, and settled his Family on the Throne. The Descendants of this first King were called *Pyrrhidæ;* and in process of Time, a long Succession of Kings descended from the same Stock, reigned in *Epirus*. At length *Æacides*, the Father of that *Pyrrhus*, whom the *Tarentini* called to their Assistance, lost the Crown, by the Revolt of the 35 *Molossi* his Subjects, who expelled him the Kingdom; but his Son, then at the Breast, narrowly escaped many Dangers, and was carried to *Illyricum*. There 36 King *Glaucias* preserved the Remains of this illustrious House, and committed him to the Care of the Queen his Wife, who brought him up in his Court, with her own Children. Nor was this all he did for his unfortunate foster-Child. As soon as he was twelve Years of Age, *Glaucias* carried him

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

33 This *Philonides*, says *Dion. Hal.* was so great a Drunkard, that he from thence had the Surname of *Cotyle*; which was the Name of a *Greek* Wine-measure, used in Taverns, which held about nine Ounces weight of Liquor. To which the Historian adds, that the Brute, was stupified at this time, with his hard drinking the Day before.

34 *Hofman* is mistaken in believing, on the Testimony of *Charles Stephens*, that *Pyrrhus* was descended from *Achilles* by his Mother's side, and from *Hercules* by his Father's side. *Alexander the Great* indeed is said to have been so descended; but *Plutarch* and *Aurelius Victor* don't say the same thing of *Pyrrhus*. The Words of the latter are these: *Pyrrhus rex Epirotarum, paterno genere ab Achille, materno ab Hercule, oriundus.* This King was therefore descended from *Achilles* by his Father, and from *Hercules*, by his Mother *Phthia*, the Daughter of *Menon of Thessaly*.

35 The *Molossi* then gave the Crown to the Sons of *Neoptolemus*, the Uncle of *Æacides*, who were consequently Cousin-germans to *Pyrrhus*.

36 According to *Plutarch*, *Glaucias* hesitated a great while, before he would receive the young Prince into his Palace. His Fear of provoking *Cassander*, the implacable Enemy of *Æacides*, kept him in suspence; and then those, who had rescued *Pyrrhus* from the Fury of the *Molossi*, had recourse to Entreaties. They, in a supplicant manner, implored

Year of ROME CCCCLXXI. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Consuls.

him back to *Epirus*, at the Head of a great Army, and placed him upon the Throne of his Ancestors; which he possessed in Peace till he was seventeen Years of Age, and then he was dethroned by [37] his rebellious Subjects. The fugitive *Pyrrhus* found a Retreat, in the Dominions of [38] *Demetrius*, the Husband of his Sister *Deidamia*; and there first learned the Art of War, under the Scholars, and Companions, of *Alexander the Great*. Till at length, *Demetrius*, becoming Master of *Greece*, and a great part of *Asia*, made War with *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*; and in this War, the King of *Epirus* did him great Service. As young as *Pyrrhus* was, he fought under his Brother-in-law, in the [39] famous Battel of *Ipsus* [40], in which so many Kings engaged; and behaving himself with the Boldness of a Lion, he conquered on that side where he was posted. Nevertheless, *Demetrius* lost the Battel; but *Pyrrhus* very seasonably covered *Greece*, and saved it for the King, his Ally. Nor was this the only Proof he gave of his Affection for his Sister's Husband. When *Demetrius* made a Peace with *Ptolomy*, *Pyrrhus* consented to be one of the Hostages, who were to be carried into *Egypt*, to secure the Performance of the Treaty; and in this foreign Court, he gave great Proofs of his Prudence and Address. He was admired for the Regularity of his Conduct, esteemed for his Dexterity in bodily Exercises, and beloved for his sweet Disposition, and Complaisance. His chief Aim was, to make his Court to the favourite Queen, called *Berenice;* which he did so effectually, that she gave him *Antigona*, her Daughter, by a former Husband, in Marriage. And with her, *Ptolomy* gave him Money and Forces enough, to go and reconquer his Dominions. Another Prince of the Family of the *Pyrrhidæ*, named *Neoptolemus*, had taken Possession of his Throne; and being forced to quit the Diadem he had invaded, he was going to beg the Assistance of the neighbouring Princes, to maintain himself in his Usurpation; but *Pyrrhus* gained him over by the advantagious Offers he made him. He even consented to give him up a part of his Dominions. Nevertheless the Usurper could not long be content with half a Kingdom; and therefore made an Attempt on the Life of his Benefactor and his Master, and formed a Plot to poison him. But *Neoptolemus* was taken in his own Snare, and died by the Hands of him, whom he would have poisoned. And now *Pyrrhus* being thus rid of a Traitor, continued no longer idle in his Dominions. *Alexander*, who was deprived of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, by his Brother *Antipater*, implored the Assistance of the King of *Epirus*, and *Pyrrhus* complied with his Request. Indeed he sold him his Services dear. He demanded of the deprived Prince all the Sea Coasts of *Macedon*, together with [41] *Ambracia*, [42] *Acarnania*, and [43] *Amphilochia*, Provinces which formerly did not belong to the *Macedonians;* and *Alexander* granting all these Demands, *Pyrrhus* pressed *Antipater* so hard, that he was forced to give up the Throne to his Brother. But young *Alexander*, though

plored the King's Protection; placed their precious Depositum in the middle of the Hall; and the little Prince, immediately crauling along to *Glaucias*'s Feet, and catching hold of his Knees, this effectually raised his Compassion. But others say, that the Infant, actuated by some exrraordinary Instinct, moved and looked towards the Altars of the domestick Gods, as if he claimed the Protection of these Divinities, who were Lovers of Hospitality; and that this Sight struck *Glaucias* with Admiration. He immediately concluded, that the Gods took the young Prince under their Protection; and thought it matter of Duty to take care of *Pyrrhus*'s Education. Neither the repeated Instances of *Cassander*, nor the two hundred *Talents* he offered, could induce *Glaucias* to surrender up the young Prince.

37 The *Molossi* took Advantage of the Absence of *Pyrrhus*, who had left his Capital, and was gone into *Illyricum*, to be present at the Marriage of one of *Glaucias*'s Sons.

38 This *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*, was King of *Macedon*, and had the Surname of *Poliorcetes*, that is, *A taker of Cities.*

39 This Battel was fought, according to Father *Petau*, twenty four Years after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, in the fourth Year of the 119th *Olympiad*, and the Year of the World 3683; which pretty near coincides with the Year of *Rome* 453. *Demetrius* was overcome in this Battel by *Lysimachus* King of *Thrace*, *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy Lagus*, and *Cassander*, who all joined together against him. It is surprizing, that *Hofman* should say in his *Lexicon Universale*, contrary to the Testimony of the ancient Historians, that the Victory favoured *Pyrrhus*, against *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, as if the former acted against the latter.

40 *Ipsus* was a City of *Phrygia*, which is utterly unknown to us, otherwise than by Name. It is not now known where it stood.

41 The Territory of *Ambracia* was so called from the City of *Ambracia*, which stood at the end of the Gulph of the same Name. It is now called the Gulph *del l'Arta*.

42 *Acarnania*, a little Province of *Epirus*, was then united to *Macedonia*. The River *Achelous* divided it from *Ætolia* on one side, and the Gulph of *Ambracia*, on the other. This Canton is now called the *Despotat*, on *Little Greece*.

43 The City of *Amphilochia*, or *Argos of Amphilochia*, and its Territory, joined to *Acarnania*, upwards of twenty Miles from *Abracia*, to the South of the Gulph of that Name. There are now no Footsteps of this ancient City remaining.

re-esta-

re-eſtabliſhed in the Throne, by *Pyrrhus*'s Valour, yet did not enjoy his paternal Inheritance long. *Demetrius* came into *Macedonia*, under pretence of aſſiſting him againſt *Antipater*, and deprived the unfortunate *Alexander*, both of his Kingdom and his Life. And now, ſince he had uſurped the Throne of *Macedon*, the ambitious *Demetrius* neither remembered the Services *Pyrrhus* had done him in his War, nor his near Relation to *Deidamia*. Being become his Neighbour, this made him his Enemy. Diſputes aroſe between the two Brothers-in-law, concerning their Boundaries, and each ſupported his Pretenſions with his Arms. *Demetrius* entered *Epirus*, and *Pyrrhus* marched into *Ætolia*, where he found *Pantauchus* the braveſt of *Demetrius*'s Generals, whom he had left to defend it. And as *Pantauchus* had the Character of the boldeſt Champion of his Age, *Pyrrhus* was very ambitious of engaging him, and trying his Strength with him in ſingle Combat. Accordingly, he challenged him at the Head of the two Armies; and the Spectators all acknowledged, that he behaved himſelf in the Combat, with the Bravery of an *Achilles*, and the Activity of an *Alexander*. He received a ſlight Wound, but returned his Adverſary two furious Blows for it, and would have killed him on the Spot, if his Friends had not interpoſed, and immediately carried him off. However, this was the prelude to a Victory which he gained, and thereby made himſelf Maſter of almoſt all *Macedonia*. But *Demetrius* could ill brook *Pyrrhus*'s Invaſions, and therefore brought a great Army into the Field to engage him; and then the King of *Epirus* finding himſelf too weak to reſiſt him, retired into his own Dominions, reſolving to return into *Macedonia* again with a greater Body of Forces. And he accordingly fought *Demetrius* there; upon which a new Revolution enſued. The latter being deſerted by his Troops, who preferred *Pyrrhus* to him, he fled, and left the Throne vacant for him: So that the *Epirote* was proclaimed King in Form, and joined the Kingdom of *Macedon* to that of *Epirus*. And leſt *Demetrius* ſhould diſturb him in the Poſſeſſion of it, he kept him out of *Greece*, which he had formerly ſaved for him; and perſuaded the *Athenians* to enjoy their Liberty in Peace, and not ſuffer any King to paſs through their Country. Nor was this all. *Pyrrhus* formed a Deſign of depriving his Brother-in-law of *Theſſaly* too. He employed his *Macedonians* (who were more formidable to their Kings in time of Peace, than in time of War) in this fine Conqueſt; and would probably have added this Kingdom to his other Acquiſitions, if a new Enemy had not ſtopped him in his Career. *Lyſimachus*, a Native of *Macedonia*, and one of thoſe Generals, who had ſhared *Alexander*'s Conqueſts amongſt themſelves after his Death, was ambitious of making himſelf King in his own Country, and diſpoſſeſſing the *Epirote* of it: And he ſucceeded in his Deſign. He raiſed up all *Macedonia* againſt *Pyrrhus*, who thought proper to give way to the Storm, and return home to *Epirus*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXI. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Conſuls.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

§. VIII. SUCH was the Enemy, the *Tarentini* had Thoughts of raiſing up againſt the *Romans*. Without much conſidering the Conſequences, they diſpatched Embaſſadors to him; but, as I imagine, rather to ſound *Pyrrhus*'s Diſpoſition, and obſerve the Situation of his Affairs, than immediately to enter into any Engagements with him. They found, That he enjoyed a perfect Peace at Home: That he was almoſt the only Prince in the Eaſt, who was not engaged in dangerous Wars: That he naturally loved Action and Buſtle; and That he had Ambition enough to be eaſily brought to attempt the Conqueſt of *Italy*, and begin it, by entering a new Career which the *Tarentini* ſhould open for him. *Thuria* was a Place which the *Romans* had long obſtinately defended againſt her Neighbours; and they, to amuſe their implacable Enemies till *Pyrrhus* arrived, undertook the Siege of it again. They did not want Pretences for revenging themſelves with the utmoſt Severity on the *Thurii*. Theſe Greeks, ſaid they, *are Enemies to their own Nation, and have brought the Barbarians upon us. They choſe rather to have recourſe to the* Romans *in their Neceſſity, than to the Nations, who ſpeak their own Language.* The City was defended by a Roman Garriſon; but it was ſo vigorouſly attacked, that it was taken, before it could be relieved. After the *Tarentini* had plundered it, they expelled the chief Magiſtrates of their City, and agreeably to one of the Articles of Capitulation, ſent home the Romans, who defended it.

Appian.

THIS melancholy News was brought to *Rome*, a little after the Return of *L. Poſthumius*, and the other Embaſſadors who had been treated ſo ill at *Tarentum*. *L. Æmilius* ſurnamed

Year of ROME CCCLXXII. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, Q. MARCIUS, Conſuls.

ſurnamed *Barbula*, and Q. [44] *Marcius* had then been very lately promoted to the *Conſulſhip*, and made it their firſt Buſineſs to repreſent to the Senate, the Situation of the Affairs of *Rome*, on the one Hand, and the ſhameful Indignity which had been offered the Embaſſadors on the other. It was both dangerous to overburden the Republick with a new War, and ſhameful to overlook the Inſults of the *Tarentini*. *Rome* had yet all her late Enemies upon her, except the *Gauls*. *Hetruria* was neither conquered nor quieted. The *Samnites* had perfidiouſly taken up Arms, without any Regard to the Faith of Treaties, or fear of being again puniſhed for it. The *Lucani* and *Brutii* were grown more inſolent than ever, ſince the taking of *Thuria*. And on the other hand, the ſight of the defiled Robe of the Ambaſſador, which was brought into the Senate, to excite the Senators to revenge the Crime, made great Impreſſions upon them: And all agreed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary, ſooner or later, to revenge this monſtrous Outrage. But whether it was adviſeable for the Republick to ſhew her Reſentment immediately, was doubted. Never perhaps was Debate more tedious, or more perplexing. The ſame Queſtion was diſcuſſed, and warmly debated, from Sun-riſing to Sun-ſet, for ſeveral Days together. At length the Votes were counted, and they being equal, one half of the Senators, declaring for a War immediately, and the other half being for poſtponing it till ſuch time, as the neighbouring Provinces to *Tarentum* were ſubdued, or brought to a Peace, the Affair devolved upon the People: and they determined, that the *Roman* Arms ſhould immediately be turned againſt *Tarentum*. The two *Conſuls* were already upon their March, *Marcius* for *Hetruria*, and *Æmilius* for *Samnium*; and Orders were ſent to the latter, to lay aſide all other Expeditions, and march directly to *Tarentum*.

Dion. Hal. in Legat.

Zon. B. 8. c. 2. and Appian.

THEN doubtleſs the Terror of theſe Men muſt have been the greater, inaſmuch as their Love of Pleaſure had hitherto made them almoſt inſenſible of any thing elſe. The *Tarentini* aſſembled in their Theatre, and carried on their Deliberations with more Seriouſneſs than formerly. A *Conſular* Army was at their Gates, but before the *Conſul* entered upon Action, he demanded Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done the *Romans*. The Queſtion therefore was, whether they ſhould embark in a dangerous War, or ſubmit in the moſt ſhameful manner to make Satisfaction. The better Sort of Citizens, that is, the oldeſt and the richeſt, declared for Peace. *Æmilius* offered them moderate Terms, and after all, it was but equitable, that they ſhould repair the Injuries, and wipe off the Reproach they had thrown on a conſiderable Republick, without any Provocation. Only the Populace who had nothing to loſe, inſiſted upon a War; and the Clamours of theſe Wretches prevailed over the juſt Reaſons of the wiſeſt Men in *Tarentum*. In ſhort, what determined them to chooſe the worſt Part, was the Harangue of one of the common People, who revived the Propoſal of bringing *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*. *Words*, ſays he, *are unſeaſonable when the Danger is preſſing. In times of Peace, the ſtudied Harangues of our Orators, are an agreeable Entertainment, which we attend to with Pleaſure. But at preſent, into what an Abyſs of Misfortunes have our Pleaſures, and our Sloth brought us! But why do I revive the Remembrance of what can only fill you with Remorſe and Confuſion? Our Faults are already committed, and not to be recalled; all we have now to do, is to endeavour to avoid the ill Conſequences of them. We are invaded by a Roman Army. Our Eſtates and Lives are in immediate Danger; and which is worſe, you are divided in Opinion, and your domeſtick Factions add Strength to your Enemies. What do the* Romans *demand? Such Satisfactions as will reduce* Tarentum *from the Condition of a free City, jealous of her Liberty, to the State of a City enſlaved to imperious Maſters. Will you,* Tarentini, *bear this, whilſt there are People abroad who are ready to defend you? Our Anceſtors formerly brought* Alexander *of* Epirus *to their Aſſiſtance; and though he was unfortunately killed, yet his Valour and his Arms were of great Service to us. His Nephew, the generous* Pyrrhus *now ſits on the ſame Throne*

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Diod. in Eclog. L. 21.

Livy B. 8. c. 17.

Juſtin. B. 18.

[44] The Family of the *Marcii* was divided into two Branches, one of which was *Patrician*, the other *Plebeian*. Among the Anceſtors of the former were reckoned *Numa Pompilius* and *Ancus Marcius*. *Ovid* was of this Opinion, when he ſaid, *Marcia Sacrifico deductum nomen ab Anco*. He gives King *Ancus Marcius* the Name of *Sacrificus*, becauſe he ordered the *Pontifex Maximus* to revive the Ceremonies of Religion, and the Sacrifices, which were almoſt grown out of uſe, ſince the Death of *Numa*, through the Negligence of the Prieſts, who had the Care of them. The *Plebeian* Family of the *Marcii*, was a Family of great Diſtinction in *Rome*. Several Magiſtrates were of it; and their Memory is tranſmitted down to us on Medals. They are diſtinguiſhed by the Surnames of *Cenſorinus*, *Philippus*, and *Libo*, as will appear hereafter.

Year of ROME CCCLXXII. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, Q. MARCIUS, Conſuls.

has as much Ambition, and is as deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf, as his Uncle. We have already diſcovered his Inclinations in a former Embaſſy; and what then may we not expect from him? What Chief have we among our ſelves, to make Head againſt the warlike Romans? *Will the* Tarentini *ſuffer one of their fellow-Citizens to aſſume ſuch a Superiority over them, as may one Day enable him to become a Tyrant in his Country?* Pyrrhus *only can ſave* Tarentum. *He is rich, diſengaged, loves Glory, is Maſter of a great Kingdom, and will carry on the War at his own Expence: He will eaſily be prevailed on to leave his own Dominions: He will here have an Enemy to cope with, worthy of him; and he will bring us numerous Armies. As for our ſelves, we can come to ſuch Terms with him, as ſhall ſecure our Country from being invaded by the* Epirotæ; *or the* Romans *will perhaps rather chooſe to abate of their Pretenſions, than ſuffer a Foreigner to make a Deſcent in* Italy.

THIS Diſcourſe had an Appearance of Truth and juſt Reaſoning; and the Multitude applauded it. A few wiſe Men indeed withdrew from the Aſſembly, and never returned to it more. In the mean time, a Report being ſpread in the City, That a new Embaſſy was going to be ſent to *Epirus*, and That the Decree for it was minuted down; a prudent Citizen undertook to divert the People from this mad Deſign, whilſt all the Advocates for the War were yet in the Theatre, concluding upon ſending Embaſſadors to *Pyrrhus*. This Citizen's Name was *Meton*, who had always the Character of a Man of Senſe, and had eſcaped the general Corruption, which prevailed in the City. He knew the Taſte of his fellow-Citizens, and applied himſelf to them in a Way they liked, in order to bring them to act like Men of Senſe. He invented a kind of Maſquerade, which could not fail of attracting the Eyes, and engaging the Attention of this trifling People. He aſſumed the Dreſs and Air of a Debauchee coming out of a Brothel. He put a Garland of Flowers on his Head, and held a Flambeau in his Hand. A Woman playing upon a Flute was his Companion, and thus attended and equipped, he entered the Theatre. She played upon her Flute; he danced in a groteſque manner: and, which is ſcarce credible, this ſilly Sight diverted the *Tarentini* from their moſt important Deliberations. They made a Ring, and called out aloud to *Meton*, and his Companion, deſiring them to come into the Circle, and entertain them with a Song and a Dance. The Song was a merry one, and raiſed a loud Laugh: And then the wiſe Citizen, aſſuming an Air of great Serioufneſs, ſaid, *Courage,* Tarentini, *laugh on now; when* Pyrrhus *comes, your Mirth and Joy will be at an end.* All thoſe who were not yet totally beſotted with their Exceſſes, were pleaſed with the Inſinuation; but the greateſt part were enraged at it. Thoſe eſpecially, who were afraid of being delivered up to the *Romans*, as the principal Authors of the ſeizing and plundering of their Ships, and of the Inſult offered to *Poſthumius*, uſed him ill, and drove him out of the Theatre. And thus ended the Deliberation; it was immediately reſolved to ſend an Embaſſy to invite *Pyrrhus* to *Tarentum*.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Plut. ibid.

Plut. ibid.

As ſoon therefore as the News of this Deputation was brought to the *Roman* Camp, *Æmilius* took other Meaſures. He had hitherto made War on the *Tarentini*, but faintly, for fear of irritating them. As long as there was any room to expect Succeſs by way of Negotiation, he had reſtrained the Ardour of his Troops: But as ſoon as all Hopes of accommodating the Affair amicably, were loſt, he committed all ſorts of Hoſtilities: He burnt and deſtroyed every thing he met with; nothing was to be ſeen but Fire and Blood: He took Cities, ſtormed Caſtles, and laid all the flat Country waſte. In the mean time, the weak *Tarentini* brought their Army into the Field, which *Æmilius* beat, and forced to take Refuge within their Walls. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſul* uſed his Victory with Moderation; doubtleſs, for fear of reducing *Tarentum* to deſpair, and in order to prevail on the *Tarentini* to lay aſide their Deſign of receiving *Pyrrhus*. He ſent back the Priſoners he had taken in the Country; and all commended the Humanity and Generoſity of the *Conſul*. This gentle Treatment brought many over to the *Roman* Party; and indeed, the *Tarentini* in general repented of having rejected a Peace, and condemned themſelves for the Step they had taken, in calling in the King of *Epirus* to their Aſſiſtance. They ſhewed their Regret, by the Choice they made of a General to command their Troops, and an Head to govern the City. They placed *Agis* at the Helm, who was a ſincere Friend to the *Romans*, and had all along preſſed his Countrymen to make them Satisfaction. So that there was Reaſon to hope, that through the Influence of a Go-

Oroſius B. 4. c. 1. and Zonaras B. 8.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXII.
L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, Q. MARCIUS, Conſuls.

vernor of ſo much Temper, the *Tarentini* would hearken to Reaſon; but Providence was determined to bring thoſe heavy Puniſhments on *Tarentum*, which the Debauchery of its Inhabitants had juſtly deſerved.

§. IX. THE Embaſſadors from *Tarentum* found *Pyrrhus* very ready to leave *Epirus* and come and try his Strength with the moſt formidable Nation in *Italy*. His Head was turned with the Exploits of *Alexander the Great*; and he fancied 45 he had appeared to him in the late Wars. The freſh Remembrance of this Conqueror therefore, and the Converſation he had had with the Companions of his Victories, had ſtrongly inclined *Pyrrhus* to attempt the ſame thing in the Weſt, and South, which *Alexander* had done in the Eaſt. He is ſaid to have conſulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, about the Succeſs of his intended Enterpriſe; and the Prieſteſs is ſaid to have given him an ambiguous Anſwer, which his Deſire of Conqueſt made him interpret in his own Favour. The Oracle was indeed uttered in ſuch Terms as might equally ſignify, either that he ſhould conquer the *Romans*, or the *Romans* him. As to the Embaſſadors, they had much ſwelled *Pyrrhus*'s Hopes, by their Promiſes. *We are come*, ſaid they, *to implore your Aſſiſtance, in the Name of all the* Greeks *in* Italy. *Many rich and populous Nations are weary, either of bearing the* Roman *Yoke, or of being in continual dread of it.* Tarentum *is not the only City, whoſe Forces will join thoſe of* Epirus. *The* Meſſapii, *the* Lucani, *the* Samnites, *the* Brutii, *and many other Nations like us, want nothing but an Head, equal to the* Roman *Generals, in order to exterminate the haughty Republick. And all theſe will join, in lending you their Aſſiſtance to conquer the World. You may depend on being ſupplied with three hundred thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Horſe, by* Italy *alone.*

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus. *Aug. de Civit. Dei B.* 3. and *Cicero de Divin. B.* 2. *Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.*

PYRRHUS reflected with Pleaſure on the advantageous Propoſals of the Embaſſadors; and running over in his Imagination all thoſe Countries, againſt which he had formed any Deſigns, fancied them already conquered. Then the King communicated his Thoughts to 46 *Cyneas* his chief Miniſter, and Favourite, who was both a good Soldier, and a good Counſellor. He had been a great Orator in his Youth, and was a Diſciple and conſtant Auditor of *Demoſthenes*. At Court, *Cyneas* maintained the Character of a Philoſopher, a Man of Virtue, and a Lover of Truth; who was not capable of deceiving by mean Flatteries, but who had Submiſſion enough to execute without murmuring, the Orders which were given contrary to his Advice; and Complaiſance enough, not to refuſe to partake of moderate Pleaſures. He was an *Epicurean*, but of the beſt ſort; and at a time, when this Sect was not yet come into Diſrepute, through the ill Uſe that corrupt Men afterwards made of the Principles they profeſſed. So that *Pyrrhus* employed this wiſe Politician in the Cabinet; this able Orator, in his Negotiations; and this brave General in his military Expeditions. And now he entertained him with the vaſt Projects he was forming, *Italy*, ſays he, *opens to me a large Field of Glory. To ſubdue the* Romans, *is to conquer the Weſt. And how eaſy is it to ſubdue them!* Hetruria *finds them Employment on one Hand; and all the Nations on this ſide the* Tyber, *quite to the Sea-ſhore, are ready to take up Arms under my Command, againſt this ambitious People. How rich a Harveſt have I to gather, among theſe Barbarians! Thou knoweſt the Extent and Fruitfulneſs of their Territories, better than I do. Tell me, what you think of it. Cyneas* had never yet diſapproved of the Deſign upon *Italy*; but he knew his Maſter's Impatience, and how much in Haſte he was to leave

45 *Plutarch* gives us this Account of this pretended Apparition. When *Pyrrhus* was ready to ſet out on his Expedition in *Macedonia*, againſt *Demetrius*, who was become his Enemy, he fancied he ſaw *Alexander the Great* in a Dream. The Conqueror ſeemed to invite him to come to him; upon which the King of *Epirus* immediately advanced towards him, and found him lying ſick on a Bed. But nevertheleſs, the Conqueror of the *Perſians* very tenderly careſſed him, and promiſed him to aſſiſt him in the War he was going to undertake. Of what Aſſiſtance can you be to me, replied *Pyrrhus*, in the melancholy Condition you are in? My Name alone, replied *Alexander*, is ſufficient; That ſhall make every thing give Way before you. And then, according to *Plutarch*, *Alexander* mounting a *Niſæan* Horſe, marched before *Pyrrhus*, as it were to make Way, and prepare new Conqueſts, for him

46 This *Cyneas* was a Native of *Theſſaly*. The Art of Perſuaſion of which he was Maſter, and the Secret he had, of inſinuating himſelf into the Affection of thoſe he had to do with, enabled him to conquer all Difficulties, in the Buſineſs he tranſacted for his Maſter: So that *Pyrrhus* entruſted him with his moſt ſecret Negotiations. This Prince himſelf uſed to ſay, that he had not eſtabliſhed his Power ſo much by his own Valour, as by *Cyneas*'s Eloquence and perſuaſive Diſcourſes. He, according to *Plutarch*, gained ſo abſolute an Authority over Men's Minds, by the Force of his Reaſonings, and his inſinuating Manner, that he verified the Saying of *Euripides*, ὅτι πᾶν ἐξαιρεῖ λόγῳ, ὁ καὶ σίδηρος πολλῷ δέουσιν ἄν; that is, *that Eloquence is as ſharp as the Edge of a Sword.*

Year of ROME CCCCLXXII. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, Q. MARCIUS, Conſuls.

from one Conqueſt to another, and therefore replied, *Very well, Sir, you will conquer* Italy; *and whither will you turn your Arms then? The Thing ſpeaks itſelf,* rejoins *Pyrrhus; it will be but Play for us to go from* Italy *to* Sicily, *where we ſhall find the States in Confuſion.* Agathocles 47, *who, by his Wiſdom, kept the* Sicilians *in order, is dead. They are now all in a Flame, ſince Orators govern their Cities, according to their licentious Humour. How many fruitful Provinces, and plentiful Countries, ſhall I here ſubject to my Law! And when* Sicily *ſhall have owned you for its Maſter, where will you make War next?* replied *Cyneas,* interrupting him. *A fine Queſtion!* anſwered *Pyrrhus. I will ſail over into* Africa. *The* Carthaginians *are not invincible.* Agathocles *had like to have ſurprized their Ports, with only a few Ships, and made himſelf King of* Carthage. *And when I ſhall have taken that City, who will be able to reſiſt me? Will* Macedonia, *which I formerly conquered, refuſe to ſubmit to me? Will* Greece *itſelf be able to hold out againſt my Forces? And after all theſe Victories,* ſaid *Cyneas* again, *what will you do next? I will then,* anſwered *Pyrrhus, take ſome reſt after all my Fatigues, and enjoy the Pleaſures of Life with thee. Ah, Sir,* replied the wiſe Philoſopher, *what hinders us from enjoying that Happineſs now, which you propoſe to ſeek through ſo many Labours, and with the Hazard of being never able to find it?* Theſe Words made ſome Impreſſion upon the King; but they did not change his Heart. His Ambition prevailed, and he covered it under the Appearance of Virtue. *It is hereditary in my Family,* ſaid he, *to aſſiſt the Miſerable. We ought not to make War for our ſelves alone, but to relieve the Oppreſſed.* Nor was this all. In order to conceal his Deſign of invading *Tarentum,* as well as the reſt of *Italy,* he ordered a very artful Clauſe to be inſerted, in his Treaty with the *Tarentini.* It was this; That when he had once relieved *Tarentum,* he ſhould not be detained in *Italy,* or hindered from returning to *Epirus.* He likewiſe farther inſiſted, that ſome of the Embaſſadors ſhould continue in his Dominions, under Pretence of aſſiſting him, in making Preparations for War; but in reality, that they might be as ſo many Hoſtages to him, to ſecure the Fidelity of the *Tarentini.*

Dion. in Eclogis.

Zonaras B. 8.

§. X. AFTER he had taken theſe prudent Precautions, *Pyrrhus* haſtened *Cyneas*'s Departure for *Tarentum,* with part of his Fleet, and a Detachment of his Troops. He knew the Power of his Miniſter's Eloquence, and had made many Conqueſts by it: He confeſſed, that *Cyneas* had reduced to his Obedience more Cities by Words, than he himſelf had done, by his Arms. *Cyneas* ſailed for *Italy* with about three thouſand Men, and this artful Negotiator ſoon changed the Diſpoſitions of the *Tarentini.* *Agis,* who acted in concert with *Æmilius,* had begun to hope his Country would enjoy a Peace; but upon his Arrival, *Cyneas* diſperſed his *Epirotæ* in

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

47 *Agathocles* raiſed himſelf by his Valour from being one of the loweſt of the People, to the ſupreme Authority. He was born at *Rhegium,* according to *Diodorus Siculus,* and was the Son of one *Carcinus,* a Potter. His Youth was ſpent in Robberies, and the moſt infamous Debaucheries. Nevertheleſs he profeſſed Arms, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Valour. After having paſſed through all the Stations in the Army, the *Syracuſans* choſe him for their General againſt the * *Etini.* Afterwards he turned Pirate upon his own Countrymen. He twice endeavoured to make himſelf King of *Syracuſe,* and was both times forced to deſiſt from his Enterpriſe, and hide himſelf from his fellow-Citizens, who drove him out of their City. From this time, having born a part in all that Variety of Fortune which attended the *Carthaginians,* in their Attempts upon *Sicily,* he at length ſeized *Meſſina, Syracuſe,* and the whole Iſland; and being now Maſter of ſo conſiderable a State, he paſſed over into *Africa,* with his Troops, and made *Carthage* tremble. The taking of *Utica* proved fatal to his Son *Archagates,* to whom he had given the Government of that City. The new Governor was beſieged by his own Troops. The Father haſtened to the Relief of the Son, but fell himſelf into the Hands of the Rebels. And then he had the Mortification to ſee his own Children murdered before his Face; and eſcaping the Fury of the Traitors himſelf, returned to *Sicily,* where he revenged the Murder of his Children, on the Wives and Children of the Soldiers concerned in it. He ſpared neither Age nor Sex, but ſacrificed them all to his Reſentments. After this *Corfu* was beſieged by *Caſſander*; *Agathocles* fled to the Relief of the Iſland; forced the *Macedonian* to raiſe the Siege, and burnt all his Ships. And as he returned from this Expedition, he ſurprized the Troops which had rebelled againſt his Son *Archagates,* and put them all to the Sword. *Hipponium* in *Great Greece,* was one of his laſt Conqueſts; but the Inhabitants of this City cut the Gariſon in pieces, which he left in it. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that this Prince died by Poiſon, which his Grandſon cauſed to be given him, out of revenge for his having excluded him from the Succeſſion to the Throne. Indeed, a little before his Death, he propoſed making his own Son *Agathocles* his Heir in the Throne. He died, according to *Juſtin,* of a horrible kind of Diſeaſe, cauſed by a putrid Humour, which ſpread itſelf into all the Parts of his Body. But *Diodorus* differs from *Juſtin,* as to the Circumſtances of his Death. It happened according to Father *Petau,* in the fourth Year of the 122d *Olympiad,* the Year of the World, 3695, and of *Rome* 465. See *Juſtin, B.* 22, and 23. *Diodorus Siculus, B.* 19, and 20; and the Extracts of *Monſieur le Valois.* It is ſaid, that *Agathocles* ordered himſelf to be ſerved both in Gold-Plate, and Earthen-Ware, to remind him of his Birth, and excite others, to raiſe themſelves after his Example.

* *Hoffman.*

the

Year of ROME CCCCLXXII. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, Q. MARCIUS. Conſuls. *Zonar. B.* 8.

the City; ſeized the Government, till *Pyrrhus* ſhould arrive; depoſed *Agis;* and for Form's ſake only, placed one of the *Tarentine* Embaſſadors, whom he had brought back with him from *Epirus*, in his room. Nor did this ſatisfy him; it was neceſſary that he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the Citadel, in order thereby to keep the *Tarentini* in awe, and ſteady. And one *Milo* an *Epirote*, coming up very ſeaſonably with freſh Succours, and with an Account, that *Pyrrhus* would ſoon be there in Perſon, at the Head of a numerous Army; the cowardly *Tarentini*, delivered up their Citadel into his Hands. The Citizens, which is ſcarce credible of any Nation, but theſe ſtupid *Tarentini*, all univerſally rejoiced to ſee the *Epirotæ* in Poſſeſſion of their City. *In what Quietneſs and Tranquillity*, ſaid they, *ſhall we live! Our Defenders will take all the Labour and Fatigue upon themſelves, whilſt we ſhall meet with no Interruption in our Pleaſures.* They were alſo impatient to ſee their Tyrant among them; and therefore ſent away their Galleys, and tranſport-Ships to *Epirus*, to convey *Pyrrhus* with his Troops and Elephants to *Tarentum*. With the Convoys, they alſo ſent a large Sum of Money; and then *Pyrrhus* immediately embarked. *Cyneas* and *Milo* had prepared the Way for him ſo well, that his Authority was already as well eſtabliſhed in *Tarentum*, as in *Epirus*.

In the mean time, the *Conſul Æmilius* plainly perceived, that nothing more was to be done againſt the *Tarentini*. The new Reinforcements they had received, ſecured them againſt a Siege; and the Winter-Seaſon approaching, he could not continue encamped any longer. So that he reſolved to put his Troops into Winter-Quarters in *Apulia;* which was not far from the Place, which would ſoon become the Seat of the War. But before he could arrive there, he muſt neceſſarily go through long and narrow Paſſes, and march by the Shore, on a Strand overlooked by Hills, from whence the *Tarentini*, aſſiſted by the *Epirotæ*, might eaſily annoy his Men with their Darts, and kill them as they marched. And indeed, no ſooner were the *Romans* decamped, but an Army marched out of *Tarentum*, to haraſs them in their Retreat. The Sea was immediately covered with their Barks, laden with 48 *Balliſtæ*, and the Hills were ſeized by Men armed with Slings and Bows: And in order

Frontin. in Stratag. Zonaras, B. 8.

48 The Ancients had their offenſive Machines, which they uſed in Battels and Sieges. The Hiſtorians particularly mention the *Balliſta*; a Name taken from the *Greek*, to ſignify a ſort of Engine for Stones, which by the help of its moving Powers, flung Stones of three and four hundred Pound weight. The common Stones thrown in them weighed about a hundred, or a hundred and twenty five Pounds. Hence the Names of *Balliſtæ Centenariæ*, and *Talentariæ*, which we meet with in *Nonnius*. Sometimes the *Balliſta* was loaded with a kind of Cartridge-ſhot; that is, Baskets, or Sacks full of Stones, were thrown by them with Violence, among the Enemy's Army, which ſcattering abroad, broke the Ranks, and did great Execution. It was alſo ſometimes uſed to throw the dead Carcaſſes of Men and Horſes into beſieged Places, in order to infect the Gariſon and Inhabitants. *Cæſar*, in his ſecond Book *Of the Civil War*, ſpeaks of a *Balliſta*, which threw Beams of twelve Foot long, pointed with Iron. The Force of this Machine was ſo prodigious, that, according to *Joſephus*, a Man, who ſtood by one at the Siege of *Jeruſalem*, had his Head beaten off, and carried 375 Paces from his Body, by a Stone which came from it. To which he adds, that the next Day, a Woman big with Child was ſtruck by one, with ſuch Violence, that the Child was beaten out of her Body, and carried ſixty two Paces from her.

What we ſay of the *Balliſta*, may likewiſe be proportionably applied to another old Machine of War, which Authors call *Catapulta*, from two *Greek* Words κατὰ and πάλτη. The latter not only ſignified a great Shield, or a kind of Buckler, ſuch as the *Amazons* uſed,

Ducit Amazonidum Lunatis agmina Peltis.
Virg. Æn. 1.

But alſo a Dart or Lance, as *Heſychius* obſerves. The *Catapulta* threw Darts, ſome of which were three Cubits long; and with ſuch Force, as to carry them above a *Stadium*, or a hundred and twenty five geometrical Paces. *Athenæus* tells us, that *Ageſiſtratus* built two of theſe Machines; one three Hands breadth, that is, a little above two Foot long; and the other four Hands long; and that the former carried three *Stadia*; the latter, four. Both *Greek* and *Latin* Authors agree, that no *Cuiraſſe* was Proof againſt theſe Darts, ſeveral of which were thrown at a time. They affirm, that ſometimes a whole Rank of Soldiers drawn up in Battalia, were wounded all at once, by theſe murdering Machines.

But moſt Hiſtorians have confounded the *Balliſta* with the *Catapulta*; either becauſe they were both uſed to throw Stones and Darts; or becauſe they were both called by both of theſe Names. And indeed *Athenæus* tells us, *B.* 5. that *Archimedes* built a *Balliſta*, on one of King *Hieron*'s Ships, which threw a Stone of three Talents (that is 375 Pounds weight, and a Dart twelve Cubits long, 125 geometrical Paces.

Appian, in Iberic. gives the *Catapultæ* the Name of *Saxi-jaculas*, and *Haſti-jaculas*, ἐξυβελεῖς καὶ λιθοβόλους. But *Polybius* diſtinguiſhes the *Balliſtæ* from the *Catapultæ*, when he ſpeaks of the Preparations *Philip of Macedon* made, for the Siege of *Thebes*. He had, ſays this Hiſtorian, a hundred and fifty *Catapultæ*, and twenty five Slings for Stones, or *Balliſtæ*. *Joſephus, B.* 5. ſpeaking of the Siege of *Jeruſalem* by the *Romans*, ſays, they had three hundred *Catapultæ*, and forty *Balliſtæ*, in their Army. Theſe Machines were moved by great Ropes faſtened to Axle-trees, Rollers, and Capſtans. Theſe Ropes were ordinarily made of Guts or Nerves twiſted together; and ſometimes Hor-

order to ſcreen his Men from their Showers of Stones, and Arrows, *Æmilius* invented this Stratagem. He placed the many Priſoners he had taken in the Country about *Tarentum*, in the Wings, Front, and Rear of his Army, during its march; and by this means they alone were expoſed to the Aſſaults of their Countrymen: Which the *Tarentini* perceiving, they ſoon left off purſuing the *Romans*, out of Compaſſion to their Brethren. So that the *Romans* arrived ſafe in *Apulia*, and there took up their Winter-Quarters. As for the *Conſul*, he returned to *Rome*; but did not obtain the Honours of a Triumph there. The Republick was perhaps diſſatisfied with his Dilatorineſs before *Tarentum*, and diſliked his Mildneſs, which gave room for the Deſcent of the *Epirotæ*; or perhaps, the Victory he had gained, was little valued. But his Collegue *Marcius* was received in a different manner. He had gained great Advantages in *Hetruria*, this Campaign, the Particulars of which the Hiſtorians have omitted. They were too much taken up with *Pyrrhus*'s Deſcent, to attend to other Affairs; ſo that all we know of *Marcius* is, that he triumphed on *The Calends of April*, for having vanquiſhed the *Hetrurians*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXII. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, Q. MARCIUS, Conſuls.

§. XI. THE new *Conſuls* the Republick had juſt choſen in the *Campus Martius*, were *P. Valerius*, ſurnamed [49] *Lævinus*, and *Tib. Coruncanius*, who had no Surname. This great Man was not ſo much as [50] a *Roman*. He was born in *Camerium*, a *Municipium*, whoſe Citizens had a right of Suffrage at *Rome*, in the *Comitia by Centuries;* and his Merit alone had raiſed him to the *Conſulate*. His Birth and Fortune were very low; but his Virtue wiped off the Reproach of ſo mean a Deſcent; and his Frugality ſupplied the Place of Riches. He had more of that Valour, Conduct, and Genius for War, which are neceſſary to make a great Commander, than thoſe noble *Patricians*, out of whom the Republick annually choſe one of her *Conſuls*. At this time, the *Plebeian Conſul*, almoſt always outſhone his *Patrician* Collegue; as particularly, *Curius Dentatus*, *Fabricius*, and *Coruncanius* did. And indeed, Virtue is better preſerved in a moderate Fortune, than in great Riches, and in the midſt of Honours. And as it was neceſſary that the Republick ſhould now have more than two Armies on Foot to oppoſe ſo many Enemies at once; the ſame *Comitia* which had elected the *Conſuls*, nominated likewiſe a *Proconſul*. The Man pitched on for this Poſt, was the ſame *Æmilius*, who had acted againſt the *Tarentini* the laſt Year; and who was continued in the Command of his old Troops, and ordered to make War with the [51] *Sallentini*, who had declared for *Tarentum*. As

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls. *Tabulæ Claudii Cæſaris apud Lugdunenſes.*

hair, or the Hair of any other ſtrong Animal, was mixed with them. Nay, Womens Hair was ſometimes uſed for this Purpoſe. The firſt trial of it was, when the *Capitol* was beſieged by the *Gauls*. The *Romans* then wanted Ropes; and *Vegecius* and *Capitolinus* both ſay, that the Hair of the Roman Ladies ſupplied that Defect. They voluntarily offered it, and the Trial then made of it, brought into uſe for the future. To which the laſt Author adds, that in Gratitude for this voluntary Offering, there was a Temple in *Rome*, dedicated VENERI CALVÆ, that is, *To Venus the Bald*.

The *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ* were not only known to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, other Nations uſed them in battels and Sieges. *Pliny* aſcribes the Invention of the *Catapultæ* to the *Syrians*. *Diodorus* ſays they were firſt invented in *Sicily*, in the time of *Dionyſius* the *Tyrant*, when he was preparing to make War with the *Carthaginians*. And *Plutarch* aſſures us, That this Prince was the Inventor of them; That *Archydamus*, upon ſeeing a Dart thrown by a *Catapulta* cried out, Ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ; by which he meant, that Valour would for the future be of no uſe in War, againſt ſuch dreadful Batteries.

However whatever *Diodorus Siculus* and *Plutarch* may ſay of the Invention of theſe Machines, it muſt have been of a much earlier Date, than they make it in their Writings. In Proof of this, we need only read, 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 15. where the ſacred Author tells us, that *Uzziah*, King of *Judah*, placed upon the Towers, and (according to the *Vulgate*) in the Angles, of the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, ſeveral ſorts of Machines, ſome to throw Darts, and others *Catapultæ*; and ſome for Stones, which were *Balliſtæ*. The *Vulgate* runs thus, *Et fecit in Jeruſalem diverſi generis Machinas, quas in Turribus collocavit, & angulis murorum, ut mitterent Sagittas & ſaxa grandia.* The Words of the *Engliſh* Tranſlation are theſe. *And he* (Uzziah) *made in* Jeruſalem *Engines invented by cunning Men, to be on the Towers, and upon the Bulwarks, to ſhoot Arrows and great Stones withal.* Now there were near five hundred Years between the time of *Uzziah*, and that of the firſt *Dionyſius*; ſo that it is not probable, as *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* ſay in another Place, that *Pericles*, who governed *Athens* about the Year of *Rome* 320, firſt invented Machines of War, with the Aſſiſtance of *Artemon* of *Clazomene*. We ſhall ſpeak of the Make, and Manner of Building the *Catapultæ*, and *Balliſtæ*, in another Place, and will there give the ſeveral Forms of them.

49 *Plutarch* is miſtaken in giving *Valerius* the Surname of *Albinus*; as *Zonaras* is, in giving him that of *Lavinius*.

50 *Cicero* ſeems to ſay, in his *Oration for Plantius*, that *Coruncanius* was a Citizen of *Tuſculum*. But the broken Senſe, and Obſcurity of the Text, have made the Criticks, and Grammarians believe, that we have it not entire. So that the *Roman Orator*'s Teſtimony in this Caſe, will not amount to a Proof againſt *Tacitus*'s Authority, who ſays, that *Coruncanius* was of *Camerium*.

51 The Country of the *Salentini*, contained that little Southern Canton, which reached from the Territory of *Tarentum*, to the *Cape of Japygia*, or *Promontorium Salenticum*, now *Capo di S. Maria di Leuta*. This with *Calabria*, properly ſo called,

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

As for the *Conſuls*, they choſe their Provinces by Lot; and it fell to *Coruncanius* to march into *Hetruria*, and to *Lævinus*, to carry on the War with *Tarentum*. And it was probably now, and not the Year before, that the Number of the *Legions* in the *Conſular* Armies, was encreaſed. The preſent Exigencies, obliged the *Romans* to make extraordinary Levies. There was a ſort of Men at *Rome*, who, being the vileſt of the People, were called by way of Contempt, *Proletarii;* and as they were thought capable of doing the State no other Service, than that of peopling the City, and ſtocking the Republick with Subjects, they had hitherto never been inliſted in the Troops, but were ſuffered to continue idle, whilſt others took the Field. A wiſe piece of Policy, to make it matter of Shame, not to ſerve their Country in Arms! *Rome* thereby excited an Emulation among her Citizens, and made them ambitious of the Honour of being admitted among the Soldiery, and deſirous of making themſelves worthy of it. But now, theſe *Proletarii* had the Pleaſure, to ſee themſelves enrolled as well as others. They alſo were ordered to take the Field, and three *Roman* Armies advanced towards their reſpective Poſts.

Juſtin, B. 17, and 18.

§. XII. *PYRRHUS* was then arrived at *Tarentum:* But before he left *Epirus*, he ſettled the Government of his Dominions during his Abſence. His Wife *Antigone* had brought him a Son named *Ptolomy*, who was then fifteen Years of Age; and he left him Regent in *Epirus*. He took his two younger Sons, [52] *Alexander* and *Helenus*, with him, into *Italy*, to amuſe and entertain him, in this long Expedition. Before his Departure, he had alſo borrowed Ships, Men, and Money, of the Kings his Friends; and brought with him, beſides his *Epirotæ*, a good Number of *Theſſalians*, and about ſeven thouſand of thoſe brave *Macedonians*, who had conquered *Aſia*, under the Command of *Alexander the Great*. A more magnificent Armament had ſcarce ever been ſeen in the *Levant*. *Pyrrhus*'s Fleet conſiſted of the Ships



Gold.



Silver.

made up that Province of *Great Greece*, which was anciently called *Meſſapia*. I ſay *Calabria* properly ſo called, becauſe ſome ancient Authors give the Name of *Calabria* to *La Pouille*, or *Apulia*, as far as to Mount *Garganus*. *Strabo*, *B.* 6. ſays, that the *Salentini*, were originally *Cretans*. *Feſtus* ſays, that the *Illyricans* and People of *Candia* having joined the *Locri*, they wandered ſome time about the *Italian* Seas, and landed at laſt on the South Coaſt of *Meſſapia*, and ſettled in that part of this *Peninſula*, which is neareſt the *Sicilian* Sea. To which he adds, that the Name of *Salentini*, was taken from the *Latin* Word *Salum*, becauſe theſe People were ſurrounded by the Sea, to the Eaſt, Weſt, and South; ſo that their Country, was the moſt maritime part of *Italy*. For this Reaſon, it is emblematically repreſented on Medals, by a *Neptune*, armed with his Trident; the uſual Symbol of Sea-Ports. The ancient Hiſtorians and Geographers boaſt much, of the famous Temple of *Minerva*, which was built here, by *Idomeneus* the Chief of the *Cretans*, who ſettled in this Province. Here is likewiſe the *Cape of Minerva*, which the *Latin* Authors call, ſometimes *Arx Minervæ*, ſometimes *Caſtrum Minervæ*, and ſometimes *Minervium*. It is at preſent the City of *Caſtro*. The Head of a *Minerva*, which we find on the Medal above, with this Inſcription, ΣΑΛΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ, ſhews the Veneration this People had for that Goddeſs. *Dion. Hal.* ſpeaks alſo of a famous Temple, near the *Cape of Minerva*, conſecrated to *Juno*, which was in being in *Æneas*'s time; who, according to this Author, offered a Braſs Cup to the Goddeſs, in Memory of his paſſing by this Place, and had his own Name engraved in old Characters upon it.

[52] After the Death of *Antigone*, the Daughter of *Berenice*, whoſe ſecond Husband was *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, *Pyrrhus* married ſeveral Wives. The firſt was the Daughter of *Antoleon* King of the *Paonians*. The Name of the ſecond was *Bircenna*, who was the Daughter of *Bardullis*, King of the *Illyricans*. The third was *Lanaſſa* the Daughter of *Agathocles of Syracuſe*. The latter brought him the Iſland of *Corcyra*, which her Father had ſeized, for her Portion. He had a Son by her named *Alexander*; and by *Bercenna* he had *Helenus*, the youngeſt of all his Children. The warlike Genius the Princes derived from their Father, was improved by their Education. *Plutarch* ſays, that when one of them asked his Father, one Day, to which of his Children he would give the Crown of *Epirus*, the King anſwered, To him who has the ſharpeſt Sword. *Pyrrhus* intended likewiſe, to enlarge his Power and extend his Empire, by the great Alliances he made by theſe new Matches. Nevertheleſs, he quarrelled with *Lanaſſa*. She grew jealous, upon his preferring his other Wives to her, and retired to *Corcyra*, and married *Demetrius*.

of *Epirus*, and thoſe which King [53] *Antigonus* had ſent him, and the Gallies of *Tarentum*. His Army conſiſted [54] of twenty two thouſand Foot, three thouſand [55] Horſe, five hundred Slingers, and twenty Elephants, which [56] *Ptolomy*, then King of *Macedon* had lent him, only for [57] two Years. But as prudent as *Pyrrhus* was, his Impatience of getting to *Italy* immediately, made him guilty of an Error in Conduct, which had like to have coſt him dear. He would not tarry for the fine Weather of the Spring-Seaſon, but ſet Sail towards the end of the Winter, when violent Storms are moſt frequent. And he was ſcarce got out into the main Sea, before it began to ſwell at a great Rate, and a violent North-wind, diſperſed his Fleet, and drove it different Ways. Indeed the Ship on board which he was, being large and high built, reſiſted the Waves, and by the Skill of her Pilots, continued her Courſe, and arrived on the Coaſts of *Italy*. There the few Ships which followed her ran a-ground on the Rocks, upon the *Meſſapian* Shore; and a freſh Accident had like to have deſtroyed his own Veſſel. A Land-wind aroſe all on a ſudden, and drove *Pyrrhus* out to Sea again. Juſt as he was ready to reach the Shore, the Sea grew ſo excceding boiſterous, that his Ship could ſcarce live in it. This new Danger was greater than any the King had met with, in his Paſſage; but nevertheleſs, as the Land was not far off, and might be gained by ſwimming, the intrepid *Pyrrhus* did not deliberate what to do. He threw himſelf into the Water. His Guards, and thoſe Friends he had on board, followed his Example, without doubt, in order to take care of his Perſon, and ſave him; but it was not without great Difficulty that he ſtruggled againſt the Waves. In ſhort, he did not reach the Land, till Day-break, when the Wind ceaſed; and then, not without the Aſſiſtance of the *Meſſapians*, who ſtood upon the Shore, and who likewiſe ſaved thoſe Veſſels belonging to his Fleet, which the Tempeſt had driven on their Coaſt. So that *Pyrrhus* found his Army, at his Arrival, to be only two thouſand Men, a few Horſe, and two Elephants; Animals which had never been ſeen in *Italy* before. The reſt of the Fleet was diſperſed and expoſed to the Mercy of the Waves.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. Valerius Lævinus, Tib. Coruncanius, Conſuls. *Zon. B. 8. c. 2. Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.*

After this, the King of *Epirus* croſſed *Meſſapia*, and went by Land towards *Tarentum*. As ſoon as what had happened to him was known there, *Cyneas* came to meet him with a Guard. And at length, *Pyrrhus* entered *Tarentum*, with the Acclamations of all the People. There was ſomething great and majeſtick in his Air; yet he had rather a forbidding, than an encouraging Aſpect. He equalled *Alexander the Great* (whom the Kings of the Eaſt were ſo fond of imitating) in Activity of Body; and was the only Prince who could copy him in his fineſt Exploits. In a Battel, the King of *Epirus*, might have been taken for the King of *Macedon*. *Pyrrhus* had a Mark of his Strength of Body in his Mouth: Inſtead of diſtinct Teeth in his upper [58] Jaw, he had one continued ſemicircular Bone, which had no Diviſion, but was only marked with ſmall Lines, where the Diviſions of his Teeth ſhould have been. He had a fine Underſtanding [59], well-improved, and great Sagacity. Contrary *Plut. ibid.*

53 *Antigonus* ſurnamed *Gonata*, from the Name of the City of *Goneis* in *Theſſaly*, was King of a little Country in *Greece*, which he had ſaved out of the Ruins of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, after the Death of his Father *Demetrius Poliorcetes*.

54 *Plutarch* makes 2000 of theſe 22000 Foot to have been Archers.

55 *Juſtin* ſays, *B.* 17. that *Pyrrhus*'s Cavalry conſiſted of four thouſand Men, which *Ptolomy* ſent him, with five thouſand Foot, and fifty Elephants, which *Plutarch* reduces to twenty. *Pyrrhus*, in order to corroborate his Alliance with *Ptolomy*, had married his Daughter, and put his Kingdom under that Prince's Protection, during his Abſence; in caſe of an Invaſion from the neighbouring Kings.

56 This *Ptolomy* is the ſame who was ſurnamed *Ceraunus*, or *The Thunderbolt*. He was the Son of *Ptolomy Lagus*, by *Euridice* his firſt Wife. He was then in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Macedon*, of which he had deprived *Seleucus Nicanor*, or *Nicator*, together with his Life; in the ſame manner as *Nicator* had treated *Lyſimachus*.

57 *Juſtin* adds, *B.* 17. that *Pyrrhus* had borrowed a Sum of Money for this Expedition, of King *Antiochus the Firſt*, ſurnamed *Soter*, or *Saviour*. This Prince had aſſiſted his Father *Seleucus Nicator*, in the famous Battel of *Ipſus*, againſt *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*; and he was now become King of *Syria*, ſince his Father's Death.

58 This is not the only ſingular thing *Plutarch* ſays of *Pyrrhus*. Both he, and *Pliny*, *B.* 7. *c.* 2. relate Tales of him, which have not a Shadow of Probability in them. They tell us, that *Pyrrhus* had the Gift of healing the Spleen; and that he prepared himſelf for this Operation, by ſacrificing a white Cock. After which, he made the ſick Perſon lye down on his Back, and gently touched the Part affected with his right Foot. The meaneſt and moſt contemptible of the People, were, according to them, never denied this Favour; and all the King asked in return, was the Cock which had been ſacrificed. What they likewiſe add, of the divine Virtue, which came from his great Toe, is much of the ſame Stamp.

59 It is therefore ſurpriſing, that *Tully*, ſhould (*De Divin. l.* 2.) think *Pyrrhus* himſelf included in theſe Verſes of *Ennius*, wherein the Poet ſays, the

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

Contrary to the Cuſtom of the Kings of *Greece*, he was pleaſed with thoſe Sciences alone, which were uſeful, and deſpiſed thoſe, which ſerved only for Amuſements. When two excellent Muſicians, were commended before him, and the King was asked, which he liked beſt, without giving any Anſwer to the Queſtion, he run out into an Encomium, upon a good Soldier. And indeed, no Body underſtood the Art of War better than himſelf. He learnt it by Principles and Rules, as well as by Uſe and Practice. He is ſaid to have written [60] ſeveral Volumes, on Encampments, and the different Ways of drawing [61] up, and exerciſing, an Army. So that it is not to be wondered at, that *Hannibal*, when asked, whom he eſteemed to be the greateſt Generals in the World, ſhould name *Alexander* [62] as the firſt, *Pyrrhus* as the ſecond, *Scipio* as the third, and himſelf laſt. *Pyrrhus* had a great [63] deal of Magnanimity, much Compaſſion for the Unhappy, and more Gratitude [64] for thoſe who had obliged him. He was one Day ſeen to weep, not ſo much, as he himſelf confeſſed, for the Loſs of his Friend, as for not having had Time and Opportunity to acknowledge his Services. His only Faults were Ambition and Inconſtancy. But it may be obſerved of his Ambition, that it did not ſo much proceed from an avaritious Deſire of enriching himſelf and poſſeſſing vaſt Dominions, as from a Love of the Glory of Conquering. Had the *Romans* been leſs renowned for their Valour, I queſtion, whether *Pyrrhus* would have entered the Liſts with them. His Inconſtancy was very

the whole Race of the *Æacidæ*, were naturally ſtupid, and had only a brutal Courage,

Semper fuit ſtolidum genus Æacidarum
Belli potentes magis quam ſapienti potentes.

Plutarch judged quite otherwiſe of this Prince.

60 *Tully* mentions theſe Books, which *Pyrrhus* wrote on the Art of War, in his 25th Epiſtle to *Pætus*, in theſe Words, *B.* 9. *Summum me ducem Pætus*, in theſe Words, *B.* 9. *Summum me ducem litteræ tuæ reddidere. Plane neſciebam te tam peritum eſſe rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros, & Cineæ video lectitaſſe.* This Declaration of *Cicero* is in ſome meaſure, a diſavowing of what he had ſaid of *Pyrrhus*, in his ſecond Book *De Divinatione*.

61 *Donatus*, in his *Commentary on* Terence's *Eunuch*, tells us, that *Pyrrhus* invented a ſort of Game at Cheſs, to repreſent the different Ways of making Attacks, and drawing up Armies in Battalia. *Pyrrhus peritiſſimus ſtratagematum fuit; primuſque quemadmodum ea diſciplina per calculos, in tabula, traderetur, oſtendit.* And *Livy*, *B.* 35, gives us the ſame Account of *Pyrrhus*, or rather he makes *Hannibal* ſay as much of this King. He was the firſt, ſays he, who perfectly underſtood how to encamp, and chooſe his Ground, and poſt his Men to Advantage. *Caſtra metari primum docuiſſe, ad hoc neminem elegantius loca cepiſſe, præſidia diſpoſuiſſe*, &c.

62 *Plutarch* relates this Matter ſomewhat differently in his *Life of Pyrrhus*. His Words are theſe. Hannibal *ſaid, that of all the great Officers in the World,* Pyrrhus *was the firſt for Experience and Capacity. The ſecond Place he gave to* Scipio; *and reſerved the third for himſelf; as we have obſerved in* The Life of Scipio. Now we don't diſpute what *Plutarch* ſays in this laſt Work which is now loſt; but only obſerve, that in his *Life of Flaminius* he contradicts himſelf. He there relates *Hannibal's* Opinion otherwiſe than he does in his *Life of Pyrrhus*. This General, ſays he, and *Scipio Africanus*, had an Interview at *Epheſus*. The Converſation turned upon this Queſtion, who were the greateſt Generals; and *Hannibal* gave *Alexander* the firſt Place, *Pyrrhus* the ſecond, and himſelf the third. So that *Scipio* is here excluded, whereas he is ſecond, in the *Life of Pyrrhus*; and there no mention is made of *Alexander the Great*. Had then *Plutarch* contradicted himſelf in theſe two Places? Or did *Hannibal* judge differently at different times? *Livy* likewiſe mentions this Story, *B.* 35; but he does not agree with the former Paſſage of *Plutarch*. According to him, *Hannibal* gave *Alexander* the firſt Place, *Pyrrhus* the ſecond, and himſelf the third. Upon which *Scipio* ſeeing himſelf excluded ſaid, with a Smile, *And what would you ſay*, Hannibal, *if you had overcome me? I would*, replied the *Carthaginian*, *reckon my ſelf ſuperior to* Alexander, Pyrrhus, *and the greateſt Generals in the World.* Which ſaying was, that *Scipio* had not his Equal, and ought not to be brought into Competition with the other Generals. Who then ſhall we believe, *Livy*, or *Plutarch*? We have taken the moſt natural Method, which is that, of joining the two Paſſages of *Plutarch* together: So that we leave *Alexander* in the firſt Place which *Hannibal* gives him, in the *Life of Flaminius*; and have placed *Scipio* after *Pyrrhus*, as *Hannibal* alſo does, in the *Life of Pyrrhus*. To which we ſhall here add, that when *Antigonus* was asked, who was the greateſt Commander in the World, he anſwered, *Pyrrhus, if he was but old.*

63 *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Pyrrhus*, mentions one Particular, which is a remarkable Proof of the Greatneſs of that Prince's Soul. Whilſt he was in *Ambracia*, he was informed, that there was an abuſive Fellow there, who ran out into moſt virulent Declamations againſt him; and his Favourites repreſented to him, that he could not in Honour do leſs, than deſtroy this avowed Enemy, or at leaſt baniſh him, with Diſgrace. But *Pyrrhus* anſwered, that it was better to let the Wretch rail at him there among a few People, than to drive him into foreign Countries, where he would revile him to a great many. The moſt lovely part of *Pyrrhus's* Character, continues *Plutarch*, was his Sweetneſs of Temper, and Beneficence to thoſe who had any Share in his Favour. He was, adds this Hiſtorian, exceedingly affected at the Loſs of *Æropus*, who had done him conſiderable Service; and ſaid, *It is not his Death that moſt afflicts me: He has paid the Debt he owed to Nature. My Concern is this, that I ſo long delayed making him a return for his Services; and that by means of theſe Delays, I am now utterly deprived of the Pleaſure, of ſhewing my Gratitude, by heaping Favours upon him.*

64 *Cicero* gives *Pyrrhus* this remarkable Encomium: Two *Generals*, ſays he, in his Book *Of Friendſhip*, diſputed the Empire of *Italy* with the Romans, *Pyrrhus*, and *Hannibal*. The Probity of the former is ſtill remembered, with Reſpect, in *Rome*; the Cruelty of the latter, has made his Name and Memory odious to the People. *Cum duobus ducibus de imperio in Italia decertatum, Pyrrho, & Annibale. Ab altero propter probitatem ejus, non nimis alienos animos habemus. Alterum, propter crudelitatem, ſemper hæc civitas odit.*

remarkable.

remarkable. He begun [65] many Projects, and then left them unfiniſhed; as ſoon as he had tried one Enemy, he loved to make Trial of another.

§. XIII. THIS active and virtuous Prince, in *Tarentum*, was the Admiration of a ſlothful and incontinent People; they expected that he ſhould take all the Fatigues of the War on himſelf alone, and expoſe his *Epirotæ* only to Danger. And indeed, for ſome Days, *Pyrrhus* at firſt diſſembled his Deſigns, and let the *Tarentini* enjoy their Pleaſures. Though the *Conſul Lævinus* appeared in *Lucania* with a great Army, and did ſome Miſchief there; the King took no Notice of it. He waited for his ſcattered Ships, which were diſperſed all over the *Ionian* Sea, and had gone into ſeveral Ports for Shelter; and at length they all arrived, one after another, and the Army he had embarked in them, was found complete. It fell little ſhort of thirty thouſand Men, and twenty Elephants. During his Inaction, *Pyrrhus* had time to reflect on the Manners of the *Tarentini*: And he found their Minds full of Levity, and their Hearts furiouſly bent upon Pleaſure. Diſpoſitions, which, he was ſenſible, could ſcarce fail of bringing them to ruin, and involving their Defenders in the ſame Fate; and therefore, immediately after all his Forces were come to *Tarentum*, he undertook to reform theſe Diſorders. The Theatre was the Place where theſe idle Wretches loſt their time, and where Incendiaries ſtirred up the People to Sedition, by their Harangues: And he therefore ordered it to be ſhut up. The *Tarentini* alſo aſſembled every Day in the Parks, and under the Portico's, where they walked, and talked of Peace and War, and ſettled the Government as they pleaſed; and they were therefore forbidden to come into theſe Places any more. Theſe idle, and voluptuous Men ſpent all their Days and Nights, in Feaſtings, Maſquerades, and Plays; which were now abſolutely prohibited. The *Tarentini* were almoſt utter Strangers to military Exerciſes, and the Art of handling Arms: And theſe were now revived. Levies were regularly made; an exact Regiſter was kept of all the Youth who were able to bear Arms, and the beſt were choſen for the Service. *Pyrrhus* ordered thoſe who had the Care of the Levies to pick out the talleſt and beſt-built Men. *I will undertake*, ſays he, *to give them Courage.* And he therefore did not form them into ſeparate Bodies; but incorporated them in his [66] *Phalanxes*, and made uſe of them, only

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

Frontin. in Stratag.

[65] *Juſtin* has given us an exact Deſcription of *Pyrrhus*'s Temper, *B.* 25. *Ut ad devincenda regna invictus habebatur, ita devictis, acquiſitiſque, celeriter carebat. Tanto melius ſtudebat acquirere imperia, quam retinere.* And therefore *Antigonus*, as *Plutarch* tells us, compared the King of *Epirus*, to a good Gameſter, who is very fortunate, but does not know how to make a good Uſe of his good Fortune.

[66] We have already given the Reader a general Idea of the *Phalanx*. But as we are now entering upon the Wars the *Greeks* had with the *Romans*, it is neceſſary that we ſhould give him here a more full and exact Account of their ancient Way of Fighting.

Polyænus, *B.* 1. *of Stratagems of War*, carries up the Origin of the *Phalanx* as high as to the Heroic Age. He ſays, that *Pan*, who accompanied *Bacchus* in his Exploits, was the firſt who drew up his Infantry in the Form of a *Phalanx*. His Cavalry he poſted in the two Wings, *ad cornu dextrum & ſiniſtrum*; and from hence, ſays he, the Poets repreſent this pretended Demi-God with two Horns on his Head. Others think that the Honour of this Invention belongs to *Meneſtheus*, the eleventh King of *Athens*. But *Diodorus Siculus*, and moſt Authors ſay, that *Philip of Macedon*, was the Inventor of the *Phalanx*, or at leaſt, that he perfected it. This Prince found the Model of one in *Homer*; who reſembles the Union of the Heads of the *Greek* Army, to a Battalion of Soldiers, who, by joining their Bucklers cloſe together, form a Body, not to be penetrated by the Darts of the Enemy:

Ἄσπις ἄρ' ἀσπίδι ἤρηδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ. Iliad 5.

The *Macedonian Phalanx*, ſays *Quintus Curtius*, 3. is a Body of Infantry, who ſtand their Ground firm, and keep their Ranks ſo well cloſed, during an Engagement, that the Men and their Arms are an inacceſſible Barrier againſt the Enemy. They are ſo well diſciplined, and ſo ready to obey the Word of Command given them by their Heads, that upon the leaſt Signal, they immediately follow their Colours, keep their Ranks, and perform all the Motions, of their military Exerciſe. *Polybius*, *B.* 17. ſpeaking of the *Phalanx*, ſays, nothing could make Head againſt it, or withſtand its Shocks. It is a Body of Men, continues he, who keep their Ranks ſo cloſe, that each Man is allowed but three Foot Space, for himſelf, and his Arms. Thoſe who compoſed this formidable Body of Men, were armed with *Sariſſæ*; Pikes, which when they firſt came in Uſe, were ſixteen Cubits, that is, twenty four Foot long. But afterwards they were reduced to fourteen Cubits, that is, twenty one Feet, that they might be the more manageable: When therefore, thoſe of the firſt Line, were preſented, they ſtood out at leaſt ten Cubits towards the Enemy; allowing four Cubits for the Soldiers, to hold by. And conſequently, the Pikes of the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth Ranks, were all long enough to reach before the firſt Rank, ſome farther, ſome ſhorter, according to the Diſtance of the Ranks. From all which, it is eaſy to conceive, adds *Polybius*, what the Force of the *Phalanx* muſt have been, when it gave an Aſſault upon the Enemy. Indeed, the Soldiers of the fifth Rank could not fight with their Pikes, but nevertheleſs they couched them under the Shoulders of thoſe before them, and locked them together in file, thereby helping to preſerve the Cloſeneſs of the Body, in which its main Strength conſiſted. Beſides, this Collection of Pikes, which ſtuck ſo thick in the Front of the *Phalanx*, did not a little help to ward againſt the Darts of the Enemy, by their continual Motion. Was it to make an Attack? This terrible Body of Pikemen, advanced

Potter, Vol. 2. p. 58.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

only as Recruits. By this Means, he both prevented any Seditions among the *Tarentine* Troops, and inured them to military Diſcipline. And above all, they were forbidden to deſert, or abſent themſelves from the common Muſters, upon pain of Death.

But all together, like a movable Rampart, without wavering about, or diſuniting themſelves in their March: And the Parts of this vaſt Body, being thus mutually united to, and ſupporting each other, it fell on a Battalion with ſuch Coheſion and Violence, that it infallibly broke into it; nothing being able to reſiſt the *Phalanx*, or make it give way. It is eaſy to conceive, that the firſt Rank being ſupported by the ſecond, the ſecond by the third, and ſo on, they muſt beat down every thing that ſtood in their Way. And indeed, as long as the *Phalanx* continued thus united, thoſe behind, who continually preſſed forward, bore ſo ſtrongly upon thoſe before them, that they could not give way. And this Diſpoſition of an Army was ſtill more formidable to the *Romans*. *Polybius* tells us, that in the *Legions*, every Soldier was not only allowed the Space of three Foot for himſelf and his Arms, but there was alſo an empty Space of three Foot more, left between every Soldier. And conſequently, every *Roman* Foot Soldier had two *Phalangites* to engage with, and ten Iron-pikes to break through; for as we have before obſerved, the Pikes of the ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth Ranks, reached before the firſt. But that the Order of the *Phalanx* may be the better underſtood, it is neceſſary to obſerve,

1*ſt*, That the *Greeks*, when they drew up their Army in Battalia, generally placed their Cavalry in the two Wings, and their Infantry in the Center.

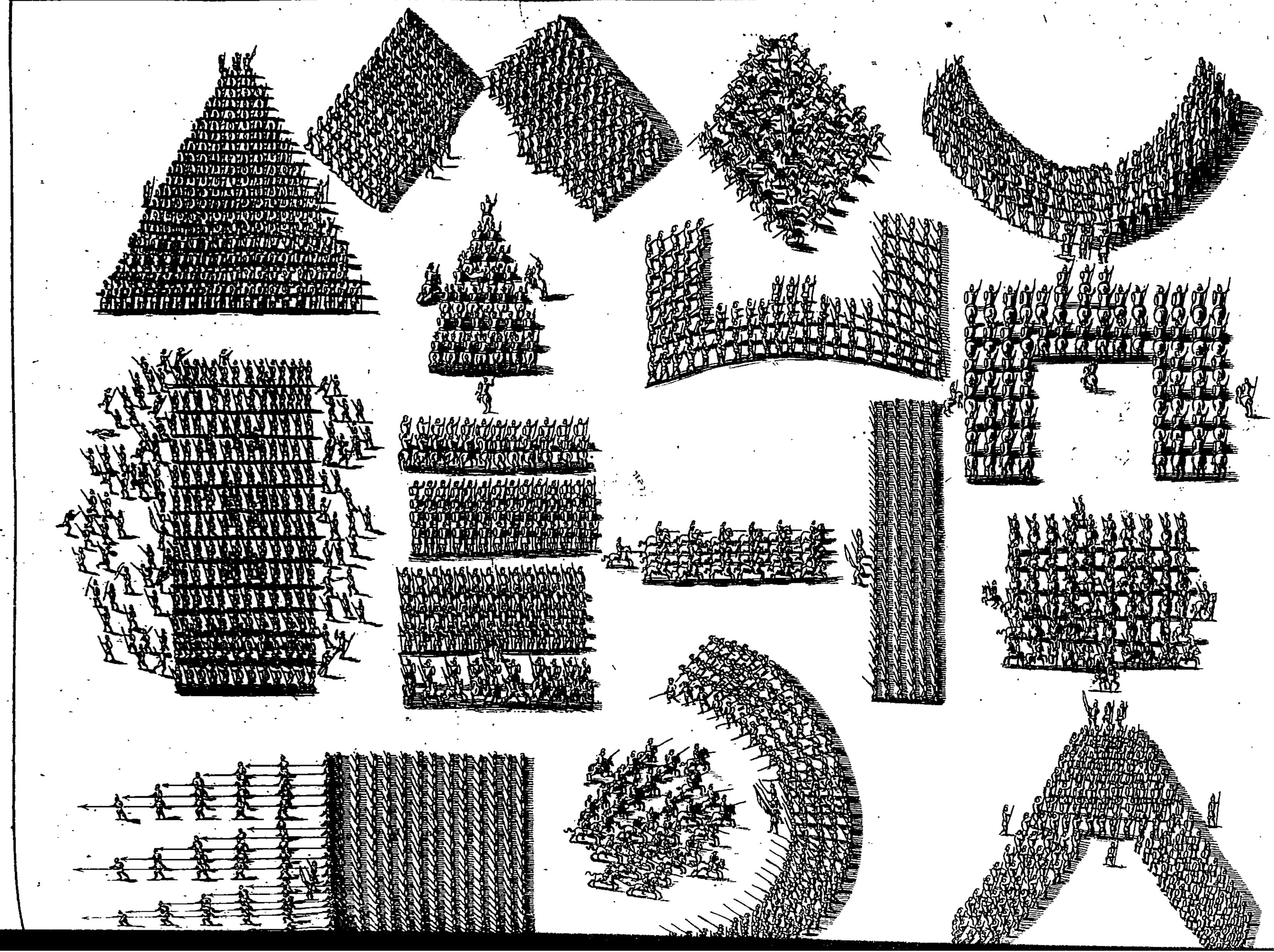
2*dly*, That they had three ſorts of Men among their Foot. One, who were called *Oplitæ*, or *Cataphracti*, becauſe they wore heavy Armour. They fought with long Pikes, and great round Bucklers. The *Peltiſtæ*, were a middle ſort between the other two; they bore ſhort Lances, and little Shields, which the Ancients called *Peltæ*. The third ſort were light-armed Men, who had neither Buckler, nor Breaſt-Plate. They attacked the Enemy at a Diſtance, with Stones and Darts.

3*dly*, That there was the ſame Diſtinction among the Horſe. Some of theſe were heavy-armed, and their Horſes covered with Armour on all ſides. Others were light-armed, who engaged cloſely, with Lances. And laſtly, the third ſort, whom *Ælian*, in his Treatiſe *Of the Greek Soldiery*, calls *Tarentini*, had miſſile Weapons; and they generally wheeled round the Enemy, and skirmiſhed with them. Among the latter, this Author includes, that Squadron of Horſe, who after the ſecond and third Diſcharge of their miſſile Weapons, attacked the Enemy near, and came to a cloſe Fight.

4*thly*, That the whole Strength of the *Phalanx* conſiſted in the heavy-armed Infantry. The Soldiers in it, were drawn up Rank and File. The Ranks made its Length or Breadth; the Files its Thickneſs or Depth. The Files were longer or ſhorter, as there was Occaſion. Sometimes there were ſixteen Men in a File, ſometimes thirty two, and ſometimes more. Theſe Files were ſometimes no leſs than two hundred fifty ſix in Number, ſtanding ſide by ſide; ſo that the *Phalanx* had two hundred and fifty ſix Men in Front, and ſixteen, or thirty two in Depth; but ſometimes, though very rarely, only eight. Each File had three Officers, one at the Head, another at the End, and a third in the Middle of it. The firſt was called *Lochagos*, or *The Head* of the File; the ſecond *Uragos*, or *The Cloſer of the File*; the third, *Dimocrites*, or, *The Chief of the half-File*. And *Ælian* mentions *a Chief of a Quarter of a File*, whom he calls, *Enomotarches*.

5*thly*, That the Body of the *Phalanx* conſiſted of ſeveral parts; to which *Ælian* gives different Names. The firſt Diviſion of it conſiſted of two Files, called *Dilochia*; the ſecond of four Files, called *Tetrarchia*; the third called *Taxis*, of eight Files; and the fourth called *Syntagma*, or as others *Xenagia*, of ſixteen Files. Theſe four Diviſions had each its Commander. That of the firſt was called *Dilochites*, that of the ſecond *Tetrarches*, that of the third *Taxiarchos*, and that of the fourth *Syntagmatarches*, who commanded two *Taxeis*. In the laſt Diviſion were two hundred and fifty ſix Soldiers, ſuppoſing the *Phalanx* to be but ſixteen Men deep, excluſive of the Officers belonging to this Company, which ſtood out of their Ranks; as for Inſtance, the Enſign, the Serjeant, the Trumpet, the Man who carried the Tickets for the Watch-word, and the Camp-herald. Theſe two hundred and fifty ſix Men made a ſquare Battalion, of ſixteen Men in Front, and as many in Depth. The fifth Diviſion called *Pentacoſiarchia*, and its Commander *Pentacoſiarches*, conſiſted of double the fourth, that is of thirty two Files, and five hundred and twelve Men. The ſixth Diviſion called *Chiliarchia*, and its Commander *Chiliarches*, conſiſted of double the fifth, that is of ſixty four Files, and a thouſand and twenty four Men. The ſeventh called *Merarchia*, and its Commander *Merarches*, conſiſted of double the ſixth, that is of a hundred and twenty eight Files, and two thouſand and forty eight Men; and laſtly, the whole *Phalanx* called *Phalangarchia*, and its Colonel *Phalangarches*, or *Strategos*, conſiſted of double the ſeventh Diviſion; that is, of two hundred and fifty ſix Files, and conſequently of four thouſand and ninety ſix Men, ſince it was two hundred and fifty ſix in Front, and ſixteen in Depth. But it was not always ſo ſtrictly confined to this Number, but that it was often encreaſed, in Proportion to the Forces of the Enemy. Inſomuch, that the Authors of the *Tacticks*, make the *Phalanx* to have conſiſted of 16384 Men. *Arrian* ſays, *Alexander's Phalanx* was a hundred and twenty Men deep. *Appian*, *in Syriacis*, fixes the Number of Men in a *Phalanx* at 16000, agreeably to the Orders ſettled by *Philip of Macedon*; and ſays, that it was divided into ten Parts, each of which had fifty two Men in Front, and thirty two in Depth. *Livy*, *B.* 33. makes the *Phalanx* of *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius*, to have conſiſted of the ſame Number; and *Caracalla*, as *Xiphilin* tells us, in his Life of that Emperor, formed his upon the ſame Plan. But others ſay, the *Phalanx* conſiſted of eight thouſand Men. And from this Diſagreement among Authors, it appears, that the *Phalanx* contained a greater or leſs Number of Men, according as the Time, Place, Ground, and the Enemy the *Greeks* were to engage with, required. And the ſame may be ſaid of the different Forms in which their Generals drew up the *Phalanx*. Sometimes, they leſſened it in Front, and encreaſed it in Depth: Sometimes they leſſened it in Depth, to widen the Front. Sometimes it was drawn up in the Form of a Square, ſometimes of a Wedge, ſometimes of a Circle, at others, of a Semicircle, ſometimes of a Triangle, and ſometimes of a Creſcent; and laſtly, it faced both ways, when it was attacked both before and behind. Theſe Diſpoſitions, which varied according to the preſent Exigency, imply the different Views of the General at thoſe times.

6*thly*, That *Ælian* conſiders the *Phalanx* in three different Situations, before a Battel, when it made an Attack, and when it ſtood on its own Defence. Before a Battel, the Ranks and Files



BUT Men accuſtomed to live in Pleaſure and Effeminacy, thought theſe excellent Regulations intolerable. The *Tarentini* were now ſenſible, that by calling in a Protector, they had made themſelves a Maſter. One of the greateſt Inconveniencies they had, was to find Lodgings among them, for ſo great a Number of Foreigners; and their chief Complaints were againſt the King's Guards. They choſe their Quarters where they pleaſed, and took all Liberties, with the Wives and Children of thoſe,

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

Files were ſo wide, that every Soldier had the Space of ſix Foot of Ground every Way; and the empty Spaces were often filled with Elephants, carrying Towers upon their Backs full of armed Men. When the *Phalanx* was to make an Attack, the Ranks and Files of it were ſo cloſed, that each Man had but three Foot of Ground; which it was neceſſary he ſhould have for handling his Arms, and turning to the right or left: And this was what the *Greeks* called *Pycnoſis Phalangos*, or the *Cloſing* the *Phalanx*. When the *Phalanx* ſtood on its own Defence, in order to ſuſtain the Attacks of the Enemy, the Ranks and Files were ſtill more cloſed; inſomuch, that each Soldier was allowed but one Cubit of Ground: And this was called *Sunaſpiſmos*. The Soldiers joined their Bucklers together in ſuch a manner, as to make a ſort of Parapet, which hindered the Aſſailants from ſeeing how deep they were; and their Pikes, being levelled againſt the Enemy, made a ſort of Barricade or Rampart, which it was dangerous to force.

7*thly*, That when there was Occaſion, the *Phalanx* changed its Situation, all on a ſudden, by turning from right to left, or from left to right, and facing about, from the Front to the Rear. The Soldiers of the *Phalanx* were, for this Purpoſe, taught ſeveral Motions, in their Exerciſe; which *Ælian* calls the *Macedonian*, *Laconic*, *Cretan*, the *Periſpaſmos*, and *Ecperiſpaſmos*. The three former were invented by the *Macedonians*, *Lacedæmonians* and *Cretans*. The *Periſpaſmos* conſiſted of two Motions, from the right to the left; the *Ecperiſpaſmos* of three.

8*thly*, That the *Phalanx* was called by different Names, according to its Form. *Plagia Phalanx* was that which had a large Front, and little Depth: *Orthia Phalanx*, that which had more Depth than Front; *Antiſtomos Phalanx*, that which was drawn up in two Lines, Length-ways, ſo that the Men faced towards the two Flanks; and *Amphiſtomos Phalanx*, was that which faced every Way, ſo as to be ready to attack the Enemy on any ſide.

9*thly*, That *Ælian* and *Arrian* ſay, it was common to divide the *Phalanx* into two Bodies; one to the right, which was taken for the Advance-guard, and one to the left, which was taken for the Rear-guard.

10*thly*, That to theſe *Phalanxes*, conſiſting of Men completely armed, the *Greeks* added a Body of light-armed Infantry; which conſiſted only of Slingers and Archers. They generally drew up in Battalia behind the *Phalanx*, and made exactly the ſame Front; but their Files, which directly anſwered thoſe of the *Phalanx*, were only half its Depth. When the Armies were ready to engage, theſe Skirmiſhers advanced through Spaces, left in the *Phalanx*, for that Purpoſe; and after they had thrown their miſſive Weapons, retired back through the ſame Spaces: and ſo returned to their Charge twice or thrice, till ſuch time as the Action was begun. And during the Heat of the Action, the Arrows they continually ſhot over the *Phalanx*, contributed not a little to put the Enemy into Diſorder. On ſome Occaſions, they engaged the Cavalry; and, in a Word, were of great Service, in thoſe Engagements. It ſometimes happened, that this light-armed Body of Infantry was poſted in the two Wings, or in the Front of the Battel, or in Lines between the Ranks of the *Phalanx*, or ſometimes ſingly, Man by Man, in the Spaces between the Soldiers of every File of the *Phalanx*.

11*thly*, That as for the Cavalry, the *Greeks* divided them into Squadrons, and drew them up in Rank and File. They were generally poſted in the Wings; but ſometimes at the Head, or in the Rear, of the *Phalanx*. It were needleſs to enlarge on the ſeveral Methods of drawing up the *Greek* Cavalry in Battalia, ſince it is eaſy to apprehend, that they were capable of aſſuming any Form, according to the Deſign the General had in view.

12*thly*, That *Livy* ſays, *B.* 7. the *Romans* learnt this Method of drawing up their Infantry from the *Greeks*. They at firſt, ſays he, drew up their *Legions* in the Form of a *Phalanx*, much like the *Macedonians*. *Et quod antea Phalanges ſimiles Macedonicis, hoc poſtea manipulatim ſtructa acies cœpit eſſe.* It is very true, that the *Legions* were in the firſt Age of *Rome* divided into *Manipuli*; but there was very little Space left between theſe *Manipuli*, when they were drawn up, ſo that their Ranks were cloſe, like thoſe of the *Phalanx*. *Athenæus* ſays, *B.* 6. that the *Romans* learnt this way of Fighting φαλαγγηδὸν, of the *Hetrurians*. But in all Probability, the *Romans*, who learnt the Art of War by long Experience, did not change their Method till they themſelves found out the Fault of it. And indeed, the *Phalanx* was ſubject to many Inconveniencies. We have already obſerved, that it was almoſt impoſſible to break it, as long as the Soldiers kept themſelves ſo cloſely united, as not to leave the leaſt Space between their Ranks, and Files; but it is eaſy to ſee, that this Union could not be preſerved, in uneven Ground, which was full of Hills, and Hedges, and Ditches, and Brooks. Beſides, of what Uſe could their long Pikes be, if they engaged in a Field covered with Wood, or Thickets? It is moſt certain, a *Greek* Army could not engage to Advantage any where but in an open Country, or ſmooth Plain. In any other Place, the *Phalanx* could not poſſibly keep itſelf in cloſe Order, which was neceſſary; and in which all its Strength conſiſted. Beſides, the Enemy had an eaſy Conqueſt of a broken Body of Infantry, which had not been trained up to fight Hand to Hand, and hindered itſelf in its Flight. It is very certain, that when the *Phalanx* was once put into Diſorder, it had no Refuge but in flight; and at the ſame time, the Soldiers were ſo much overburdened with their Arms, that it was difficult for them to make their Eſcape. And therefore the *Romans*, when at War with the *Greeks*, made it their chief Buſineſs, to bring them to Engagements, in rough Places, or narrow Paſſes, by well-concerted Motions, or feigned Retreats. If the *Greek Phalanxes* were at any time poſted in an advantageous Ground, it was in the Enemy's choice, whether he would hazard a Battel there. It was in his Power to plunder and burn up the Fields, without fear, to make Incurſions into the Country, intercept Proviſions, and purſue his Inroads ſtill farther and farther, in order to force the *Phalanx* to follow him, and reduce it to a Neceſſity of engaging with him, in difficult and diſadvantageous Places. Nor was this all. When the *Phalanx* had the Advantage, it could not purſue the Enemy, without quitting its Ground, and breaking the Order and Union of its Files. So that if the Enemy's General took any Precaution, to ſeize the Poſt the *Phalanx* left

in

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

those, with whom they lived. So that all these Grievances tired out the *Tarentini*. The honestest Men among them left the City, and retired into the Country: Those that were left behind, endeavoured to ease themselves by Murmurs and Complaints. A poor Comfort, indeed! but *Pyrrhus* envied them even that. He had his Spies every where, who insinuated themselves in all Companies, and informed him of the Discourses of the Malecontents. One Day among the rest, some young Rakes were got together, and in the Heat of their Wine, exclaimed very indiscreetly against *Pyrrhus*'s Tyranny: And they were accused, and brought before the King. When they came into his Presence, he said, *Is it true, that you have carried your Insolence so far, as to revile me in your Cups?* And one of them answering, *It is indeed but too true, and if we had not wanted Wine, we had said more;* this open Confession and Excuse, so little studied, appeased the King, who was fond of an Opportunity of exercising his Clemency towards them.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 1. §. 3. Extern.

Zon. B. 8. c. 2.

But *Pyrrhus* did not treat some other dangerous Citizens, whose Intrigues he knew, or suspected, with the same Gentleness. Nevertheless his Fear, lest his Severity should incline them to come to a Reconciliation with the *Romans*, made him take such Precautions, as he thought necessary. He privately dispatched the most Factious, by Assassinations; and sent those whom he suspected, under various Pretences, to his Son's Court at *Epirus*. Of which Number was *Aristarchus;* a famous Orator, whose Eloquence *Pyrrhus* dreaded. It is well known how great an Influence these Orators had, especially, in the *Greek* Cities, where popular Governments were established. They were the Soul of all publick Councils, and absolute Masters of all Deliberations in them. And at *Tarentum*, the persuasive Arts of the celebrated *Aristarchus*, gained him an absolute Authority. *Pyrrhus* therefore made it his Business, to lessen him in the Esteem of his fellow-Citizens; and in order to ruin his Credit with them, pretended a strict Friendship for the Orator, who was represented as having an equal Attachment for him. But *Aristarchus*'s Discourses to the *Tarentini* undeceived them; and made it known, that he entertained the same Thoughts of the Tyrant, as the Multitude. It was therefore necessary to remove him farther off. *Pyrrhus* sent him to his Son (whom he had left in *Epirus*) on an Embassy, which he declared was of great Importance. *Aristarchus* saw through the Artifice, but pretended not to know it. He accepted the Deputation, chose out a Vessel in the Port, the Master of which was at his Devotion, and embarked. And he had no sooner lost sight of the Land, but he ordered the Pilot to return to *Italy*, and put in at a Port, from whence he might with Safety make his way to *Rome;* where, on his Arrival, he represented to the Senate, the Condition of *Tarentum*, and the Designs of *Pyrrhus*. What Advice he gave the *Romans* is not known: But it is certain that the Republick dispatched away *Fabricius*, to visit her *Colonies*, and Allies. *Fabricius* fortified the Places. and exhorted the Cities to continue in their Fidelity; and he had good Reasons so to do. The Arrival of a King, famous for his great Exploits in the *Levant*, had staggered many Provinces; and the *Tarentini* were not the only People to whom *Pyrrhus* promised a happy Deliverance from Subjection. In these suspicious Times therefore *Rome* kept her self continually upon her Guard. It accidentally happened, that some of the chief Inhabitants of *Præneste*, were in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, towards the Close of an Evening; and it being known, that *Pyrrhus*, in order to draw them from their Alliance with *Rome*, had spread a Report among them, that a certain Oracle had declared, *That they should one Day become possessed of the Treasures of* Rome, they were brought into

Dion. apud Fulv. Ursinum.

in the Heat of the Battel, with fresh Troops, or a Corps-de-reserve, there was an end of the *Greek* Infantry. When thus attacked in Front, Flank, and Rear, it gave Way on all sides, and necessarily sunk under the Force of the Assailants. And lastly, the greatest Defect of all in the *Phalanx* was this; that the Men in the third, fourth, and fifth Ranks, could not see what was done in the first, in the Heat of the Battel; and consequently, as they thrust their Pikes at Enemies, which they could not see, it was a great Chance whether they wounded any of them. So that, if a *Roman* Soldier, for Instance, had once turned aside the Pikes, which were farthest advanced towards him, it was easy for him to defend himself against the rest with his Buckler, and his Sword. Certainly, a Company of resolute and well-disciplined Men, might find Means, after they had withstood the Attacks of the Pikes of the first Line, to slip between those of the third and fourth Lines, to reach the Pikemen, attack them, break through the *Phalanx*, throw it into Confusion, and cut it in pieces. But there were none of these Inconveniencies in the *Roman* Armies. As there were Spaces left between the *Manipuli* of each *Legion*, the Soldiers were more ready and active, and had the more room, to make their Motions, easily and suddenly.

the

the City, to ſhew them how little Streſs they ought to lay on ſuch an ambiguous Prediction; were ſhut up in the publick Treaſury; and then were pleaſantly told, *You ſee the Oracle is accompliſhed: You are poſſeſſed of the Treaſures of the* Romans *already.* Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

§. XIV. AFTER all, it was but too true, that in many Places, the Allies of the Republick were inclined to deſert her. A People, who are not named, detained *Fabricius* among them as an Hoſtage, in order to ſecure themſelves by ſo great a Pledge; and by this were emboldened, to endeavour to raiſe the *Hetrurians*, *Umbri* and *Gauls*, againſt the *Romans*. However, their Attempts failed of Succeſs, and *Fabricius* returned to *Rome*. But this at leaſt is certain, that a very extraordinary Event gave the Senate much Uneaſineſs, and greatly diſcredited the *Romans* in their *Colonies*. Whilſt *Pyrrhus* was at Sea, coming to *Tarentum*, and the *Carthaginians* infeſted all the Coaſts of the *Ionian* Sea, with their Fleet, [67] *Rhegium* applied to the Republick for its Aſſiſtance. This City ſtanding upon the fartheſt point of Land in *Italy*, next to *Sicily*, its Inhabitants were afraid of being invaded by the *Greeks*, or *Africans*: And *Rome*, though already engaged with more Enemies than ſhe well knew what to do with, did not refuſe ſending ſome Troops to a maritime City, which might be of Service to her in the preſent Wars. A *Legion* was raiſed in *Campania* by order of the Senate; the Command of it given to a Native of *Campania*, named *Decius Jubellus;* and he conducted it to *Rhegium*, to be a Garriſon for the City. At firſt the Behaviour of the New-comers was tolerable to the Inhabitants: But afterwards the Pleaſures of a *Greek* City, greatly enriched by Commerce, corrupted the Hearts of the Soldiers. They compared their preſent Happineſs with the laborious Life of *Roman* Troops, and deſired to change Conditions with the Inhabitants of *Rhegium*. This was their ordinary Topick in Converſation; and *Decius*, who had the ſame Inclinations as his Soldiers, heard theſe Diſcourſes with Pleaſure. He remembered

Dion. apud. Fulv. Urſin. Polyb. B. 1. *c.* 7.

Florus in Epitome 12.



Braſs.



Braſs.

[67] *Ptolomy* is the only Author, who gives the ancient City of *Rhegium*, the Epithet of *Julium*, ῥήγιον ἰούλιον: And as to the Origin of this City, the Commentators give a fabulous Account of it, as they do of that of the other Cities in *Greece*, and *Italy*. *Solinus*, *c.* 8. and *Strabo*, *B.* 6. make *Rhegium* to have been founded by a Colony of the Citizens of *Chalcis*, and another of the *Meſſenians*, who came into this Country by order of *Apollo*, about the ſecond Year of the 28th *Olympiad:* And *Begerus*, in his *Theſaurus Brandeburgicus*, ſuppoſes that the Union of theſe two Colonies is pointed out by the double Head, on the Medal above. The reverſe, on which we ſee the *Tripos* of *Apollo*, and a *Jupiter* ſitting, alludes to the Worſhip, which, according to *Strabo*, the *Chalcidians* and *Meſſenians* particularly paid to theſe two Gods. Not only this maritime City, which was formerly the moſt conſiderable one in *Brutium*, but the neighbouring Promontory alſo bore the Name of *Rhegium*; which the Etymologiſts derive from the *Greek* Verb, ῥήγνυσθαι; becauſe, ſay they, this City was formerly joined to *Sicily* by a Neck of Land, till it was *broken off* from it, by the Violence of the Sea; whoſe Ravages, at that time, *Virgil* deſcribes in theſe Lines:

Hæc Loca, vi quondam, & vaſta convulſa ruina,
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetuſtas)
Diſſiluiſſe ferunt; quum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret, venit medio vi Pontus, & undis
Heſperium Siculo latus abſcidit, arvaque, & urbes
Littore diductas, anguſto interluit æſtu.

Strabo, ſays the *Samnites*, who then ſpoke the ſame Language with the *Romans*, and enjoyed the Right of *Citizenſhip*, gave *Rhegium*, the Name of *Regium*, to ſhew that it was the Capital of *Brutium*. This City maintained many Wars with *Dionyſius the Tyrant*, who at laſt made himſelf Maſter of it, and razed it. But it was rebuilt by *Dionyſius the Younger*, who gave it the Name of *Phœbia*. The Lion on the reverſe of the Medal above, ſhews the Valour of its Inhabitants.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII.

P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

the late Inſtance of the [68] *Mamertini*, who came from *Campania* as well as he; and who going into *Sicily*, to aſſiſt *Agathocles*, and being received into their City by



Brass.



Brass.

68 Some have thought that *Mamertum* formerly ſtood near the Place where *Martorano* now ſtands in *Calabria*, between the *Savato*, and *The Gulph of St. Euphemia*. But this does not agree with the Situation *Strabo* gives it, *B.* 5. He, as well as *Pliny*, places the City of *Mamertum* in *Brutium*, above *Locris* and *Rhegium*, near a Foreſt, which he calls *Sila Sylva*, or *The Foreſt of Sila*, near Cape *Leucopetra*, now *Capo dell' Armi*, according to *Cluverius*; or *Punta della Saetta*, according to Father *Briet*. Whence it is inferred, that *Mamertum* ſtood in the Territory, in which the City of *Oppido* now ſtands. The Name of *Mamertum* was taken, according to ſome Etymologiſts, from the Word *Mamers*, which in the Language of the *Oſci* ſignified the God *Mars*. *Mamers Mamertis facit*, ſays *Feſtus*, *id eſt lingua Oſca*, *Mars Martis*: *Unde & Mamertini in Sicilia dicti*, *qui Meſſanæ habitant*. And indeed we find the Figure of this Military God on ſeveral Medals, which bear the Name of the *Mamertini*. In one of thoſe above, we have this Inſcription, APEΩS; which is the Name the *Greeks* gave this God. By the Pine-apple on it, the Coiner deſigned to ſhew, that there was a great Number of Pines, in the Neighbourhood of *Mamertum*. And in this the Medal agrees with *Strabo*, who boaſts of the Pitch, which a neighbouring Foreſt yields. *Mediterranea loca Brutii tenent*, *ibique eſt Urbs Mamertum*, *& ſaltus picem ferens optimam*.

If, as all Authors agree, *Mamertum* belonged to *Brutium*, it is hard to gueſs why its Inhabitants were called *Mamertini Campani*. Perhaps they came originally from *Campania*: Or perhaps this Province comprehended all the South-part of *Italy*, which was anciently called *Great Greece*. But it appears, by the Relations of moſt ancient Authors, that the *Mamertini*, who ſeized *Meſſana*, were not the ſame with thoſe who inhabited *Mamertum*, a City of *Brutium*. *Feſtus* is clear in this. Some of the *Samnites*, ſays he, were called *Mamertini*, from this Accident. The Plague ſpreading in *Samnium*, *Stenius Metius*, the moſt conſiderable Man in the Country, aſſembled the Inhabitants of it, and aſſured them, that *Apollo* had appeared to him in a Dream; and told him, that in order to put a Stop to the Contagion, it was neceſſary that they ſhould make a ſolemn Vow, to ſacrifice to him, all that ſhould be born the next Spring. Accordingly the Condition was accepted, and the Plague ceaſed. But it returned again twenty Years after; and recourſe being had to *Apollo* in this Extremity, the God anſwered, that they had not diſcharged their Vow, in its full Latitude, ſince they had ſpared the Children which had been born within the Time limited. And to repair this Defect, *Apollo* ordered them to drive all thoſe out of the Country, who were born in the Spring twenty Years before; which was done accordingly. This Multitude of young Men, were forced to leave their native Country; and they croſſed over into *Sicily*, and ſettled in that part of the Iſland, in which Mount *Taurus*, and the City of *Tauromenium* lay. Afterwards, they joined the *Meſſanians*, who had a difficult War to maintain; and by their Aſſiſtance, the latter were delivered from a formidable Enemy. Upon which, the Citizens of *Meſſana*, in Gratitude for their late Services, admitted them into their own Body, and gave them ſome Lands in fee, for their Subſiſtence. Nor was this all. It was ordered, that the united Nations, ſhould lay aſide their old Names, and chooſe a new one by Lot. In order to which the Names of the twelve Gods of the firſt Rank, were thrown into an Urn; and that of *Mars*, whom the *Oſci* call *Mamers*, coming out firſt, the two Nations were from thence called *Mamertini*. In proof of this, *Feſtus* quotes one *Alſius*, the Author of a Book entituled, *The Hiſtory of the Carthaginian Wars*. But *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a different Account of this Matter. He ſays, that *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, had taken ſome *Hetrurians*, *Gauls*, and *Samnites* into his Army; and that when theſe foreign Troops were diſmiſſed, and preparing to leave *Sicily*, the *Meſſanians* offered them an honourable Settlement in *Meſſana*, and admitted them to be their fellow-Citizens. But theſe treacherous Allies ſoon forgot how much they were indebted to their Benefactors, and the ſacred Laws of Hoſpitality. They reſolved to ſeize *Meſſana*, and in order to this, to cut the Throats of all their Hoſts; and they executed this barbarous Plot in the Night. They ſpared not one of the Citizens; the Murderers ſaved only their Wives and Daughters for themſelves. After this they made themſelves Maſters of *Meſſana*; and, as *Diodorus Siculus* adds, changed the Name of the City to that of *Mamertina*, which anſwers to that of *Mamers*; a Word, which in the *Oſcian* Language, ſpoken by the *Samnites* and *Campani*, had the ſame Signification as *Mars*. Though after all, *Polybius*'s Account, who brings the *Mamertini* from *Campania*, is moſt univerſally received. The Beauty and Riches of *Meſſana*, ſays he, tempted a Company of covetous *Campani*, who had ſerved under *Agathocles*; and they, to make ſure of the City, found Means to inſinuate themſelves into the good Opinion of the Inhabitants, by a falſe Pretence of Friendſhip. But as ſoon as they were introduced among the *Meſſanians*, they cut the Throats of all the Citizens, and ſaved only their Wives and Children. Then, after they had ſeized the Spoils, and the Lands of thoſe they had murdered, they ſettled themſelves in *Meſſana*; and from that time the Inhabitants of that City were called *Mamertini*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXII. P. Valerius Lævinus, Tib. Coruncanius, Conſuls.

the 69 *Meſſanians*, had ſeized it, and were ſtill Maſters of it. He hoped that the *Meſſanians* would be very ready to ſupport him in his Invaſion, in caſe it ſucceeded. And what had he to fear from the *Romans*, who were embarraſſed with the War *Pyrrhus* was bringing upon them? Theſe Conſiderations, excited by a Deſire of growing rich at the Expence of a People, who wallowed in Wealth, induced *Decius* to comply with the Deſires of his Soldiers. And as Lies coſt great Rogues nothing, he forged Letters, which he ſaid were written to *Pyrrhus*, by the Inhabitants of *Rhegium*, offering to deliver up the City to him. Theſe Letters he pretended to have intercepted, and after he had aſſembled the People, ordered them to be read. Upon this, ſome Soldiers of his *Legion*, ſuborned for that Purpoſe, cried out, That the Traitors, who were convicted of an Attempt to deliver up *Romans* to be ſlain, ought to be cut in pieces: And to the former, they added a ſecond Calumny. Whilſt this innocent People were kept in Suſpence, and Terror, one of *Campania*, who was in the Plot, brought *Decius* an Information, That he had ſeen ſome Veſſels of *Tarentum*, in the Port of *Rhegium*, and That the Commanders of them had had a private Conference with the Inhabitants. Then a Reſolution was inſtantly taken, and all theſe unhappy People condemned to loſe both their Lives and Fortunes. *Decius* invited the chief Inhabitants of the City to ſup with him, violated the ſacred Laws of Hoſpitality, and murdered them at a Banquet. In the mean time his Soldiers entered all the Houſes, and killed all they found in them, without Mercy. Thoſe whoſe Lives were ſpared, were thruſt out of their City; and only their Wives and Daughters exempted from the common Slaughter, to undergo a much greater Puniſhment. They were forced to marry the Murderers of their Fathers, and of their Huſbands. In ſhort, the Uſurpers ſhared the Eſtates of the Dead and Baniſhed, among them; and new modelled the Republick.

The Report of this Violence, and Cruelty, was brought to the Senate, at a time when *Rome* was moſt buſy, in confirming her Allies in their Fidelity, and in preparing to oppoſe *Pyrrhus*: And the Unfitneſs of the preſent Seaſon, made her ſuſpend that Vengeance, which ſhe reſerved for the perfidious *Legion*. But the Maſſacre of the *Rhegians*, made many Nations very much diſſatisfied with their Alliances with *Rome*. Theſe barbarous Uſurpers were *Campani* indeed; but they were in *Roman* Pay; and the *Romans* were anſwerable for their Conduct. What Shame does it reflect on *Rome*, that a whole Army of *Epirotæ* ſhould not do ſo much Miſchief in *Tarentum*, as one ſingle *Legion* of *Romans* did, in *Rhegium*!

§. XV. In the mean time *Lævinus* continued his Hoſtilities in *Lucania*. It cannot be denied, that this *Conſul* had ſufficient Talents for War, to have made him an able General; and *Pyrrhus* did him Juſtice. But *Lævinus* was the firſt Man of his Nation, who tried a new way of Fighting, and had Foreigners for his Enemies, who engaged in a very different manner, from what any People had hitherto done, in *Italy*. He was keeping his Troops on free Quarter, in a Nation in Alliance with the *Tarentini*, had taken a Caſtle, and fortified it; and there he waited for *Pyrrhus*'s Appearance in the Field. The King of *Epirus* had not yet aſſembled the Troops of the *Samnites*, *Meſſapians*, and other Allies of the *Tarentini*. His Army then conſiſted only, of the Troops he had brought from beyond Sea, ſome Recruits of *Tarentum*, and as is probable, a ſmall Number of *Italians*. But nevertheleſs, he thought it ſhameful for him to continue ſhut up in a City, whilſt the *Romans* were ravaging the Province of an Ally: And to give his Attempt an Air of Equity, before he left *Tarentum*, he wrote the *Conſul* the following Letter. Pyrrhus *to* Lævinus *Health*. *I am informed that you command an Army, which is to make War with the* Tarentini. *Diſband it without Delay, and then come and lay your Pretenſions before me. After I have heard both Parties, I will give Judgment in the Caſe; and can by my Arms, compel thoſe whom I condemn, to obey my Sentence.* *Lævinus* anſwered the King with all the Haughtineſs of a *Roman*. *Know*, Pyrrhus, *that we neither admit you as a Judge, or fear you, as an Enemy. Does it become you to take upon you to judge us, who have your ſelf injured us, by landing in* Italy *without the Conſent of the* Romans? *We will have no Arbitrator but* Mars, *the Author of our Race, and the Protector of our Arms*. Then the King, who expected ſuch an Anſwer from the *Conſul*, immediately marched his Army towards thoſe Parts where *Lævinus* was waiting for him.

Polyb. and *Dion.*

Zonaras B. 8. *c.* 3.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 3.

69 The Wars of the *Romans* in *Sicily*, will give us Occaſion to ſpeak of *Meſſana* in another Place.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. Valerius Lævinus, Tib. Coruncanius, Conſuls.

The *Romans* were encamped on the farther ſide of the River 70 *Siris*, which runs between *Pandoſia* and *Heraclea*, and diſcharges itſelf into *The Gulph of Tarentum:* And when *Pyrrhus*'s Army appeared on the hither ſide of the ſame River, not far from *Heraclea;* the King of *Epirus* made it his firſt Buſineſs to go and reconnoitre the Enemy's Camp himſelf, and ſee what Appearance they made. To this end, he paſſed the River, attended by *Megacles*, one of his Officers, and greateſt Favourites; and when he had conſidered the *Conſul*'s Entrenchments, the manner in which he had poſted his advanced Guards, and the good Order of his Camp; He ſaid, Megacles, *theſe People are not ſo barbarous* 71 *as we think them. Let us try them, before we condemn them.* It therefore cannot be true, that the *Romans*, as is often ſaid, did not underſtand the Art of War before *Pyrrhus*'s time; or wanted *Greeks* to teach them how to form 72 a Camp.

70 The River *Siris*, now the *Sinno*, or *Senno*, watered the Country, which was formerly called *Lucania*.

71 The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, makes *Pyrrhus* talk in a very different manner, on this Occaſion. But what he makes the Prince ſay, is entirely foreign to his Purpoſe, and not at all agreeable to the preſent State of his Affairs. The Hiſtorian's Words are theſe. *Viſo Lævini exercitu, eamdem ſibi ait adverſus Romanos quam Herculi, adverſus Hydram fuiſſe fortunam.* That is, *Pyrrhus*, at the ſight of the *Roman* Army, cried out, that his Fortune was like that of *Hercules*, and that he alſo had a *Hydra* to encounter. But, according to *Plutarch*, it was *Cyneas*, and not his Maſter, who made this Compariſon, after he had obſerved what great Numbers of *Romans*, enliſted themſelves in *Lævinus*'s Troops, after he had loſt his firſt Battel with *Pyrrhus*. And his Aſtoniſhment was much encreaſed, when he ſaw, what a prodigious Multitude of Inhabitants there ſtill were at *Rome*, ready to take Arms, after theſe new Levies were made. Upon this Occaſion *Cyneas*'s Reflection was a very ſenſible one, and the Remembrance of the new Heads of the *Hydra* very natural. But the Compariſon is abſurd, in the Circumſtances in which *Aurelius Victor* ſuppoſes *Pyrrhus* to have made it. He had not yet engaged the *Romans*, or gained any Victory over them. How then could he compare them to the *Hydra*, whoſe Heads grew up again, as faſt as *Hercules* cut them off? And yet *Florus* makes the King of *Epirus* ſay the ſame thing. *Video me plane Herculis ſidere procreatum, cui quaſi ab angue Lernæo, tot cæſa hoſtium capita de Sanguine ſuo renaſcentur.* I fancy my ſelf born, ſays he, under the Conſtellation of *Hercules*, when I ſee ſo many thouſand Enemies ſtarting up out of their own Blood, as the Heads of the *Hydra* of *Lerna* did. His meaning was, that the *Romans* acquired new Strength, even by their Defeats: Which is the Encomium *Hannibal* afterwards gave them, according to theſe Lines of *Horace*, *Od.* 4. *B.* 4.

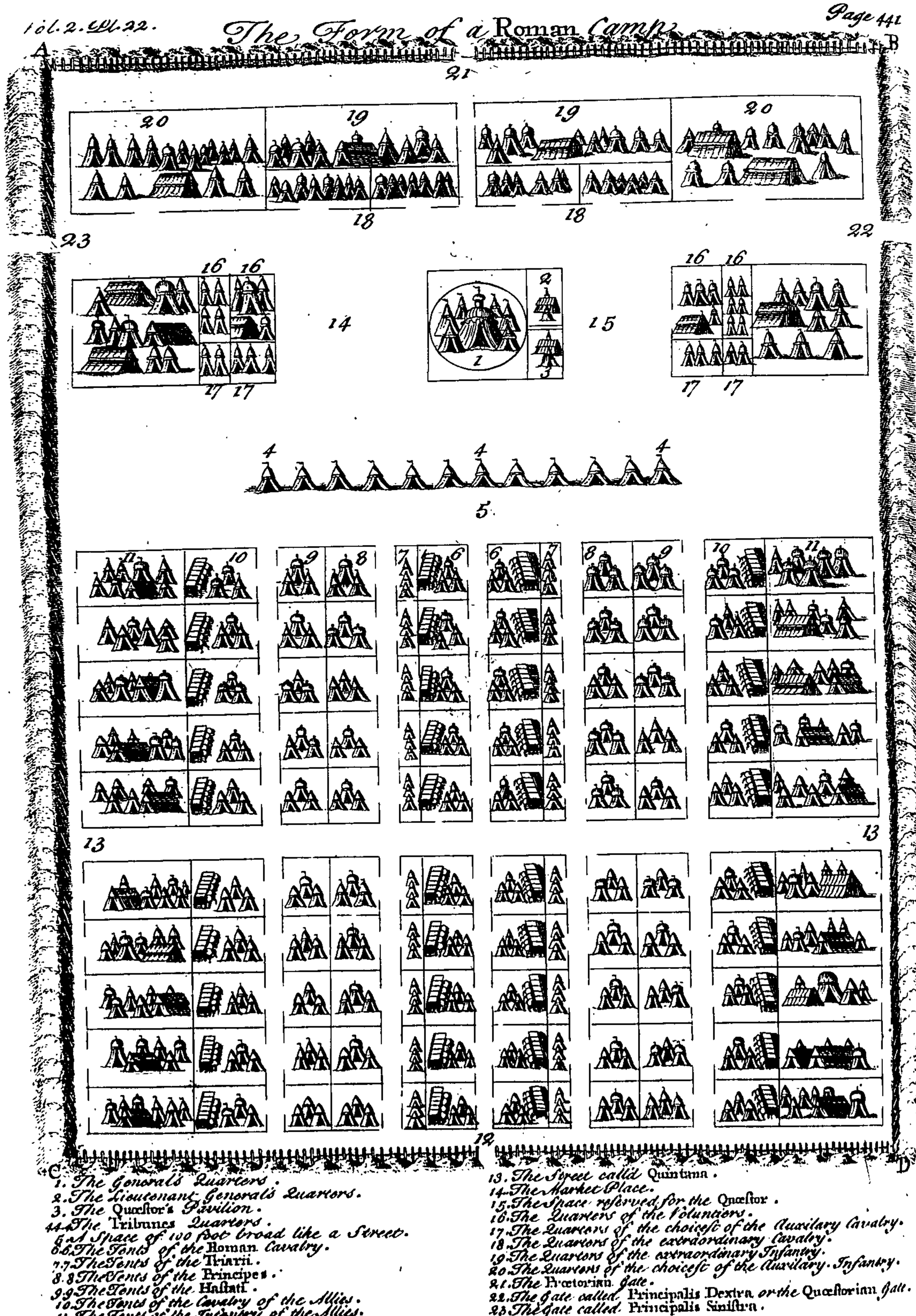
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo,
Ducit opes animumque, ferro.

The Poet agrees with the Hiſtorians, in this particular.

72 Ancient Authors acknowledge that the *Romans* underſtood the Art of encamping long before their Wars with *Pyrrhus*. Indeed they made no great uſe of it in the firſt Ages of *Rome*. Their Territory was then very narrow. The Wars they had with their Neighbours, were, in a manner, carried on, under the Walls of their City, which afforded a ſure Retreat, whenever they wanted one. But nevertheleſs, it is certain, that they knew how to form a Camp, lay out the Ground, and guard the Avenues of it, in the earlieſt Infancy of *Rome*. *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* give us ſeveral Inſtances of it, in the firſt Books of their Hiſtory. *Frontinus* is therefore miſtaken, notwithſtanding his Confidence in ſaying that the *Romans* learnt the Art of encamping from *Pyrrhus*. *Plutarch* ſays, on the contrary, that *Pyrrhus* admired the Strength, Form and Order of their Camp. Afterwards indeed, they improved this Art of encamping, by following the Plan of *Pyrrhus*'s Camp, which they forced. Before that time, their Tents were pitched confuſedly in Cluſters, and without any Deſign: But they afterwards corrected this Defect, and obſerved a juſt Proportion, in ranging the Tents, laying out the Ground, diſtributing the Quarters and Pavilions and laſtly, in the empty Spaces of Ground they left at certain Diſtances. Theſe empty Spaces were ſo many Streets, which led to all the Parts of the Camp. Thus the *Romans*, after *Pyrrhus*'s Example, made their Camps more convenient, for the eaſy Paſſage of Carriages, the Conveyance of Proviſions, and to facilitate the Motions of the Troops, who were continually ſucceeding one another, in their different military Offices. The beſt Account we have of the *Roman* Camps, is that of *Polybius*, a Soldier, who ſerved under *Scipio*, had the Honour of his Confidence, and was an Eye-witneſs of what he relates. His Deſcription of the *Roman* Camps, *B.* 6. of his Hiſtory, is, in Subſtance, this.

In the firſt Place, a piece of Ground was pitched upon, which was advantageouſly ſituated, and beſt ſuited to promote the Deſigns of the General. After this, a Standard was pitched in the Place, where the *Conſul*, or *Proconſul*'s Pavilion was to be erected: which was generally an Eminence, which commanded the whole Camp, and from whence he might the more eaſily ſee, what was doing within, and without it. This Spot of Ground was called the *Prætorium*; and was what we now call the General's Quarters. It was a perfect Square, each ſide of which was two hundred Feet. At fifty Foot diſtance from it, in a parallel Line, were the Tents of the *Legionary Tribunes*. Each of them had fifty Foot ſquare of Ground, which was room enough for his Horſes, Beaſts of Burden, and Baggage. An hundred Foot lower, a Line was drawn parallel to the *Prætorium*, and divided into three equal Parts. Over againſt the middle of it was a Way fifty Foot wide; and on each ſide of this Way, the *Legions*, firſt the Cavalry, and then the Infantry, that is, the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, were placed, according to the Order of the *Manipuli*. The Troops of the Allies, both Horſe and Foot, were quartered by themſelves: Which the Reader will better underſtand, by the adjoining Plate, than by any thing we can add. We muſt only obſerve, that the ſeveral Quarters of the Camp were divided by five ſtreight Streets, and a ſixth, which ran parallel to the *Prætorium*, [illegible] croſs

The Form of a Roman Camp.



1. The Generals Quarters.
2. The Lieutenant-Generals Quarters.
3. The Quæstor's Pavilion.
4. 4. The Tribunes Quarters.
5. A Space of 100 foot broad like a Street.
6. 6. The Tents of the Roman Cavalry.
7. 7. The Tents of the Triarii.
8. 8. The Tents of the Principes.
9. 9. The Tents of the Hastati.
10. The Tents of the Cavalry of the Allies.
11. The Tents of the Infantry of the Allies.
12. The Decumian Gate.
13. The Street called Quintana.
14. The Market Place.
15. The Space reserved for the Quæstor.
16. The Quarters of the Volunteers.
17. The Quarters of the choicest of the Auxilary Cavalry.
18. The Quarters of the extraordinary Cavalry.
19. The Quarters of the extraordinary Infantry.
20. The Quarters of the choicest of the Auxilary Infantry.
21. The Prætorian Gate.
22. The Gate called Principalis Dextra or the Quæstorian Gate.
23. The Gate called Principalis Sinistra.

A. B. C. D. The Entrenchment, or the Place for the Pallisades, & Faulse-braye; & the Ditch.

THE Hiſtorians have not told us indeed, that the view *Pyrrhus* took of the *Roman* Camp, made him alter the Reſolution he had taken, of attacking the *Conſul* immediately. But ſo in fact it was, that he ſhut himſelf up in his Entrenchments, and tarried for the Arrival of the Confederate Troops, which the *Tarentini* had promiſed him. However, he covered his Dilatorineſs with a ſpecious Pretence, ſaying; *The* Romans *are making War in an Enemy's Country, and will ſoon be diſtreſſed for want*

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXIII.
P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

croſſed the other five, exactly in the middle. This Street bounded the *fifth* Diviſion of each Quarter, and therefore the Hiſtorians call it *Via Quintana*. But ſeveral Authors ſeem to call another part of the Camp by this Name, which was the Place where the Suttlers uſed to come to ſell their Proviſions. As to the two Spaces, one on the right, the other on the left, of the *Prætorium*; one was reſerved for the *Quæſtor*, and the other was a ſort of Market-place, to which the Purveyors brought all their Victuals. On this ſide were quartered a choſen Body of the extraordinary Cavalry, and the Voluntiers, a choſen *Corps* of Foot and Horſe, was alſo quartered there. When all things were ordered in this manner, the Camp was in the Form of an exact Square; unleſs the two *Conſuls* joined their Armies, and then the Camp, which was twice as big as uſual, was made an oblong Square. Add to this, that there was a Space of two hundred Foot broad, left between the Tents, and the Entrenchments: and it was uſual to lodge the Cattle there, and the Booty which the Forragers brought out of the Country. Beſides, this Diſtance was neceſſary to ſecure the Tents, and put them out of the reach of the Darts and Fire, which the Enemy might throw into the Camp.

After the Quarters were diſtributed, the *Tribunes* were aſſembled to adminiſter the Oaths to the Soldiers. All, without Diſtinction, ſwore by all that was moſt ſacred in their Religion, that they would take nothing in the Camp, but deliver into their Officers Hands, whatever they accidentally found in it. Then the Troops were ordered to raiſe the Outworks which were to ſurround the Camp: and in this they made uſe of all ſorts of Fortification then known, wide and deep Ditches, Banks of Earth, Palliſades, Parapets ſtuck thick with Stakes and broken Branches of Trees, Ramparts flanked with Towers, at certain Diſtances: and laſtly, the Army, by the Direction of the General and *Legionary Tribunes*, took all poſſible care, to guard themſelves againſt any Inſults from an Enemy, by good Entrenchments. So that a *Roman* Camp looked like a walled City. And for the greater Safety, Guards were placed on the Towers, to give the Alarm in all Parts, in caſe of an Attack.

Every part of the *Legion* had its own Offices to diſcharge, Day and Night. Two *Manipuli* of the *Haſtati* and *Principes*, were ordered to mount the Guard, before the Quarters of the *Legionary Tribunes*. Each of theſe choſe three *Manipuli* by Lot, whoſe Buſineſs it was to pitch his Tent, take care of his Baggage, level the Ground, and watch in their Turns. The General's Quarters were guarded by the *Triarii*. They regularly ſucceeded one another, by Fours, and took care, that no Diſorder happened on that ſide. Every Morning, at Sun-riſing, the Horſe, and the Officers, came to the *Tribunes'* Quarters, and they to thoſe of the *Conſuls*, to receive the Orders, they were to give, in the Army. At Sun-ſet, the *Tribune* gave one of the Soldiers of the *Legion*, whoſe Office it was to diſtribute it, a little wooden Tablet, on which was written the Watch-Word. The Soldier gave it to the firſt *Centurion*, he to the ſecond, and ſo on, till it had paſſed from Hand to Hand through the whole Army, and came round again to the *Tribune*. Each Company gave a certain Number of Centinels out of its own Body to keep Guard, in its Quarters. All other Matters were ordered by the *Conſul*. The *Quæſtor* had a Centinel to attend at his Quarters; and the ſame Honour was paid to thoſe, who were ſent from *Rome* to be of the General's Council.

The Entrenchments of the Camp were guarded by the *Velites*, or light-armed Troops. Ten of them were poſted at each Gate, and four others of them took the Rounds. Thoſe who mounted the Guard, came to the Quarters of the *Tribune* upon Duty; and he gave them little Tablets, which had each a different Mark. A Horſeman, with a Witneſs attending him, was ordered to obſerve, if the Centinels did their Duty in the Night; and in that caſe, he took away the Tablet each Soldier had, and brought them all to the *Tribune*, except thoſe which belonged to any Soldiers, who had left their Poſts, or fallen Aſleep. Theſe he accuſed before the *Tribune*, who condemned the Guilty to be baſtinadoed; a Puniſhment which was inflicted with the utmoſt Rigour. The *Tribune*, at the Head of the *Legion*, gave the Perſon condemned a gentle Stroke, with a Wand; and then the *Soldiers* of the *Legion* fell upon the Wretch, with Sticks and Stones, and beat him ſo, that he often died under their Hands; or if he ſurvived it, he was accounted infamous, and could never return into his native Country again. Nay even his Relations and Friends would not receive him into their Houſes: This would have been bringing a Diſgrace upon themſelves by their good Nature, for they would have ſhared his Infamy. By the rigorous Execution of theſe ſevere Laws, good Order and military Diſcipline were kept up in the Camp, and the Armies. That there might be no Interruption of Watch, the Centinels had Notice to relieve one another by Sound of Trumpet; and every one was puniſhed, who did not immediately repair to his Poſt.

As to the Number and Situation of the Gates, that were generally made to the *Roman* Camps, *Polybius* ſays nothing of it; and the Moderns have had recourſe to Conjectures, to ſupply what is wanting in the Hiſtorian. Some ſay the Gates were three, the *Prætorian*, the *Quæſtorian*, and the *Decuman*: The firſt to the left, the ſecond to the right, and the third, at the Head of the Camp, over againſt the *Prætorium*. Others reckon four, The *Prætorian*, The *Quintan*, The *Principal*, and The *Decuman* Gate. The firſt before the *Prætorium*, and over againſt it; the ſecond, on the right; the third on the left; and the fourth, behind the *Prætorium*. And *Livy* alſo ſays there were four, in the tenth Book of the fourth *Decad*, viz. The *Extraordinary* Gate, the two *Principal* Gates, and the *Quæſtorian*. But he mentions neither the *Prætorian* nor the *Decuman* Gate; though he ſtill confines the Number to four. Which makes it ſomewhat probable, that he by the *Extraordinary* Gate means the *Prætorian*; becauſe the extraordinary Troops were quartered by it. And it is likely, that the *Quæſtorian* Gate he ſpeaks of, is the ſame with the *Decuman*. It had this latter Name, either becauſe the neareſt Quarters to it, were thoſe which were aſſigned to the *tenth* Diviſion of the *Legionary* Troops, or becauſe, it was the largeſt Gate of the four. It is not to be doubted, but that the Names and Poſitions of theſe Gates were changed, according to the different Forms, and Situations of the *Roman* Camps. It ought not to be imagined, that

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

want of Proviſions. And in the mean time he lined the River with his Troops, to prevent the Enemy's paſſing it, and continually ſent out Spies to diſcover the Motions and Deſigns of the *Conſul*, whoſe Conſtancy and Intrepidity ſurprized him. But what moſt raiſed the Admiration of the King, was the Nobleneſs of Spirit, which he diſcovered in his Conduct. Some of *Pyrrhus*'s Spies having been taken patrolling round the *Roman* Entrenchments, the *Conſul* gave himſelf the Trouble of leading them through all his Camp, and ſhewing them his Army, and when he had done, ſent them back to the King, telling them, that he had many other Troops, which he would ſhew them in due time. This polite Conduct, worthy of *Greece* itſelf, increaſed the Eſteem *Pyrrhus* already had for the *Romans;* whoſe General had the ſame Reaſons to haſten a Battel, which his Enemy had to poſtpone it. It was the Intereſt of *Rome*, to give Battel, before *Pyrrhus* had received the Reinforcements he expected; and *Lævinus* therefore made it his Buſineſs, to find means to bring him to an Engagement. He aſſembled his Troops before his Tent, and in order to raiſe their Courage, and prevent their Fears, addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *The Glory* Pyrrhus *has acquired among cowardly Nations, ought not to intimidate you. The Reputation of the* Romans, *has reached even the Regions from whence he came. He is more afraid of us, than we imagine. His Delays are an evident Proof of the high Opinion he has of our Valour; and it is your Buſineſs to confirm him in thoſe Prejudices. As if he did not think his* Epirotæ *ſufficient, he arms great, bulky, and unſhapely Animals againſt us, and brings them with him, to ſtrike us with Terror. But let us not ſuffer our ſelves to be deceived by them. Reaſon and Induſtry will always give Men a Superiority over the moſt monſtrous Beaſts. We often fear what we have not experienced, and after the Trial, laugh at our cauſeleſs Apprehenſions. Don't let the bare Name of* 73 *Elephants diſturb you. The Victory is certain.* This ſaid, *Lævinus* marched his

the *Romans* confined themſelves ſo ſtrictly to the ſquare, or oblong Figure, as never to pitch a Camp in any other. The General had regard in this, to the preſent Circumſtances of Things, the Situation of the Ground, and the Number of his Troops. Hence the ſeeming Contradictions of the Hiſtorians, who ſometimes place the *Prætorium* in the middle of the Camp, ſometimes at one end, and ſometimes at the other. Nor are they better agreed, as to the Situation of the *Quæſtor*'s Tent.

But nevertheleſs it is certain, that the four Gates beforementioned, were placed in the four ſides of the Camp; and that the *Decuman*, *Prætorian*, and two *Principal* Gates, were generally ſo placed as they are repreſented in the Plate. As for the *Quintan*, it is no where to be met with, but in a Paſſage of *Feſtus*, where we read *Porta Quintana*, inſtead of *Via*, or *Pars Quintana*. *Du Choſe* and *Lazius* have followed the Text too ſervilely. What we have hitherto ſaid, may eaſily be reconciled with *Polybius*'s Account, only making Allowance, for the different Proportions. He ſays, that the *Conſuls* ſometimes pitched their Camps ſo near one another, that the *Prætorium*, and *Quæſtors* Tents were placed in the middle of the two Armies. But it is certain, theſe two Camps muſt have been both included within one Entrenchment; otherwiſe the General and his Officers had been expoſed to the Mercy of the Enemy, as may eaſily be ſeen in the Plate. We ſhall have Occaſion to treat more particularly of the Order, Diſtinction, and Polity, the *Romans* obſerved, in their Encampments hereafter. Authors differ ſo much about theſe Particulars, that we ſhall often find it neceſſary to reconcile them, or prefer ſome to others.

73 The *Romans* had never ſeen any Elephants before; and becauſe they ſaw them firſt in *Lucania*, they called them *Boves Lucæ*. Thus *Ennius*, in *Varro*, *B.* 6. *de Ling. Latina*,

Atque locuſta Bovem Lucam periit prius.

And thus *Lucretius*;

Inde Boves Lucas turrito corpore tetros.

With regard to the Etymology of this Name, *Varro* quotes two ancient Authors, one of whom he calls *Caius Ælius*, and the other *Virginius*; and ſays, That the former derives *Bos Lucas* from the People of *Libya*, (*a Libycis*, *Lucas*) becauſe *Libya* abounded with Elephants; and that the ſecond pretends, that the Term, *Bos Lucas*, alludes to the Country of the *Lucani*, where the *Roman* Army was frighted the firſt time they ſaw *Pyrrhus*'s Elephants. Cardinal *Baronius* honeſtly believed, according to his *Annals*, under the Year of *Chriſt* 58, That the *Italians* intended to ſignify by the Words *Bos Lucas*, the Ox, that is generally made the Symbol of the Evangeliſt St. *Luke*. But it is nevertheleſs certain, that this Expreſſion was uſed ſeveral Ages before, to ſignify an Elephant only, and not an Ox; as this celebrated Annaliſt, falſely ſuppoſed, perhaps upon the Credit of ſome incorrect Memoirs. *Pliny the Naturaliſt* ſays, *B.* 8. that Elephants were not known in *Italy*, till about the Year of *Rome* 472, when the Wars between the *Romans* and *Pyrrhus* began. *Elephantos Italia primum vidit, Pyrrhi regis bello, & Boves Lucas appellavit, in Lucanis viſas, Anno Urbis conditæ*, 472. But this Date which *Pliny* gives to the beginning of *Pyrrhus*'s Wars, agrees neither with *Calviſius*'s Calculation, nor Father *Labbe*'s Chronology. The latter places *Pyrrhus*'s Entrance into *Italy*, in the Year 474; the former in the Year 473. This Uncertainty and Inconſiſtency, in Chronology, is owing to the Hiſtorians not having been exact in ſetting down the Order of the *Conſulſhips*. Thoſe ancient *Roman* Hiſtorians, who have mentioned the Quarrels between the *Tarentini* and the *Romans*, don't fix the beginning of this War to any particular time. Nor do they mention the Names of the *Conſuls* at that time; and it happens unfortunately, that they are not to be found in the *Faſti Capitolini*. Some later Authors would have been of great Service to us, if the Cyphers had not been altered, by the Error or Negligence of the Copyiſts. But this Alteration is evident, eſpecially in *c.* 1. *B.* 4. of *Oroſius*'s Hiſtory. We are there told, that the *Tarentini* plundered the *Roman* Fleet, in 474; and that this

his Troops to the Banks of the *Siris*, and drew up his Army in Battalia there, resolving, if possible, to force the Enemy to fight. To this end, he ordered his Cavalry to file off, by the side of the River, and march a great Way about, in order to find a Passage over it, at some Place, which was not defended. Accordingly, the *Roman* Squadrons passed the River, without Opposition, and came and fell upon some Battalions, which *Pyrrhus* had posted on the Banks of it. And whilst they were fighting on the opposite side, *Lævinus* made all haste to pass the River with all his Troops, doubtless on Bridges which he had prepared for that Purpose. Whilst they were passing, *Pyrrhus* heard the Sound of a Battel; fled to the Place where the Sound of the Arms called him; and his Cavalry, with his Elephants, followed him. He expected to have made an easy Conquest of the *Consular* Army, when disordered with the Difficulties of passing the River, and climbing up the steep Banks, which surrounded it. And he would perhaps have found the *Roman* Infantry in Confusion, had not *Lævinus*'s Cavalry covered them, and stood their Ground, between the *Legions* and the *Epirotæ*. But the Cavalry engaged there, and gave the *Roman* Infantry time to form themselves. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* drew up his Men, as fast as they came from the Camp; and returning to the Battel, performed wonderful Feats of Valour. He was known by the Richness of his Dress, and of his Arms; but more, by his Courage and Presence of Mind. He fought like a Soldier, and directed every thing like a great General, at the same time. When the Action grew warm, he minded nothing but fighting; then grew cool all on a sudden, and gave his Orders, with great Composure. He was always Master of himself, and with an Air of Confidence in his Countenance, not to be described, seemed to make both acting and commanding, but a Diversion. In one Word, *Pyrrhus* appeared to the *Romans*, in this first Action, to deserve all the Reputation he had acquired; and his Valour raised their Emulation. Among the rest, one of the *Tarentini* who commanded a Body of his Countrymen, seemed to be desperately bent against *Pyrrhus* himself. He followed him wherever he went, and regulated his Motions by the King's, in order to come up with him and engage him. *Leonatus* the *Epirot* perceived this, and informed the King of it; who answered, *We cannot resist our Fate; but no Man shall attack me to Day with Impunity.* This said, *Oplacus* (which was the Officer's Name) immediately came up to him, and run the King's Horse through with his Lance. *Leonatus*, in his Turn, stabbed *Oplacus*'s Horse with a Javelin, and both the King and *Roman* Officer fell. But *Oplacus* was immediately covered with Wounds, and left dead upon the Place; whilst *Pyrrhus* was soon taken up by his Troops, and remounted.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. Valerius] Lævinus, Tib. Coruncanius, Consuls. *Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.*

Then, this Battel between the Cavalry only, brought on a general Action. *Pyrrhus* hastened to his Infantry, to bring them to the Engagement; but took two Precautions, before he begun it. He first shewed himself to his Army, who thought

this Robbery gave Birth to the War the Republick had with them and *Pyrrhus*. Nor does *Eutropius* inform us better, when he fixes the Rupture with the *Tarentini*, to the time that the *Gauls* were defeated by the *Consul Cornelius Dolabella*. Nevertheless, he seems to agree with *Zonaras*, who tells us, that the *Tarentini* then entered into a League with the *Gauls*, *Hetrurians*, and other Enemies of the *Romans*. *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 17. fixes the War with *Pyrrhus* to the Year 470; which agrees with *Eutropius*, if we suppose, that by the War with *Tarentum*, and that with *Pyrrhus*, they meant the same thing. And *Pliny* seems to be of the same Opinion, when he says, after *Cornelius Nepos*, that the Houses in *Rome* were covered with Shingles, till the Year 470; when the Republick was at War with the King of *Epirus*. But besides, that the *Fasti Capitolini*, date Facts a Year earlier, than *Pliny* does; it is certain, the *Tarentini* declared War against *Rome*, before they had recourse to *Pyrrhus*. And consequently, we cannot confound the beginning of the *Roman* War with *Tarentum*, and of that with *Pyrrhus*; without destroying the Order of the *Consular* Years. Besides, we have *Pausanias*'s Authority for us. He says, in his *Atticks*, that *Pyrrhus* transported his Army into *Italy* in the second Year of the War with *Tarentum*, Nay *Pliny* himself declares for this Opinion, *B.* 8. *c.* 6. where he says, that Elephants were first seen in *Italy*, in the War the *Romans* had with *Pyrrhus*, in the Year 472. The War with *Tarentum* had therefore preceded that with *Pyrrhus*, at least one Year. In order to reconcile the Historians, it must be said, That the *Roman* Fleet was plundered by the *Tarentini*, about the Year of *Rome* 470: That the next Year, the *Roman* Ambassadors were insulted at *Tarentum*: That in the Year 472, *Lucius Æmilius* the *Consul* had the Command of the *Roman* Army, which acted against the *Tarentini*; and consequently, That *Pyrrhus* begun his War in *Italy*, in the Year 473.

74 We cannot help observing *Florus*'s Mistake, here. He says, that the King of *Epirus* fought the *Romans* near *Heraclea*, on the Banks of the *Liris*, a River in *Campania*. *Apud Heracleam, & Campaniæ Fluvium Lirim, Lævino Consule prima pugna. l.* 1. *c.* 8. It is certain, as *Salmatius* has very well observed, in his Notes on this Author, That *Heraclea* was not in *Campania*; and That *Florus* confounded the *Liris*, with the *Siris*. The former was in the Country of the *Volsci*; the latter in *Lucania*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

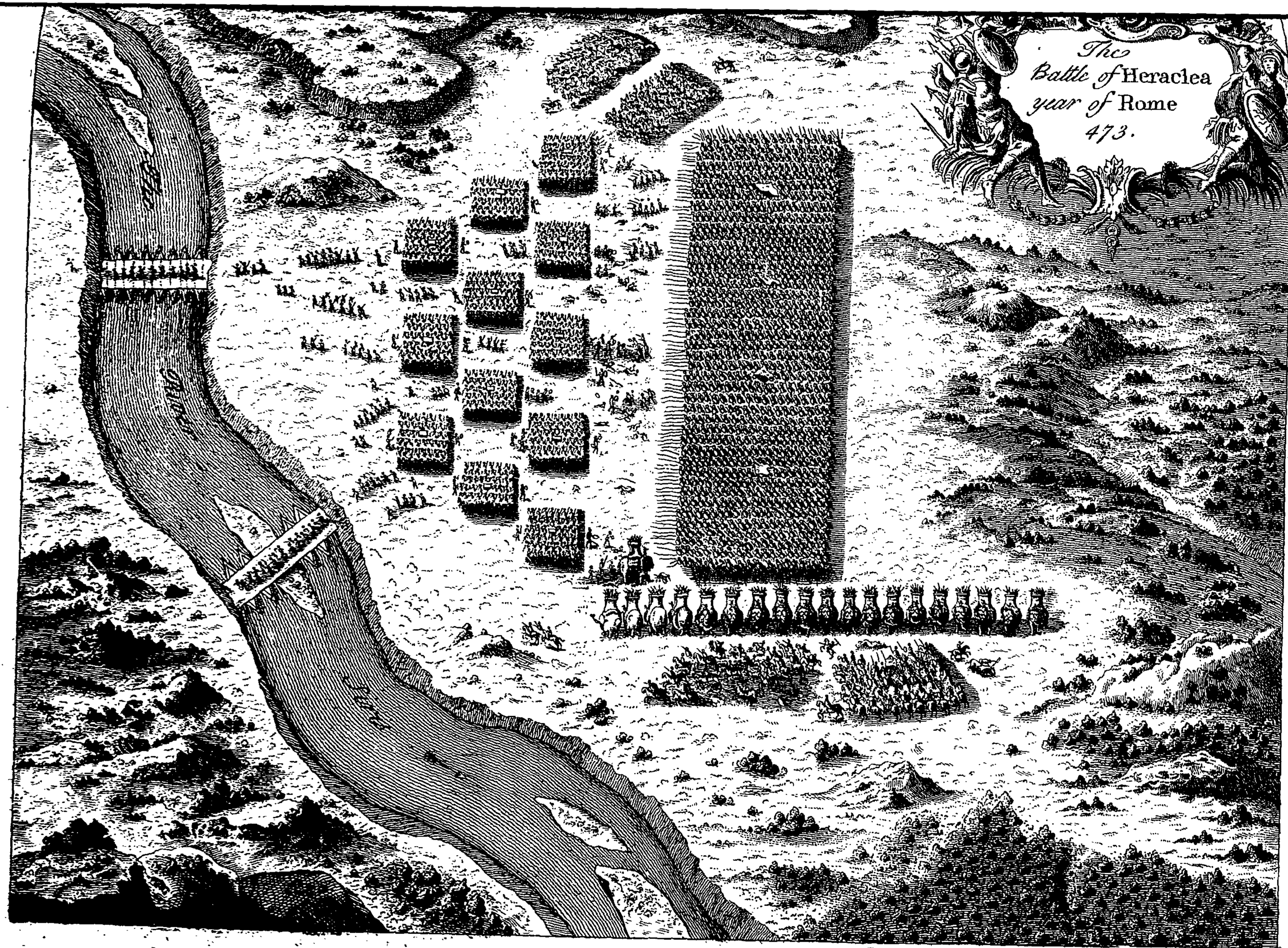
him killed; and then that he might not be ſo well known by the Enemy, changed his Habit and Helmet, with *Megacles*. Thus diſguiſed he marched towards the *Romans*, who came to meet him. *Lævinus* did not indeed ſhine like *Pyrrhus;* but he was a General of ſolid Merit, and a Man of true *Roman* Valour. He led up his *Legions* againſt the *Phalanx* of the *Epirotæ*. The Onſet was vigorous, and the Victory warmly diſputed. The *Romans* gave Way to their Enemies ſeven times; and as oft ſaw the *Epirotæ* turn their Backs. Yet ſtill the Generals rallied them, and brought them again to the Charge. *Megacles*, who was in *Pyrrhus*'s Dreſs and Helmet, was in all Places, and very well ſupported the Character he had aſſumed. But his Diſguiſe proved fatal to him. Some brave *Romans* taking him for the King, made it their chief Buſineſs to watch his Motions, and waited an Opportunity to engage him; and at length he fell by the Hands of a *Roman Knight*, named *Dexter*, who ſtruck him dead at one Blow. The Knight immediately ſtripped him of his Helmet and Arms, which he carried in Triumph to the *Conſul;* and this odd Adventure, had like to have loſt *Pyrrhus* the Battel. The *Romans* ſhewed the *Epirotæ* the Spoils of their King, which was enough to diſcourage them. They were already thinking of a Retreat, when *Pyrrhus* appeared, in the firſt Files of the *Phalanx*. He ran through all the Lines bare-headed, and put a Stop to the Fright of his Troops. The ſight of their King, revived their Hopes of Victory; and they fought with more Reſolution than ever. Nevertheleſs, the Advantage ſeemed to be pretty equal on both ſides, when *Lævinus* thought fit to order his Horſe to advance. They had begun the Battel, and were to end it. Whilſt the *Roman* Infantry only engaged, the *Roman* Squadrons did not continue poſted in the two Wings, as uſual. *Lævinus* had ordered them to conceal themſelves under Cover; and upon the firſt Signal, come and fall upon the Enemy in the Rear. This was the only imprudent Step that can be laid to the *Conſul*'s Charge. But how could he imagine, that the Elephants, whoſe Uſe and Qualities he did not underſtand, would put his Horſe to the Rout?

Solinus, c. 24. As ſoon as the *Roman* Cavalry appeared, *Pyrrhus* ordered his Elephants to advance, which he had reſerved for his laſt Reſource. The huge Creatures moved forward againſt the *Roman* Squadrons, and ſheltered the *Epirot* Army with their great Bodies. They carried Towers on their Backs, which were full of Bow-men; twenty of theſe Creatures, well diſciplined, made a large Front; and the Sight was inexpreſſibly terrifying. It muſt be owned, that the ſight of theſe terrible Monſters, which they had never before ſeen, chilled the Bravery of the *Romans*. And what was ſtill worſe, the Horſes could not bear the Smell of them, and were frighted with their ſtrange Noiſes. They took Head, threw their Riders, ran away full Stretch, and carried ſome of their Riders to a great Diſtance. The Archers wounded ſome of the fugitive *Romans* with their Darts, from the Towers, which theſe Beaſts carried: And others were trodden to pieces under their Feet. Yet ſtill *Lævinus*'s Infantry made a pretty good Appearance, and the *Legionaries* kept their Ranks. Till at length, *Pyrrhus*, in order to break them, marched a Body of *Theſſalian* Horſe againſt them, which was his laſt Stroke, and it was deciſive. The *Romans* gave Way, and retired in Diſorder: And their Defeat had been entire, had not *Pyrrhus* reſtrained the Ardour of his Troops. It was his Maxim not to puſh Enemies to Extremity; knowing that they often find Remedies in a Rout, which do the Conquerors great Miſchief. Beſides, an Accident which intervened, checked the *Epirotæ*. A *Roman* Soldier, named *Minucius*, wounded one of their Elephants, and cut off his Trunk, with his Sword. The furious Beaſt made a great roaring, and running about, in ſpight of his Guide, cauſed a great Diſorder in the *Epirot* Army. This unforeſeen Accident favoured the Retreat of the *Romans*, and gave them time to repaſs the River, in order to take Refuge in *Apulia*. A City, whoſe Name the Hiſtorians have not given us, opened its Gates, and afforded them a Retreat. It is not exactly known, what the Number of the Dead was on either ſide; the Hiſtorians giving us very different Computations. But it ſeems moſt probable, 75 that the *Romans* loſt 14880 Men, upon the Spot; and *Pyrrhus* little leſs than 13000. It muſt be granted, that the

Eutropius B. 2. and Oroſius B. 4. c. 2.

75 According to *Plutarch*, *Dion. Hal.* made the Loſs of the *Romans* in this firſt Battel to amount to near fifteen thouſand Men; but *Hieronymus* quoted by the ſame Hiſtorian, reduced it to ſeven thouſand. The former makes *Pyrrhus*'s Loſs to have been thirteen thouſand Men, killed upon the Spot; the latter, but four thouſand.

The Battle of Heraclea year of Rome 473.



T. V. Bt. Cruchet Sculp.

Honour of the Day was wholly gained by the brave King of *Epirus*. He was Master of the Field of Battel, and had the Pleaſure to ſee the *Romans* fly before him. But after all, his Victory coſt him dear. He had the Mortification to find that a great Number of his beſt Friends, and beſt Troops, were loſt in the Battel; and he did not diſſemble it. He was heard to ſay, after the Action was over, *That he was both Conqueror, and conquered. Why conquered*, replied his Soldiers? *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *if I gain* [76] *ſuch another Victory, I muſt return to* Epirus, *almoſt alone.* And therefore, when he came to hang up the Spoils he had taken from the Enemy, in the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Tarentum*, he ordered this memorable Inſcription to be put upon them, in Verſe: *Great God! I have conquered an unconquerable People, but vanquiſhed as they are, I acknowledge they are Victors!* Indeed, the *Romans* had an inexhauſtible Fund of Soldiers in their City, and among their Allies, wherewith to repair their Loſſes; but *Pyrrhus* was far from *Epirus*, and the Tranſportation of Troops over Seas, is always difficult.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls. *Plut. Life of Pyrrhus. Oroſius B. 4. c. 1.*

HOWEVER, the *Epirot* underſtood the Art of War too well, not to make Advantage of his Victory. His firſt Care was to bury the Dead, with which the Plain was covered: And he made no Difference in the Funeral Honours he paid his own Men, and thoſe he gave the *Romans*. Inſpecting the Bodies of the latter, he found, That none of them had received any diſhonourable Wounds: That they all fell in the Poſts aſſigned them: That they ſtill held their Swords in their Hands, though they were dead; and That Fury was painted upon their Faces. And then he uttered thoſe famous Words: *O that* Pyrrhus *had* Romans *for his Soldiers; or the* Romans Pyrrhus *for their Leader! Together we ſhould ſubdue the whole World.* This great General had taken the *Roman* Camp, and made about 1800 Priſoners of War. He ſpared no Motive to engage them to ſerve in his Troops; but gave them no ill Treatment for their Refuſal. He eſteemed them for their Conſtancy, and leſſened the Hardſhips of their Captivity, as much as he could. But at the ſame time, he broke into all the Countries in Alliance with the *Romans*, like a Torrent. Many Cities ſurrendered to the Conqueror, and the Dominion of the *Romans* tottered, after this ſingle Defeat. The Lands of the Republick were pillaged, and the *Epirot* made Incurſions even into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*.

Eutropius and *Florus.*

Dio. apud Vales.

§. XVI. *LÆVINUS*, on the other hand, did not tarry long in *Apulia*. The Anger of Heaven ſeemed to purſue him, even to the Place of his Retreat. A Company of Soldiers went out to forrage, and were ſuddenly overtaken by a violent Storm of Thunder and Lightning. Four and thirty of them were killed upon the Spot, and two and twenty left half dead. Many of the Horſes likewiſe were ſtruck dead with the Lightning; and the greateſt part of them were diſperſed, or carried away. Nevertheleſs, all theſe ſeeming Signs of the Anger of the Gods, againſt this wiſe General, made no Alteration in the *Romans* with Regard to him, as ſuperſtitious as they were. They might have recalled him, or obliged him to nominate a *Dictator*. But the Republick knew how to do him Juſtice, and make a Difference between Generals, conquered through their own Faults, and one whom unexpected Accidents had forced to ſubmit to the Fortune of War. *Lævinus* was pitied at *Rome*; and his Loſſes were repaired with new Levies. The Senate had no Regard to the Sarcaſm of the wiſe *Fabricius*, *That the King of* Epirus *had conquered* Lævinus; *but the* Epirotæ *had not conquered the* Romans. This ſeemed to be demanding a new General; but the Republick would not caſt a Blemiſh upon a brave Man, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe he had been unſucceſsful. And indeed *Lævinus* plainly ſhewed, during the reſt of the Campaign, that true Merit can furniſh Expedients in Diſtreſs. The *Conſul* took great Care to dreſs his Wounded, aſſembled his ſcattered Troops in a Camp, and as ſoon as he had received the Reinforcement of two *Legions*, which were ſent him from *Rome*, he began to move. His Deſign was to ſtop *Pyrrhus* in his Career; to follow cloſe after him wherever he went; to harraſs, fight, and conquer him in his Turn; or at leaſt to force him to leave the Centre of *Italy*, and retire to *Tarentum*; and he partly ſucceeded in it.

Oroſius B. 4. c. 1.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

PYRRHUS was poſted in *Campania*, and ſubſiſted his Troops at the Expence of the *Romans*, in one of the moſt fruitful Provinces in their Dominions. There,

[76] *Plutarch* applies *Pyrrhus*'s Saying, *Such another Victory will undo us*, to his ſecond Battel with the *Romans*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII.
P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.
Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

near *Heraclea*, he received the Reinforcements he had ſo long expected from his Allies; and which had born no part in the Battel he had gained. In ſhort, the *Sammites*, *Lucani*, and *Meſſapians* joined him. They had perhaps prolonged their Departure till after *Pyrrhus*'s firſt Victory, as thinking that they might then enter into Engagements with him, with the more Safety. The King received them graciouſly. The ſlight manner in which he reproached them for their Delays, plainly ſhewed them the ſecret Pleaſure he had, that he had conquered without them. He even gave the New-comers their Share of the Spoils he had taken from the Enemy. This engaging and polite Behaviour of *Pyrrhus*, was partly the Effect of his natural Diſpoſition and Education, and partly flowed from an Ambition, conducted by Prudence. His Deſign was to gain their Hearts, in order to conquer their Country. His immediate view was to take *Naples* and *Capua*, before he beſieged *Rome*. But *Lævinus*'s ſudden Appearance ſomewhat diſconcerted his Meaſures. Juſt as he was ready to make himſelf Maſter of *Capua*, that General prevented him. *Lævinus* marched thither, left
Zon. B. 8. c. 4. ſome Troops in it, and thereby guarded it againſt a Siege. From thence *Pyrrhus* turned to *Naples;* but the *Neapolitans* were upon their Guard; and the Nearneſs of the *Roman* Army, kept up their Courage. Then *Pyrrhus* marched away, all on a ſudden, towards *Rome*, by 77 *The Latin Way*. He took *Fregellæ*, as he paſſed; and keeping along by the Borders of 78 *Anagnia*, he marched through the Country of
Florus B. 8. the *Hernici*, and came and ſate down before *Præneſte*, a fortified City, guarded by a flouriſhing Youth. There, from the Top of a Mountain, *Pyrrhus* had a ſight of *Rome;* and as he was very near it, he in his march drove a Cloud of Duſt to the Capital, which was all the Harm he did it. Indeed, upon barely ſeeing *Rome*, *Pyrrhus* deſpaired of taking it. The *Conſul Coruncanius* had then juſt paſſed the *Tyber*, after having ſubdued *Hetruria*, and forced it into an Alliance with *Rome;* and he came to meet the *Epirot*, whilſt *Lævinus* followed them in the Rear. Being therefore deprived of all Hopes of bringing the *Hetrurians* into his Intereſt, and being inveſted by two *Conſular* Armies, the King had nothing to do, but to return into *Campania;* and how great muſt his Surpriſe have been to find *Lævinus* there, with a more numerous Army, than that which he had vanquiſhed, on the Banks of the *Siris*?
Zonaras and *Florus*, &c. He cried out, *I was born under the ſame Conſtellation as* Hercules. *I here have to do with an* Hydra, *whoſe Heads grow up again, as faſt as I cut them off.* This *Pyrrhus* ſaid, at the ſight of the *Roman* Army, which the *Conſul* had drawn up in Battalia to try the Fate of another Battel; which the King, on his part, would not decline. All Things were ready, and the Armies drawn up, and waiting only for the Signal
Zon. B. 8. c. 4. when *Pyrrhus*, to ſtrike Terror into the *Roman Legions*, ordered his Soldiers to beat their Bucklers with their Lances, and the Conductors of his Elephants to make them cry out. But this Noiſe of the *Epirotæ* was returned with ſo terrible and unanimous a Shout, by the *Romans*, that *Pyrrhus* himſelf was affrighted at it. He thought ſo much Alacrity on the part of the Vanquiſhed, too ſure a Prognoſtick of Victory to them; and being an excellent Judge of the proper Seaſons for Action, thought it no adviſeable to give Battel. He pretended, That the *Auguries* were not favourable, and That it was dangerous, to undertake any Thing, againſt the Will of the Gods. In all Probability, *Pyrrhus* then loſt all Hopes of ſubduing the *Romans*: But be that as it will, he now made no farther Attempts, but put an end to the Campaign, and returned to *Tarentum*. As for *Lævinus*, he did not perſiſt in forcing the King to give him Battel; it was enough for him, that he had with a good Grace offered to fight, which he might have been neceſſarily obliged to do.

PYRRHUS was no ſooner arrived at *Tarentum*, but *Lævinus* and *Coruncanius* returned to *Rome*. The ill Succeſs *Lævinus* had had in the Battel of *Heraclea*, would not ſuffer the People and Senate to decree him a Triumph; but they were not

77 *The Latin Way* began at *Rome*, near *The Latin Gate*, led to *Latium*, ran South-Eaſt, almoſt to the City of *Caſſinum*, nineteen *Stadia* from *Capua*. There it joined *The Appian Way*, as we learn from *Strabo*. *Martial* calls this Road the *Latin Way*, and *The Auſonian Way*. See Epigr. 65, and 108, of B. 9.

78 *Anagnia* was the Capital of the Territory of the *Hernici*, which is now a part of the *Compagna di Roma*. *Virgil* ſpeaks of it, *Æneid 7.* as a City famous for its Riches. *Quos dives Anagnia paſcit.* *Strabo* ſays, it was a conſiderable City, in Latium πόλις ἀξιολόγος. *Cicero*, *pro Domo ſua*, ranks it among the *Municipia*; and *Frontinus* tells us, it became a *Roman Colony*; Whilſt *Feſtus* gives it the Title of a *Præfecture*. That is to ſay, it underwent ſeveral Changes at different times. In the ancient *Itineraries*, that part of *The Latin Way* which led to *Anagnia*, is called *Compitum Anagninum*; where the little City of *Caſtel-Matteo* now ſtands.

unjuſt to him, as to treat him like a contemptible Officer. As for *Coruncanius*, he entered *Rome* 79 in Triumph, on *The Calends of February*. How great muſt have been the Satisfaction of the *Romans*, to have had ſo noble a Victory to reward, in ſuch perillous Times! That of *Coruncanius* was an important, and a complete one; his Campaign may be ſaid to have been deciſive. The greateſt Nation in *Italy*, thoſe formidable *Hetrurians*, who had declared themſelves Rivals to the *Romans*, from the very Foundation of their City, had at laſt ſubmitted. They had abſolutely given themſelves to the *Romans*, at a time when moſt of their Allies were inclined to deſert them. This is a memorable Event, which the Hiſtorians paſs ſlightly over; but we have an unanſwerable Proof of the Surrendry of *Hetruria;* which is the Oblivion into which the *Hetrurians* ſunk, after *Coruncanius* had given them this Blow. Nothing more is ſaid of their Wars with *Rome*, in a national Capacity; when they were once ſubdued, they very ſeldom ſwerved from their Fidelity. Another Triumph alſo, gave *Rome* great Joy, and, in ſome meaſure, repaired her Loſſes. *Æmilius*, ſurnamed *Barbula*, a *Proconſul*, had reduced the 80 *Salentini*, a People of *Meſſapia*, in Alliance with the *Tarentini*, with the ſame Army, he had ſucceſsfully led againſt the *Samnites* and *Tarentini*, in his *Conſulſhip*, the Year before. He had beaten the *Salentini*, and prevented their going over to *Pyrrhus*, and the *Romans* joined the Exploits of both Years together, to reward him for them, with one 81 Triumph. Or perhaps, it was the Policy of *Rome*, to let all *Italy* ſee that ſhe had maintained her Ground; and that her Generals had, in ſeveral Places, merited Triumphs, ſince the Arrival of the *Epirotæ*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

Tab. Triumphal.

§. XVII. *PYRRHUS*, continuing quiet at *Tarentum*, had time to reflect on the Valour and Conduct of the *Romans;* and theſe doubtleſs made him ſenſible, that the War in which he was embarked might end in his Ruin or Diſgrace. He, from that time, was deſirous of finiſhing it; but in an honourable manner: And it was therefore very acceptable News to him, that the *Romans* had determined in their Senate, to ſend an honourable Embaſſy to him. The *Conſcript Fathers* had at laſt reſolved, though not without ſome Difficulty, to demand of *Pyrrhus*, the Priſoners he had taken, in the Battel. The greateſt part of them were *Roman Knights*, Men of Diſtinction in the Republick; and the Motive which induced the Senate to take this Step, was, that theſe brave Men had begun the Battel like Heroes, and when they were ready to put an end to it, to the Honour of *Rome*, ſtrange Animals had affrighted their Horſes. So that theſe valiant Men were unfortunate, but not blameable. Beſides, they did not ſend their Deputation to the *Tarentini*, but to King *Pyrrhus;* from whom the *Romans* expected a civil Reception, and were no longer apprehenſive of the Inſults of a mad Populace. Three 82 Men of diſtinguiſhed Merit were pitched upon for the Embaſſy. The firſt was, that *Cornelius Dolabella*, who was famous for his Defeat of the *Senones;* and the other two, the virtuous *Fabricius*, and his old Collegue, *Æmilius Papus*, who had been *Conſuls* together, two Years before. The King of *Epirus* heard the News of this ſolemn Deputation with Pleaſure. As he loved to flatter himſelf, and our Imaginations readily incline us to believe what we wiſh, *Pyrrhus* took it for granted, that the true Intent of this Deputation was to deſire a Peace of him. He would have been tranſported beyond Meaſure, to have ſeen

Zonaras, and *Val. Max. B.* 5. *c.* 1. *Exter.* 3.

79 *Coruncanius*'s Triumph is no where recorded, but in the *Capitoline Marbles*. On them we find the Inſcription, TI. CORUNCANIUS TI. F. T.N. AN. CDLXXIII. DE VVLSINENSIBUS ET VVLCIENTIB. K. FEB. That is, *Tiberius Coruncanius, the Son of* Tiberius, *and Grandſon of* Tiberius, *triumphed over the* Volſinienſes, *and* Volſcientes, *on the Kalends of* February, *the Year of* Rome 473. We have already ſpoken of the *Volſinienſes*, whoſe Territory was one of the twelve Cantons of *Hetruria*; and as for the Volſcientes, who were alſo a People of *Tuſcany*, Cluverius, *B.* 2. *p.* 514. *Of Ancient Italy*, places them in a Canton, in which ſtood an ancient City, which *Ptolomy* calls Οὐλκοι, VOLCI; beyond *Rutuli*, and the River *Umbro*, now the *Ombrone*, near Roſa, now called *Lancodonia*, which belonged to the *Volſcientes*, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *c.* 5. *Coſa Lucania Voltientium a populo Romano deducta.* This is which gave them the Name of *Volſcientes*, ſeems to be the ſame which the *Abridger of Stephens* calls *Olcium*, Ὄυλκιον πόλις τυρρηνίας.

80 See what we have already ſaid of the *Salentini*, and of *Meſſapia*.

81 They fix the *Proconſul Æmilius*'s Triumph to *The Sixth of the Ides of July*; that is, the tenth of that Month. *Zonaras* does not mention the Honours *Rome* did this General; but at the ſame time confeſſes, that this great Man, filled the whole Country with Terror and Deſolation, quite to the Gates of *Tarentum*.

82 Authors differ about the Time when this Embaſſy was ſent. Some ſay *Fabricius* was ſent to *Pyrrhus*, before *Cyneas* came to *Rome*. Others poſtpone this Deputation, till after the latter returned to the King of *Epirus*. *Pliny*, *B.* 34. *c.* 6. declares for the former Opinion: *Plutarch* for the latter. And it is not eaſy to determine which is right, when the Authorities on which both are built are ſo equal.

Rome

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. in Legat.

Rome at his Feet, in a ſuppliant manner; and his Ambition would have been fully ſatisfied, could he have ſaid to theſe haughty Republicans, *I grant you Peace.* In full Expectation of this, he gave the Ambaſſadors a magnificent Reception. In order to do them Honour, he ſent *Lycon* the *Moloſſian* to wait for them on the Frontiers of *Tarentum*, with a Guard. The King himſelf went without the Gates of the City, to meet them, received them with ſingular Demonſtrations of Good-will, and appointed them ſtately Lodgings, with all the Accommodations of an agreeable Hoſpitality. When they were admitted to Audience, they made a Speech to the King, which chiefly turned, on the Viciſſitude of human Affairs, and the Diſtruſt we ought always to have in times of Proſperity. In this they had a double Meaning; and gave the King to underſtand, not only that they had experienced the Capriciouſneſs of Fortune, but that he had Reaſon to fear it. The proper Buſineſs of their Embaſſy, was only, *To demand a Surrender of the Priſoners, either by way of Exchange, or for ſuch a Ranſom* per *Head, as ſhould be agreed on. Pyrrhus* expected ſomething more; but did not diſcover his Thoughts. He only anſwered, that he would conſider of it, and let them know his Pleaſure.

ACCORDINGLY, he aſſembled his Council; and his chief Confidents were divided in Opinion. *Milo*, who commanded in the Citadel of *Tarentum*, was for coming to no Compoſition with the *Romans*, but was for puſhing them to Extremity, till they were utterly reduced. *Cyneas* was of a contrary Opinion. *It is no eaſy Matter*, ſaid he, *to ſubdue, or ſo much as to intimidate the* Roman *Republick. Her late Misfortunes furniſh Proofs of her Conſtancy, under the greateſt Afflictions. Any other Enemy would have given us ſome Advantage over them, either by a Diſſolution of Manners, or want of Bravery.* Rome *alone is not to be biaſſed by Intereſt, or ſubdued by Arms. The ſafeſt Way is to bring her to a Peace, not very diſadvantageous to her, or diſhonourable to our ſelves. Our proper Method of reconciling her to us, with Honour, is to ſend back her Captives without a Ranſom, and immediately to diſpatch an Embaſſy to the Republick, to treat with the Senate, about a laſting Peace, on juſt Terms. This will convince all Mankind, that our Generoſity was our only Motive, to lay down our Arms, and that we did not leave off fighting, till we had conquered.* *Cyneas* had diſcovered *Pyrrhus*'s Inclinations; and his Opinion was ſuitable to the natural Inconſtancy of this Prince. His Advice was therefore approved; and he himſelf appointed to undertake the Embaſſy. After theſe Reſolutions, the King ordered the Ambaſſadors to be brought into his Preſence, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner. *The Money you offer for the Ranſom of the Priſoners, is no manner of Temptation to me. I have Riches enough, to ſpare you ſome of them; and deſire nothing of you but your Friendſhip. Would it not then be the higheſt Ingratitude in you, to employ thoſe Soldiers againſt me, which I freely reſtore you? Can you ſo far abuſe my Favours as to make them the Means of my Deſtruction? Let them rather put an end to our Enmity, and be a means to ſettle a firm Union between us; and let it not be ſaid that* Pyrrhus *furniſhed you with Hands to fight againſt himſelf; but with Mouths to declare, that he prefers Peace to Victory!*

§. XVIII. THE King of *Epirus* pronounced theſe Words with a gracious Air; and then deſired a private Conference with *Fabricius.* The Reputation of this great Man had even reached the Enemy; and *Pyrrhus* was reſolved to know his Virtue, ſift it throughly, and put it to all Trials. We have collected this Converſation, from the ſeveral Authors, who have recorded ſome one part of it, and ſome another; according as they learnt it from Tradition. *I have declared to your Collegues,* ſays the King *to Fabricius, the Regard I have for the* Romans *in general, and my Inclinations to become their Friend. But I muſt confeſs to you, that I have more Reſpect for* Fabricius, *than for the reſt of his fellow-Citizens. Is it poſſible, that a wealthy Republick ſhould ſuffer you to drag on an unhappy Life, in Poverty? I will never ſuffer Virtue to be obſcure and deſpiſed, for its Indigence. It is an Act worthy of my Station, to reſcue great Men from the Reproaches and Contempt of Poverty. I offer you any Money that is neceſſary to give your Philoſophy all the Luſtre it deſerves. I ſhall hereby make a Preſent to the Gods, more acceptable than thoſe with which their Sanctuaries are adorned. Nor do you imagine it to be a diſhonourable thing, to receive from the Hands of a Friend ſome ſlight Proofs of a ſincere Affection. I don't pretend to corrupt your Fidelity, or draw you off from your Country's Intereſt by my Preſents. All the return I expect from you is, that you would conſult the Welfare of* Rome, *by engaging her to conclude a p*

Dion. Hal. in Legat.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls. *Appian* and *Dionyſ.*

a perpetual Peace with me. I cannot be ſatisfied to continue at Enmity with a People whom I eſteem. I know that you Republicans are brought up with a Hatred to Kings. But if the bad Conduct of ſome Princes have given you a diſlike to Monarchy; yet at leaſt have ſo much Moderation, as not to extend your Hatred to all Monarchs. They are not all ſo perfidious, as to have no Regard to the Faith of Treaties; or ſo blindly devoted to their Intereſt, as to forego all Regard to Honour and Honeſty for the ſake of a preſent Advantage. Indeed I frankly own to you, I have a farther Deſign upon you, which is, when a Peace is once concluded, to prevail on you, to go with me to Epirus. *You ſhall there be my firſt Miniſter, and ſhare my Riches with me, and the Command of my Armies. What greater Happineſs can a King deſire, than to be ſure that he has found a wiſe Miniſter, who is at the ſame time a ſincere and generous Friend!*

THUS ſpake the *Epirot;* whom *Fabricius* heard without interrupting him, and then replied thus. *What,* Pyrrhus, *do you eſteem my Virtue, and yet think your ſelf able to corrupt it? If I am ſo great a Philoſopher as you ſuppoſe, can I accept of your Preſents? Or if I were baſe enough to accept them, could I then deſerve them? You ſay you have nothing in view, but a Peace: and herein I commend your Wiſdom. And if your Propoſals be at all advantageous to us, I promiſe you my Intereſt and Protection, to get them accepted. But why do you caſt it as a Reproach on my Republick, that I am ſuffered to continue poor?* Rome *knows that it is what I like, and what I chuſe. I enjoy more Happineſs in cultivating my little Patrimony with my own Hands, than* Pyrrhus *does in the midſt of all his Treaſures. My Frugality, and the Moderation of my Deſires, make my Wants fewer than yours. A little Nook of Land is ſufficient, both to ſupport and ſatisfy me. Whilſt all* Epirus *is not enough to content* Pyrrhus. *Your boundleſs Deſires fill you with endleſs Diſquietudes; I enjoy the moſt perfect Tranquillity, in the meaneſt Circumſtances. Ambition makes you always poor; and Poverty itſelf makes me rich. My Appetite is quickened by the Frugality of my Table. But what am I ſaying? What an abundant Amends has* Rome *made me, for my Neglect of Wealth and Plenty? How has ſhe loaded me with Honours, even to Profuſeneſs, Conſulſhips, Embaſſies, important Negotiations, and the Command of Armies? I am well heard in the Senate; and my Advice is taken. I am honoured in the City, and am every where mentioned, as a Pattern for Modeſty and Temperance. In publick Employments, I have enough to Support my Character and Dignity; not indeed out of my own private Purſe, but out of the publick Treaſury. Our Laws are not like yours. With you; no Riches, no Honours. With us; Wealth is very rarely a Step to great Dignities. Being therefore, as a private Man, content with the little I poſſeſs; and having the Bounties of the State, to ſupport me in publick Stations, have I any Reaſon to complain? The Gods have frequently put it in my Power to become rich. I have taken Cities, won Battels, laid Countries waſte, and taken Spoils from the Enemy: and have given all the Advantages of theſe Things to the Republick. I have paid no leſs than four hundred Talents into the Treaſury, which were the Fruits of my own Labours and Victories. And can I after this find it any difficult Matter to refuſe your Preſents? Shall I put my ſelf under Engagements to you, which common Gratitude will oblige me to perform? If my Probity did not reſtrain my Avarice, yet at leaſt, the Fear of our* Cenſors *would deter me from indulging it.* Rome *never ſuffers her Subjects to enter into Engagements with her Enemies, with Impunity.*

Zonar. B. 8.

Dion. Hal. in Legationibus.

PYRRHUS ſtill preſſed the *Roman,* and offered him a fourth part of his Dominions; but he anſwered, *You don't conſider, Sir, what you offer. Should I ſhare your Crown with you, my Sincerity would never ſuffer you to be at reſt, even upon your Throne; and the Severity of my Manners, would make my Court more numerous than yours. A Subject, who is revered and loved by the People, often gives the Sovereign himſelf Uneaſineſs.*

PYRRHUS was ſurprized at this firſt Conference, but not wholly diſcouraged. He invited *Fabricius* to a ſecond Interview, the next Day, and then changed his Conduct. He had at firſt endeavoured to tempt him with Promiſes; and now tried to intimidate him with his Threatnings. And in order to know whether he was ſuſceptible of Fear, he made uſe of this Stratagem to frighten him. The Hall where they met was ſo contrived, that an Elephant was placed in one part of it, behind a Curtain, which hid him. *Fabricius* had never ſeen one; and as the King was taking a Turn or two in the Hall with him, when the *Roman* came within the Elephant's Reach, the Curtain was drawn all on a ſudden. The Elephant was at the ſame time

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. Valerius Lævinus, Tib. Coruncanius, Conſuls.

made to cry out very loud, and the monſtrous Beaſt laid his Trunk on *Fabricius*'s Head. But the *Roman* calmly ſaid, without any Concern; *Does the Great King, who could not ſtagger me Yeſterday with his Preſents, think to frighten me to Day, with the Cry of a Beaſt?* And the intrepid Philoſopher continued his Diſcourſe, without vouchſafing to take any Notice of the frightful Object before him. *Pyrrhus* was aſtoniſhed at his immoveable Conſtancy, and obliged *Fabricius* to ſtay, and ſit down at his Table with him. The Converſation turned upon ſerious Subjects, particularly the *Epicurean* Philoſophy; and then it was that *Fabricius* gave the King the Anſwer beforementioned: *O that* Pyrrhus, *had placed his Happineſs in the boaſted* [83] *Indolence of* Epicurus, *both for* Rome's *ſake, and his own!*

§. XIX. Every thing that *Pyrrhus* heard and ſaw of the *Romans*, increaſed his Earneſtneſs for Peace. And it muſt be granted, that the Republick then abounded with Men, whoſe Virtue was ſuperior to that of the ſeven Sages, whom the *Greeks* had ſo much admired. There ſeemed to be an Emulation between the Great Men in *Rome*, who ſhould excel in Magnanimity, Diſintereſtedneſs, Conſtancy, Moderation, and in ſhort, in all military and civil Virtues. But though Rivals in Wiſdom, they lived in perfect Concord among one another; the Love of their Country, was the common Tie which united all their Hearts. *Curius*, *Fabricius*, *Coruncanius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, were all intimate. So that *Pyrrhus* plainly ſaw, he could neither corrupt nor diſunite theſe ſteady Men; and perhaps he thought it of little Conſequence to conquer them once or twice. *At the long run*, ſaid he, *their Perſeverance will get the better of my Skill.* And the *Epirot* even promiſed himſelf too much, in imagining, that he ſhould preſerve the Advantage he had over the *Romans*, in all his future Battels. All theſe Conſiderations therefore made him reſolve to treat this venerable Republick with Reſpect. He ſent for the three Ambaſſadors, releaſed to them two hundred Priſoners without Ranſom; and to crown all, ſuffered the reſt of the

83 *Epicurus* founded all Morality on Pain and Pleaſure. He contended that the Avoidance of the one, or Purſuit of the other, were the only Motives of all human Actions. He made all the Views of Men to terminate in theſe, as the Foundations of their Happineſs. For according to this Philoſopher, the Abſence of Pain, is a part of the *ſummum bonum*, or chief Good. It was natural enough for an impious Man to reaſon thus, who made the Soul to be a Compoſition of material Atoms, and conſequently ranked it among mortal and periſhable Subſtances. *Cicero* undertakes to prove the Falſhood of this Opinion, in his Dialogues *Of Good and Evil. Torquatus*, one of the Speakers, a zealous *Epicurean*, is introduced to defend *Epicurus*'s Doctrine; and he affirms, That all Animals ardently purſue Pleaſure from the Moment they are born; and That they avoid Pain, and all Objects that produce it, with equal Earneſtneſs. Whence he infers, that Nature her ſelf, without the Aſſiſtance of Reaſon, plainly teaches us, that Pleaſure is a Good, which we ought to ſeek to enjoy, and Pain an Evil, which we ought to avoid. Our Senſes, continues he, as plainly prove this, as they do, that Fire is hot, Snow white, or Honey ſweet. There are indeed ſome Circumſtances in which a Man ought to renounce Pleaſure, and think it his Duty to purſue a painful and laborious Life. But then his Motive, even to this, is the Pleaſure which flows from it. We ſhun Pleaſure, only on Account of the Pain it will produce; and we willingly ſuffer Pain and Fatigues, for the Pleaſures which will reſult from them. A wiſe Man's Rule, in the Caſe, is this; to reject little Enjoyments, for the ſake of greater; and to endure leſs acute Pains, in order to avoid thoſe which are more intenſe and grievous. From all which *Torquatus* draws this Inference, That Virtue is the only deſirable thing, becauſe we cannot live happily without it; and That Vice ought to be abhorred by Men, becauſe it is the Cauſe of the greateſt Evil, that is, Pain. For, as he adds, *Epicurus*, who is reproached with making Pleaſure the chief Good, always contended, That true Happineſs is only to be found, in living conformably to the Laws of Wiſdom and Equity.

This is the Subſtance of *Torquatus*'s Reaſoning in the firſt Book, *De finibus Bonorum & Malorum*. And though *Cicero* makes uſe of all the Subtleties of Logick to confute him; yet *Epicurus*'s Syſtem remains unſhaken. The Word Pleaſure, together with the ill uſe Libertines made of a Principle which they did not underſtand, gave Offence to all good Men, eſpecially the Stoicks, who value themſelves upon their Auſterities; but nevertheleſs the Doctrine, if rightly underſtood, is not at all hurt by it. And *Gaſſendi*, and a later Author, have well explained it in our Days; that their Adverſaries have written as much in *French* to no Purpoſe, in endeavouring to confute it, as *Cicero* did in *Latin*. The Queſtion is not, as we have obſerved above, *Page* 416. *Note* 24. What is the Cauſe of our Happineſs, but what is the Form of it? Not what the Object is, which will make us happy, but wherein the Eſſence of true Happineſs conſiſts? And let Men reaſon as long as they pleaſe, it will ſtill be evident, that we are only ſo far happy, as we taſte Pleaſure; and ſo far miſerable as we ſuffer Pain. If you ask *Epicurus*, what is the Cauſe of the trueſt Pleaſure? he will anſwer, that is Virtue: And in this, *Zeno* and the Stoicks agree with him. And they are both in the right; only with this Difference, That the Stoicks ſeem to have confounded the Cauſe of Happineſs with its Eſſence; or to have ſought for its Cauſe, rather than its Eſſence. Whereas *Epicurus* came home to the Point, by clearly diſtinguiſhing *The formal Cauſe* of Happineſs, which is Pleaſure, and Indolence, or a Privation of Pain; from its *efficient* and *inſtrumental Cauſes*: the former of which is God, the latter Virtue. He made the Virtues, and the *Goods* peculiar to Mankind, the *inſtrumental Cauſes* of Happineſs, as all other Philoſophers did; but he was guilty of notorious Impiety, in denying God to be the *efficient Cauſe* of all Good. It was this part of his Syſtem, which was ill indeed upon too lax a Term, *Pleaſure*, which gave wicked Men occaſion, to abuſe what was reaſonable and juſtifiable in it.

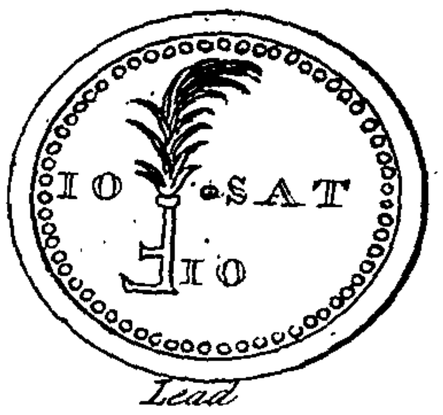
Priſon

Prisoners to go to *Rome*, barely upon their Parole, to celebrate the 84 *Saturnalia* there, in their own Families. This Feast of *Saturn*, was annually solemnized in *December*,

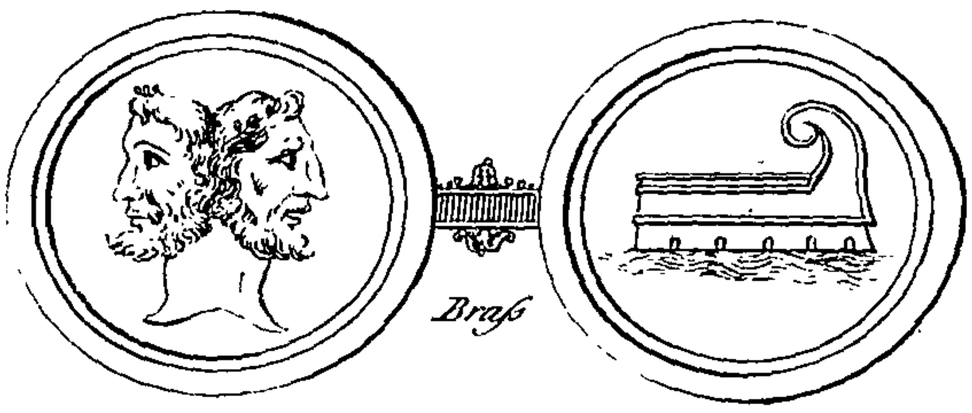
Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Consuls.



Silver.



Lead



Brass

84 The Feast of the *Saturnalia* was instituted in Honour of *Saturn*. This pretended God, of whom the Mythologists have told us so many idle Tales, was, it seems, driven out of his Kingdom by his Son *Jupiter*, and came into *Italy*, where he found a safe Retreat, in the Dominions of *Janus* King of the *Aborigines*. This Prince was so charmed with the great Qualities he discovered in his Guest, that he shared his Government with him: And this Nation, which before was savage, was made more tractable, by *Saturn*'s Administration. He assembled the Inhabitants of the Country, polished their Manners, and lessened their Barbarity, by wise Laws. He taught them Agriculture, and all the Arts which contribute to the Conveniencies of social Life. He is said to have been the Inventor of the Reap-Hook and Sythe, which are Symbols of him in some ancient Monuments, and particularly on the first Medal above. He reigned in Plenty, Concord, and Peace: And for this Reason, the Poets call this happy time *The Golden Age*. *Numa Pompilius*, according to some, first proposed to revive the Remembrance of it, in the *Saturnalia*: But most Writers agree, that this Festival was instituted by *Tullus Hostilius*, or at least, that he expressly vowed to do it, when he was engaged in a Combat with the *Sabines*; as we have already observed, *Page* 93. of the first Volume. *Livy* fixes the Institution of this Festival to the Year of *Rome* 256, when *Aulus Sempronius*, and *Marcus Minucius* were *Consuls*. *His Consulibus* (A. Sempronio & Marco Minucio) *Ædes Saturno dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies*. And lastly, others pretend, That *Tarquin the Proud* first formed the Design of it; and That it was not put in Execution till the time of *Titus Lartius*. But *Macrobius* carries up the Origin of this Festival to *Janus*; who received *Saturn*, and in Gratitude for the Benefits he had received from him, paid him great Honours, and ranked him among the Gods. In order to perpetuate the Remembrance of his Arrival in *Latium* he gave it the Name of *Saturnia Tellus*. He erected an Altar to him, and instituted a Festival to his Honour, which is called *Saturnalia*. To which *Macrobius* adds, That *Janus* at the same time struck some Copper Money, on the Face of which was the double Head of this first King of *Latium*; and on the reverse, a Prow of a Ship, in Memory of that which brought *Saturn* into *Italy*. *Varro* has said the same things before *Macrobius*, and ascribed the first Invention of Money to *Janus*. But be that as it will (for we do not pretend to pronounce concerning a Fact, which lies hid in the Darkness of the fabulous Ages) it is certain these two Impressions are yet to be seen on some Medals. But to return to the Festival of the *Saturnalia*.

It was spent in Feastings and Rejoicings. The *Romans* then appeared in their Eating-dress, and mutually made Presents to one another, as is now done at New-Year's-Tide. The Courts of Justice were shut up. The Senate did not assemble. The Schools were shut up, and those Sports which were forbidden at other times, were allowed at this joyful Season. The *Romans* were scrupulous of going upon any military Expedition, or leading a Criminal to Execution, at this time, when all Men were wholly given up to Joy, and minded nothing but Diversions. The chief Design of this Ceremony, was to represent that Equality of Condition, and Community of Goods, which *Saturn* introduced among Mankind; when they lived according to the Laws of Nature, and knew not so much as the Names of Tyranny, and Slavery. For this Reason the Slaves were, if I may so speak, restored to the Privileges of their first Parents. As long as the Festival lasted, they wore a kind of Bonnet called *Pileus*, which at other times was allowed to be worn only by *Freedmen*. They appeared in publick in the *Toga*, according to *Dio Cassius*. *Saturnalibus servi, habitum herilem sumentes, festive agent*. Their Masters made it Matter of Duty to treat them, eat with them, and even serve them at Table. *Athenæus* tells us this, *B.* 14. *Saturnaliorum diebus, mos Romanis præbere servis convivium, sic ut ipsi officia servorum obirent*. And *Seneca* speaks of this Custom, *Epist.* 47. *Instituerunt diem festum, non quo solum cum servis Domini vescerentur, sed quo utique honores illis in domo gerere, jus dicere, permiserunt, & domum, pusillam rempublicam esse judicaverunt*. So that, according to the latter, the Slaves were then the greatest Persons in the Family, and ordered every thing with the Authority of Masters. The King of the Feast was chosen out of the Masters and Servants promiscuously, and it belonged to him, to preside at the common Feasts which were then made.

The *Saturnalia* were at first celebrated on *The fourteenth of the Calends of January*, that is the seventeenth Day of *December*. And the Festival lasted

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

December, on *The fourteenth of the Calends of January*. It was a Day of publick Rejoicing among the *Romans*. They mutually made Preſents, and invited one another to Entertainments. The Feſtival was often continued for ſeveral Days; during which a reaſonable Liberty was given to all ſorts of People, the Slaves not excepted. *Pyrrhus* therefore conſented, that the *Romans* taken in the Battel of *Heraclea*, ſhould go Home and enjoy the Pleaſures of the Seaſon; and the *Romans* on the other hand, were true to their Promiſes, and returned to *Tarentum*, on the Day appointed. But the wiſe *Epirot* was not without his own private Views, in being thus indulgent to his Captives. He imagined, that they would diſpoſe the People, during their Abode at *Rome*, to accept of the Conditions he was going to offer them.

§. XXII. In

at firſt but one Day. After the Calendar was reformed by *Julius Cæſar*, who added two Days to *December*, this Feſtival was fixed to another Day, viz. *The ſixteenth of the Calends of the next Month*. But as the *Romans* had long been uſed to reckon by the Day of *Numa*'s Year; ſome ſtill kept to his Calendar, and continued to celebrate this Feſtival on *The fourteenth of the Calends of January*. And in order to remedy this Diſorder, *Auguſtus* publiſhed an Edict, expreſly commanding, that for the future, the Feaſt ſhould not be confined to one Day only, but laſt likewiſe the two new Days *Julius Cæſar* had added to the Calendar. So that the *Saturnalia* then continued three Days, from the ſeventeenth to the nineteenth of *December* inclusive: and to theſe the ſame Emperor afterwards added a fourth Day. After him *Caligula* added a fifth Day, called *Juvenalia*, according to *Suetonius*, in his Life of that Prince. *Ut lætitiam publicam in perpetuum augeret, diem adjecit Saturnalibus, appellavitque Juvenalem.* Which is confirmed by *Dio Caſſius B. 59. Saturnalia per dies quinque celebrari juſſit.* This fifth Day was indeed retrenched ſoon after the Death of *Caligula*; but *Claudius* reſtored it, as the laſt mentioned Author aſſures us. *Saturnalibus quintum diem, a Caio inſtitutum, poſteaque omiſſum, reſtituit.* Nor muſt we forget, that in theſe five Days, was comprehended that which was particularly appropriated to the Worſhip of *Ops* or *Rhea*, the ſuppoſed Wife of *Saturn*. At firſt theſe two Feſtivals were both celebrated on the ſame Day, which was the 17th of *December*, not to ſeparate the two Divinities, who were ſuppoſed united by Marriage. But after the Addition was made to the Calendar, the Feſtival of *Ops*, or the *Opalia*, fell on the 19th of that Month.

Theſe five Days were immediately followed by another Feſtival called *Sigillaria*; which laſted two Days, and depended on the *Saturnalia*. The Name of *Sigillaria* was taken from the little Figures in Gold, Silver, or Braſs, which the *Romans* mutually gave each other, and dedicated, according to ſome, to *Saturn*; or, as others, to *Pluto*. Every one hung them up on the Altar of one of theſe Gods, in order to render them propitious, and induce them to take care of his Family. At the ſame time, the Artificers, ſold little Statues made of baked Earth, at *Rome*, for Toys for Children. *Macrobius* gives us a full Account of this Solemnity, *Saturnal. B. 1. Saturnalia uno tantum die, id eſt, quarto decimo Calendarum ſolita celebrari; ſed poſt in triduum propagata, primum ex adjectis a Cæſare huic menſi diebus. Deinde ex edicto Auguſti, quo trium dierum feriæ Saturnalibus addixit, Sigillariorum adjecta celebritas, in ſeptem dies diſcurſum publicum & lætitiam religionis exendit.*

Some Moderns pretend, that the *Saturnalia* were celebrated for a certain Number of Days, even before the *Dictatorſhip* of *Julius Cæſar*; and quote *Cicero*'s fifth Book of *Letters to Atticus*, in Proof of it. He there mentions the third Day of the *Saturnalia*. *Mancipia vœnibant Saturnalibus tertiis.* *Macrobius* on this Occaſion, quotes a Paſſage of *Novius*, and another of *Mummius*, who lived ſeveral Years before *Julius Cæſar*, and yet both make the *Saturnalia* to have laſted ſeven Days. *Juſtus Lipſius* honeſtly confeſſes, that the Difficulty is great, and that he can give no ſolid Anſwer to it, unleſs it be this, That the Feſtival of the *Saturnalia* and the Sacrifices peculiar to it, ended the firſt Day, which was the 17th of *December*; though the Rejoicings continued to the ſeventh Day; and That the Feſtival laſted ſeven Days, in this Senſe. *Feſtus* authorizes this Diſtinction, under the Word *quinquatrus*.

Plutarch obſerves, that during this Feſtival, the People ſacrificed to *Saturn* bare-headed; and gives a Reaſon for this Singularity. It was, ſays he, becauſe the Cuſtom of Sacrificing covered, was of later Date than the Worſhip Men paid to *Saturn*. But it ſeems more natural to ſay, that it was a conſtant Cuſtom among the Pagans to be covered when they ſacrificed to *The Celeſtial Gods*; and uncovered, when they ſacrificed to *The Infernal*; of which latter ſort *Saturn* was.

On the Eve of the *Saturnalia*, the Children ran about all the Streets of *Rome*, proclaiming the Feaſt of the *Saturnalia*, by theſe Words, Io SATURNALIA, which they repeated as loud as they could. *Arrian* puts this equivalent Expreſſion in their Mouths, Σήμερον Σατυρνάλια ἀγαθὰ, i. e. *This is a Good Saturnalia*. Which Cuſtom was the Foundation of a ſatyrical Reflection, which the *Roman* Troops made upon the famous *Narciſſus*, the *Freedman* of the Emperor *Claudius*. This Prince had ſent him into *Gaul* to appeaſe a Mutiny among the Soldiers: and he had no ſooner aſcended the General's *Tribune* to harangue the Army, but they cried out, Io SATURNALIA! that is, The time of the *Saturnalia* is come; meaning, that *Narciſſus* was renewing the Feſtival, in which Slaves took their Maſters Places.

And this City, and the Story we have mentioned, are the Foundation of an Interpretation, *Monſieur Seguin* has given us of a lead Medal in his Work, entituled, *Selecta Numiſmata*. It has this Inſcription, Io SAT, which this Antiquary makes to be Io SATURNALIA. He imagines that it was ſtruck by the Troops themſelves, who, for the Affront given to *Narciſſus*, went over into *England*, and ſubdued it, under the Command of *Aulus Plautius*, firſt, and then of *Claudius* himſelf. This Emperor being informed of the Progreſs the Army had made in the Iſland, went over thither to reap the Honour of ſo ſucceſsful an Expedition. Upon his Arrival, he found almoſt all the People in the Country ſubdued; but nevertheleſs aſſumed to himſelf all the Honour of the Conqueſt. The Triumph was decreed him for it at *Rome*. *Monſieur Seguin*, I ſay, ſuppoſes that the lead Medal be- *p.451.* was ſtruck by the *Roman* Army. By the Word Io SATURNALIA, it perpetuated the Memo-

2

§. XX. In short, *Pyrrhus* determined to send the famous *Cyneas* to *Rome*, almost at the same time that the *Roman* Ambassadors left *Tarentum*. The Instructions he gave this faithful Minister, were, to bring the *Romans* to grant these three Articles. 1. That the *Tarentini* should be included in the Treaty, made with the King of

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXIII. P. Valerius Lævinus, Tib. Coruncanius, Consuls. *Appian. apud Fulv.*

the Insult offered to *Narcissus*, and indeed to *Claudius* himself, in the Person of his Minister. We have already observed, that the Soldiers were allowed all Liberties on the Day of a Triumph, and that they often made severe Jests on the triumphant Victor: and we have given the Reason for this Custom, *B. 9. p. 416.* of the first Volume, *Note 53.* The *Digamma* Ⅎ, in which the Branch of Laurel on the Medal terminates, is almost a convincing Proof of this new Interpretation, and gives us Reason to believe, that the Medal was struck under the Emperor *Claudius*. *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* tell us, that this Emperor added three Letters to the Alphabet: And *Quintilian* in particular assures us, that he would have the *Æolick Digamma* used in Orthography. And indeed we actually find it, on some of *Claudius*'s Medals. *Torrentius*, and *Justus Lipsius* bring these two Inscriptions in proof of it. POMARIUM TERMINAⅎITQUE AMPLIAⅎITQUE——OCTAⅎIA DIⅎI AUGUSTI XV-ⅎIR. I know *Fulvius Ursinus* ascribes the Medal we are speaking of to one *Sentius Saturninus*; but *Monsieur Seguin*'s Conjecture is more probable, and better founded.

The Festival we are treating of, was not peculiar to the *Romans*. The *Greeks* had their *Saturnalia*, which they called χρόνια. Their Slaves then enjoyed the same Privileges, and the same Liberty as those of *Rome* did, on this Festival. But by the *Greeks*, I particularly mean, the *Athenians*; for at *Lacedæmon*, and in *Thessaly*, the Slaves were treated so severely, that they were always ready to rebel. *The* Spartans *are all upon Extremes*, says *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Lycurgus*; *no Freemen have more Liberty, no Slaves are so much Slaves, as theirs.* *Macrobius* says, this Festival was instituted in *Greece* before the Foundation of *Rome*; and the Lines of the Poet *Attius*, are a Proof of it.

Maxima pars Graiorum & maximæ Athenæ
Conficiunt sacra, quæ Cronia esse iterantur ab illis.
Eamque diem celebrant per agros, urbesque fere omnes,
Exercerent epulis læti, famulosque procurant
Quisque suos; nostrisque itidem Mos traditus illinc
Iste, ut cum dominis famuli epulemur ibidem.

The *Cretans* celebrated a Festival like this, in honour to *Mercury*, and called it *Hermæa*. Masters then waited on their Servants at Table. *Athenæus* observes, that at *Troezene*, the Citizens, on one day in the Year, mixed with their Slaves, and publickly played with them, after which they served them at Supper. And the same Author says, upon the Credit of *Berosus*, *L. 1. Rerum Babylonic*, and *Ctesias*, *L. 2. Annal. Persic*, That the *Babylonians* had five Days in the Year, which were very solemn among them. During that time, the Masters obeyed their Slaves, and one of the latter was dressed in a Royal Mantle, and had an absolute Authority in the House. In *Thessaly* a Festival was also annually celebrated, which much resembled the *Saturnalia*. The *Roman* Historians give us this Account of it. The *Pelasgi*, who were newly transplanted into *Hæmonia*, offered a Sacrifice to *Jupiter* by the Name of their Nation, upon being informed by one *Pelorus*, that the neighbouring Hills, having been shaken by an Earthquake, had opened: That the Waters of the vast large Marsh of *Tempe* ran away towards the River *Peneus*; and That they had found that delicious Country in their Place. Upon the News of this happy Discovery, *Pelorus* was invited to a solemn Feast; all the People pressed to entertain him, and even the Slaves were admitted to the Entertainment. After this the *Pelasgi* went to the Place, found there the beautiful Plains of *Tempe*, which the Stranger had informed them of, and settled themselves there. From that time, they thought it Matter of Religion, to entertain Strangers, and their own Slaves every Year, and give the latter all the Enjoyments of free Men. They then sacrificed to *Jupiter Pelorius*, so called, in honour to the Memory of *Pelorus*. Afterwards, these People being forced to quit *Hæmonia*, they consulted the Oracle of *Dodona*; and by its Order, came into *Italy*, and settled there. The Oracle had commanded them to offer Sacrifices to *Saturn* and *Pluto*; and as the Answer of the God was expressed in an ambiguous and dark manner, they thought themselves obliged to offer human Sacrifices, in order to obey it. And under this Persuasion, they introduced the barbarous Custom of sacrificing Men to *Saturn*; which was continued till *Hercules* set these People right, as he was passing through *Italy*. He was surprized at so inhuman a Custom, and shewed them that they misunderstood the Words of the Oracle of *Dodona*.

He explained to them the two *Greek* Words κεφαλὰς and φῶτα, which they had misinterpreted: and convinced them, that the Oracle did not, by the former Word, demand living Men for *Pluto*, but their Statues, or the Figures of their *Heads*. And he shewed them, that they had not understood the Word φῶτα in the Sense of the Oracle, which only required, that they should offer *Lights*, or lighted Candles, at *Saturn*'s Altar. This Tradition, fabulous as it appears to be, was believed at *Rome*, and was the Foundation of the Custom received among the *Citizens*, of lighting Wax-Candles and Tapers, during the *Saturnalia*, and of presenting one another with the little Images of Men beforementioned. In these first Ages of *Rome*, which were Times of Simplicity and Moderation, the *Romans* made only these small Presents, which were looked on, as Testimonies of Friendship, which maintained Union in Families. But what was at first a religious Custom, became afterwards a kind of Traffick of Vanity and Luxury. Every Man valued himself upon the Richness and Elegance of his Presents. They rivalled one another, in sending the most costly Habits, scarce Jewels, and valuable Vases. Even the Clients, to satisfy the Avarice of their Patrons, run themselves to profuse Expences, which were very burdensome to them. The Poor were oppressed by this Means, because they could not get access to the Rich, but in Proportion to what they had offered them. *Macrobius* tells us, that one *Publicius*, a *Tribune of the People*, rectified this Abuse. He made a Law, requiring the Nobility to accept of nothing from the common People, but Wax-tapers, agreeably to an ancient Custom, which *Festus* mentions in these Words. *Cereos Saturnalibus muneri dabant humiliores potentioribus, quia candelis pauperes, locupletes Cereis utebantur.*

Before we finish this Description, it is proper to mention a mysterious Ceremony practised in the *Saturnalia*. On these solemn Days, the *Romans* took off from *Saturn*'s Statue, the woolen Strings, with which it was tied fast, all the rest of the Year. By this, they pretended to allude, to the fabulous Story of the hard Fate of this God, who was driven into Captivity by *Jupiter*. But they perhaps thereby pointed out by it, the Golden Age, wherein all Men enjoyed a perfect Liberty: whilst on the contrary, the Strings with which the Statue was tied at other times, shewed, that that happy time was now no more.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

Epirus. 2*dly*, That all the *Greek* Cities in *Italy*, ſhould enjoy their Laws, and Li-berty. 3*dly*, That the Republick ſhould reſtore the *Lucani*, *Samnites*, and *Bruttii* all that ſhe had conquered from them. Upon theſe Conditions, *Pyrrhus* offered to ceaſe all Hoſtilities againſt *Rome*, and reſtore her Captives. And with theſe Inſtructions *Pyrrhus* gave his Miniſter magnificent Preſents, not only for the Republick, but alſo for particular Perſons, without whoſe Interpoſal, he could not hope to ſucceed in his Negotiation. Nor did he forget to ſend rare and valuable Jewels to the *Roman* Ladies, that, if the Men were untractable, the Women at leaſt might ſoften their haughty Husbands. Thus inſtructed and provided, *Cyneas* came to *Rome*, where he found in his Reception, his Maſter's Politeneſs elegantly returned. He did not deſire an Audience of the Senate immediately; but took ſome time to carry on his Intrigues. He paid Viſits to the chief Senators, and offered both them and their Wives Preſents. And if I could believe ſome Hiſtorians, I ſhould with Pleaſure adopt their Account, which is, that the Ambaſſador could not corrupt ſo much as one *Roman*, of either Sex. My Eſteem for the virtuous Republick, naturally inclines me to be too credulous of every thing, that tends to her Honour. But the Force of Truth obliges me to adhere to the more faithful relation of a more exact Writer. He honeſtly confeſſes, that many of the Senators were too weak to reſiſt the Liberality of *Pyrrhus*, and the artful Speeches of *Cyneas*. They were not all *Fabricii* or *Curii*. Beſides, all did not agree in Judgment, as to the Reaſonableneſs of the Propoſals. *Fabricius* himſelf approved of them. The Priſoners deſired a Peace, that they might obtain their Liberty. All dreaded a ſecond Overthrow; and *Pyrrhus*'s Reputation in *Rome* was increaſed, ſince his Victory. So that it is not ſurpriſing, that ſome ſhould be brought to vote for a Peace, which, at the Bottom, ſeemed not diſadvantageous to the State. That in fact, many Perſons had been gained over, either by the Reaſonings of the Miniſter, or the Gold of his Maſter, is ſufficiently evident, from what paſſed in the Senate the firſt Day.

Juſt. Plut. and *Florus*.

CYNEAS was admitted into the Aſſembly, after he had ſecured a good Number of Voices; and his Harangue was worthy of an Orator, formed upon the Model of the great *Demoſthenes*. *The* Grecian *Hero*, ſaid he, *did not croſs the Seas, with Deſign to oppreſs this Republick.* Pyrrhus's *only Motive was his Compaſſion for the* Tarentini; *and if* Rome *had been leſs formidable, his Pity had made fainter Impreſſions on him. To try his Arms with yours, was an Ambition worthy of a great Soul; and you your ſelves*, Romans, *have now experienced his Ability in War. After one ſingle Victory*, Rome *has ſeen him, almoſt at her Gates. You have felt the Power of his Arm, which he thinks Glory enough. He now aims at another kind of Honour, which is that of becoming a Friend to a People, whom, though he has vanquiſhed, he eſteems. Judge of his Diſpoſitions towards you, by the Steps he has taken. He has reſtored your Priſoners without a Ranſom; and thinks it no Diſhonour to him, to make the firſt advances towards a Peace. Only forgive* Tarentum, *and let* Pyrrhus's *Allies in* Italy, *enjoy reſt after ſo many Wars, and he will return to* Epirus, *well ſatisfied with leaving theſe Regions in Tranquillity. Turn your Conqueſts*, Romans, *towards the Weſt; and the King of* Epirus *promiſes you ſuch powerful Aſſiſtance, as ſhall ſoon enable you to gain as much on that ſide, as you relinquiſh on this.* After this Speech, *Cyneas* read the Conditions *Pyrrhus* propoſed; endeavoured to ſhew the Reaſonableneſs and Moderation of them; and even demanded Leave for *Pyrrhus* to come to *Rome* in Perſon, to conclude, and ſign the Treaty there.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Florus Epitome 13.

THEN *Rome* felt one of the greateſt Inconveniencies, to which a Republican State is ſubject. It was ſcarce poſſible, but that in ſo great a Number of *Conſcript Fathers* there ſhould be found ſome mercenary Perſons, who would betray the Honour of their Country; and accordingly there appeared a general Inclination to accept *Pyrrhus*'s Propoſals; but nevertheleſs, the Decree was not immediately paſſed. It was pretended, that the Houſe was not full enough, and therefore the Determination of the Affair was poſtponed to the next Day. During this Interval, *Cyneas* ſpared neither Sollicitations nor Preſents; and at length, the important Day came, when *Rome* was to chuſe, a ſhameful Peace, or an honourable, but doubtful War. It was an Affair of too great Importance, for any Senator to abſent himſelf; but nevertheleſs *Appius Claudius* was not expected to appear. He was a Man, who had made a Figure in the Adminiſtration in his time. Though but an indifferent General, he was deemed the greateſt Orator, and moſt learned Civilian in *Rome*. He had been guilty

of ſome Extravagancies in his Youth; but his great Age and Infirmities, had now extinguiſhed all his Paſſions, except his Love for his Country, which he ſtill retained with a ſound Underſtanding. He had been long blind, and therefore had not appeared in the Senate, where his Eloquence had formerly ſhone with ſuch a ſuperior Luſtre. But he now collected all the Remains of it, on the moſt important Occaſion, on which it had ever been employed. *Appius* firſt dictated a Speech, which was written down in his Houſe; and when the blind, old Man had learnt it by Heart, he ordered himſelf to be carried to the Temple, where the Senate was aſſembled. As ſoon as he appeared within the Doors, his Sons, and Sons-in-law met him, ſupported him, and placed him in the Seat, which became his Age, and Dignity. In his Youth, *Appius* had ſpoken with great Volubility; and he had often diſcovered too much Vivacity, or even Paſſion, in his Speeches: And the Harangue he made to the Senate, in this extreme old Age, was not without the ſame Defects. *What*, ſaid he, *is become of that ſublime Wiſdom, which has ſo long been the Support of my Country? What can have made you ſo mad, as to go out of the Road your Fathers walked in? Ah, why have not the Gods, who have deprived me of the Light, taken from me likewiſe the* [85] *Uſe of my Ears? I then ſhould not have been alarmed at the preſent Rumours; or have felt the Grief of knowing, that* Rome *is going to diſhonour, and ruin her ſelf. Are we the ſame Men we were formerly? You remember, that when the Fame of* Alexander's *Victories reached to this Place, we diſcourſed of them without any Concern. We then ſaid, if the King of* Macedon *turns his Arms towards* Italy, Rome *will be the Rock on which his Glory will ſplit. He ſhall either meet with Death here, or we will at leaſt force him to repaſs the Seas. So brave were you, when the Stranger was abſent. But how have you degenerated from theſe Sentiments? How contrary to theſe Bravadoes have you acted, ſince* Pyrrhus's *Arrival? What! Does an* Epirot, *a* Moloſſian, *a Man, whoſe Country has always been a Prey to the* Macedonians, *affright you? Will you receive Law from a Fugitive, who was driven out of* Macedon, *and ſhamefully ſurrendered it up, to one of* Alexander's *Subalterns? After he has been beaten by his firſt Enemies, he comes hither to create himſelf new ones, and to repair his Misfortunes at the Expence of your Honour. This is the Hero whom you dread, or on whom you truſt. He ſays, he will enable you to make Conqueſts in the Weſt. But can he pretend to promiſe you Conqueſts, who could not keep his own? Beſides, what Intelligence is to be kept with a faithleſs* Greek, *whoſe Artifices we have but too much experienced! If we don't immediately drive him out of our Continent, we muſt expect to become a Prey to all greedy Foreigners, one after another. To be conquered by* Pyrrhus, *will ſink us into Contempt. The* Samnites, Tarentini, Greeks, *and* Africans, *will all inſult us; and one ſhameful Peace, will involve us in a thouſand Wars* [86].

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. Valerius Lævinus, Tib. Coruncanius, Conſuls.

Cicero in Bruto.

Ennius apud Ciceron. in Cat. Majore. Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

This Diſcourſe, though full of Invectives, made an Impreſſion. The Senate did not ſo much regard the Bitterneſs of his Style, as the Solidity of his Reaſonings. As for *Appius*, he diſtributed about Copies of his Speech; which remained entire in *Tully*'s Time; and it was doubtleſs from him, that *Ennius* and *Plutarch* borrowed the Fragments they have left us of it. But be that as it will, as ſoon as *Appius* had

Cicer. in Cat. Maj.

85 Before *Appius*, *Oedipus* had ſaid in *Sophocles*'s Tragedy, that it had been happy for him, if he had loſt his Hearing, after loſing his Sight; becauſe then he ſhould not have heard the melancholy Account of his Misfortunes.

86 After the Senate had reſolved to continue the War with *Pyrrhus*, they paſſed a ſevere Decree againſt the Priſoners he had releaſed. It expreſly enacted, according to *Valerius Maximus*, That they ſhould be branded with Infamy, for ſuffering themſelves to be taken, with their Arms in their Hands; and That they ſhould never ſerve againſt the King of *Epirus* any more. Nay, the Rigour of the *Romans* went yet farther. Theſe Priſoners were diſperſed in the different Bodies of the Army, and being deemed unworthy to encamp within the ſame Limits with the reſt of the Troops, their Quarters were marked out for them without the Camp: and they were forbidden to guard themſelves there with a Rampart and Ditch. So that being expoſed to the Attacks of the Enemy, they were forced to defend themſelves, and had no Refuge left, but their Valour, and their Swords. And for the greater Ignominy ſtill, they were not ſuffered to cover their Tents with Skins, which it was then cuſtomary to do; and they were declared deprived of the Rank they bore in the Army. So that thoſe who were before in the Horſe, were now forced to ſerve on Foot. Thoſe who before ſerved in the *Legions*, were forced to ſerve among the light-armed Troops, which were a diſtinct Body, and inferior in Order to the *Legions*. And laſtly, they were never to be reinſtated in their Privileges, till they had wiped off the Shame of their Captivity, and Degradation, by ſome ſignal Acts of Valour. As the Condition of their Re-eſtabliſhment the Senate required of each of them, the Spoils of two Enemies killed by himſelf. The Deſign of the Republick in this extravagant Severity, was only to ſtir up the Cowardly by the Fear of Shame, and to oblige her Troops either to conquer or die.

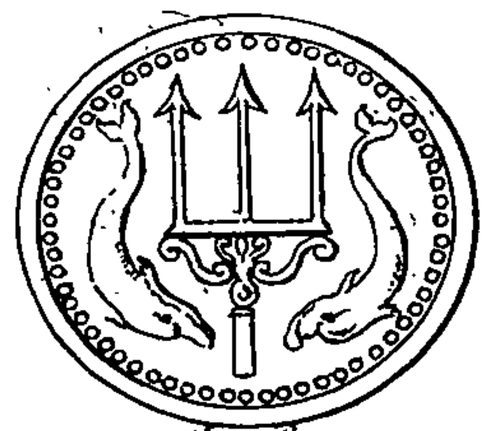
Year of ROME CCCCLXXIII. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, TIB. CORUNCANIUS, Conſuls.

done ſpeaking, the *Conſcript Fathers* were all unanimous. They deſpiſed triffling Preſents, and purſued their true Intereſt. They paſſed a Decree, which was in Subſtance this; *That the War with* Pyrrhus *ſhould be continued: That his Ambaſſador ſhould be ſent back that very Day: That the King of* Epirus *ſhould not be permitted to come to* Rome *in Perſon; and That he ſhould be told, they would enter into no Treaty of Peace with him, till he had left* Italy. And this bold Reſolution was indeed the Foundation of the prodigious Progreſs, the Republick afterwards made. Had ſhe ſunk under the Artifices of *Pyrrhus*, ſhe would probably never have extended her Power beyond the Seas. The *Romans* would have been confined within the Limits of a little Territory; and their Name would have been buried in the ſame Oblivion, with thoſe of many other Nations.

CYNEAS, ſurprized at the Anſwer of the *Romans*, left the City the ſame Day and returned to *Tarentum*. The King admired the Conſtancy of a conquered People who ſpoke the Language of Conquerors. He asked the Ambaſſador his Opinion of the City, and Senate, into which he had been introduced: And *Cyneas* anſwered, *Rome*, my Lord, *is a kind of Temple, where Gravity, Modeſty, and Decency reign. The Senate, is a Conſiſtory of Kings, whoſe Appearance fills all Spectators with Awe and Reverence.* An Anſwer, which exceedingly encreaſed the Eſteem *Pyrrhus* had for the *Romans*; and even changed it into Aſtoniſhment. Nevertheleſs, he took care to make all due Preparations for the next Campaign, whilſt the *Romans*, on their Parts, neglected nothing that was neceſſary to enable them to carry on the War. It is probable, that *Pyrrhus* then formed the chimerical [87] Project of making a Bridge over the Sea, from *Epirus*, to [88] *Hydruntum* in *Italy*. Though the Paſſage [89] was not long, *Pyrrhus* himſelf had experienced, how difficult and dangerous it was to tranſport Troops from one Continent to the other. *Hydruntum* belonged to him; and he dreamed of joining *Italy* to *Epirus*, by this Means; but *Pyrrhus* was always full of imaginary [90] Projects.

Plut. Juſt. and *Flor.*

Pliny B. 3. c. 11.



Brass.

87 We have this Particular from *Pliny*. *Hoc intervallum cum pedeſtri continuare tranſitu pontibus jactis primum Pyrrhus Epiri Rex cogitavit.* After him *Varro* formed the ſame Project, when he commanded *Pompey*'s Fleet, in the War the *Romans* had with the Pyrates. *Poſt eum Marcus Varro cum claſſibus Pompeii Pyratico bello præeſſet.*

88 *Hydruntum*, now *Otranto*, was, according to *Strabo*, ſo inconſiderable a City, in *Auguſtus*'s Time, that this Geographer calls it πωλίον, that is, *a little paltry Town*. But it afterwards became one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in the South of *Italy*. It ſtood in that part of *Calabria*, which was formerly the Territory of the *Salentini*. It was conſecrated to *Neptune*, as other maritime Cities were. We find the Figure of this God, on one of the Medals of the *Hydruntini*, which has this Inſcription ΥΔΡΩΝΤΙΝΩΝ; and the reverſe of it is a Trident, between two Dolphins.

89 This Bridge muſt have been fifty thouſand Paces long, to have reached from *Hydruntum* to *Apollonia* in *Epirus*, that is above ſeventeen *French Leagues*. *Pliny* makes this to be the Diſtance between theſe two Cities. *Ex adverſo Apolloniatum oppidum latitudine inter currentis freti quinquaginta millium non amplius.* *Barbarus* indeed has altered the Text of *Pliny*, and reads an hundred Miles inſtead of fifty. But beſides that, the latter is the Diſtance Geographers moſt generally agree in, this Commentator did not conſider that *Pliny* reckons but eighty thouſand Paces, from the Port of *Salentum* to *Oricum*, an ancient City of *Epirus*: and the leaſt caſt of the Eye upon the Maps, is ſufficient to ſhew, that the other is the ſhorter Paſſage.

90 Such was the Project of building a Bridge from *Apollonia* to *Hydruntum*, over the Streights, which divide the *Adriatick* Sea, from the *Ionian*. For though there are ſeveral Shoals and Banks of Sand in theſe Streights, where Piles might be fixed, yet it is certain, that *Pyrrhus* could not poſſibly build any Bridge but a Bridge of Boats, over ſo wide a part of the Sea, and in a Place where it is very deep, and ſubject to Tempeſts. And if he had done this, he muſt have had ten thouſand *Greek* Gallies of a prodigious Size; and even then, the Difficulty had been, how to keep the Building together, and guard theſe Gallies againſt the Violence of Tempeſts, and of the Stream, by Cables and Anchors. Nor can we conceive, how a whole Army could march ſeventeen Leagues over it, without manifeſt Danger.

§. XXI. NOTWITHSTANDING the uneasy Apprehensions of an approaching War, the Republick made their usual Elections, without any Disturbances. Two Men were chosen *Consuls* in the *Campus Martius*, who had never yet been promoted to that Office, but from whom the State justly had great Expectations. The one was *P. Sulpicius*, surnamed *Saverrio*, and the other [91] *P. Decius Mus*, the Son and Grandson of two Generals, who were famous for their *Devotements*. It was hoped, without doubt, that he would not degenerate from the hereditary Virtue of his Family; and that he also would devote himself to death, for his Country's Service, if there was Occasion. *Rome* was always very populous. It appeared, after the *Census* made the last Year, that there were now 278222 Citizens in it, fit to bear Arms; and out of these, numerous *Legions* might be raised to act against *Pyrrhus*. The able *Epirote* was indeed already in the Field; he had left *Tarentum* in the first beginning of the Spring. *Apulia* belonged to the *Romans*, and it was there that *Pyrrhus* began his Hostilities. He took some Cities there by Storm, and forced others to surrender to him. The *Consuls* therefore joined together, and marched each at the Head of his Army to *Apulia*, to put a Stop to *Pyrrhus*'s Ravages. The famous *Fabricius* was a Lieutenant-General in the *Consular* Armies. At [92] *Asculum*, a little City of *Apulia*, a very different Place from another *Asculum*, which was a considerable City in *Picenum*, the *Romans* found the *Epirotæ* encamped: and there the *Consuls* fortified themselves in a Plain, at the Foot of the *Apennines*. The Plain was divided into two Parts, and the two Camps were separated, by a large and deep Stream. The two Enemies seemed mutually to stand in Awe of each other. *Pyrrhus* remembered the obstinate Fury of the *Romans*, in the last Battel? and the *Romans* feared the victorious *Pyrrhus*. And these mutual Apprehensions kept the two Armies a great while on the Banks of the Stream, before either ventured to pass it, to attack the other. What made the *Romans* the more formidable to the *Epirotæ*, was the *Consul Decius*, who, they feared, would devote himself to death. They could not be ignorant, that his Father and Grandfather, had, by devoting themselves to the *Dii Manes*, recovered the Victory to their own Party, when every thing seemed to threaten the total Defeat of their Troops. The Stories the *Italians* had told the *Epirotæ*, and the *Italian* Superstitions which they imbibed, made them believe, that the *Decii* transmitted some unaccountable Art of Necromancy from Father to Son, whereby they secured to themselves the Victory, whenever they lost their Lives, in a Battel: And it was therefore necessary, that *Pyrrhus* should take some Pains to undeceive them. To this end, he assured them, That the Success of Arms did not depend on Sorcery: That Valour alone determined it; and That the Success of the *Decii* in their Deaths, was founded in an unreasonable Prepossession, which raised the Courage of the *Romans*, and filled their Enemies with Terror. *Besides*, added he, *if there be any Enchantment in the* Devotements *of the* Decii, *it will be easy to take it away, or prevent it. In order to perfect the Charm, it is necessary, that the Chief, who devotes himself, should be dressed in a particular Dress, by which he will easily be known: and all you have to do, is to avoid striking the Victim, whom you see thus adorned.* Nor was this all. *Pyrrhus* sent a Message to *Decius*, to tell him, that if he attempted to devote himself, he should find his Enemies upon their Guard, and resolved not to put him to death; but that he should be taken alive, and the most cruel Punishment be inflicted on him, as a Cheat, after the Battel. The *Consuls* received *Pyrrhus*'s threatning, with an haughty Air, suitable to the Confidence they had of Success. *The* Epirot, said they, *is not formidable enough to us to reduce us to* Devotements. *Those are our last Remedies in inevitable Dangers. As for him, to let him see how little we fear him, we offer him his Choice, to pass the River unmolested, or to suffer us to do so: and we will then try, in the open Plain, and upon equal Terms, which of us shall have need of making use of extraordinary Methods to gain the Victory.* The King could not, in Point of Honour, decline the Challenge, and therefore, like a skilful *Greek*, chose to continue near his Camp, and to let the *Romans* cross the Stream, and leave it behind them.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIV. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO, P. DECIUS MUS, Consuls.

Florus in Epitome 11. *Zonaras, B.* 8. *c.* 5.

§. XXII. BUT before we describe the approaching Battel, it is necessary to observe, that it has been differently represented by the ancient Historians. Some pretend that

91 *Marianus* gives *Decius* the Surname of *Pyrgotus*, probably because this *Consul* was appointed to fight *Pyrrhus*, in the Battel of *Asculum*. *Eutropius* has *Decius Mummius* instead of *Decius Mus*, and therein contradicts the ancient Annals.

92 *Asculum*, now *Ascoli*, stood near the *Apennines*, not far from the City of *Arpi*. It was called *Asculum Apulum*, to distinguish it from another *Asculum* in *Picenum*, which was therefore called *Asculum Picenum*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIV. P. Sulpicius Saverrio, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

two general Battels were fought near *Aſculum*, on two Days ſucceſſively. Some give the *Romans*, others the King of *Epirus*, all the Advantage. Some greatly magnify, others exceſſively diminiſh the Number of the Slain, and Standards which were taken. As for us, we ſhall not interrupt our Narration with Diſputes, but barely relate, upon the Teſtimony of the beſt Hiſtorians, what we think moſt probable, and has the leaſt Appearance of Partiality. The *Romans* paſſed the Stream, and drew up in the Plain. The Fear they had at firſt been in, of the Elephants, was a little abated. A *Roman* Soldier had told his Companions the laſt Year, that they might be driven out of the Field, by cutting off their Trunks. Beſides, in the ſeveral Wars *Rome* had carried on againſt the *Gauls*, ſhe had ſoon learnt, not to fear the Arms of Strangers, or to be terrified at their different Ways of Fighting. Before the *Romans* had found out how to conquer the *Senones*, it had coſt them the Loſs of one Battel: And it was to be preſumed, that it would be with *Pyrrhus*, as it had been with them; that is, that after the firſt Overthrow, true Valour would gain the Aſcendant, as ſoon as it had conquered the Surpriſe of the Novelty of Things. Nor was this all. The *Conſuls*, in order to guard againſt the Fury of the Elephants, had prepared Chariots, thick ſet with long Points of Iron, like Forks, and filled with Soldiers. The *Gauls* had formerly uſed theſe Chariots in their Armies with Succeſs; and the *Romans* now imitated their Example in this Particular, for the firſt time. The Men carried in theſe Machines, were armed with Firebrands, which were to be thrown at the Elephants, to frighten them, and ſet their wooden Towers on Fire. And to this the *Roman* Generals added another Precaution. They ordered a Body of *Apulian* Troops, to come and attack *Pyrrhus*'s Lines, in the Heat of the Battel, in order either to force them, or at leaſt draw off ſome of the Enemy's Troops from the Engagement. In point of Strength, the *Romans* and *Epirotæ*, were equal. Each Army was computed at forty thouſand Men.

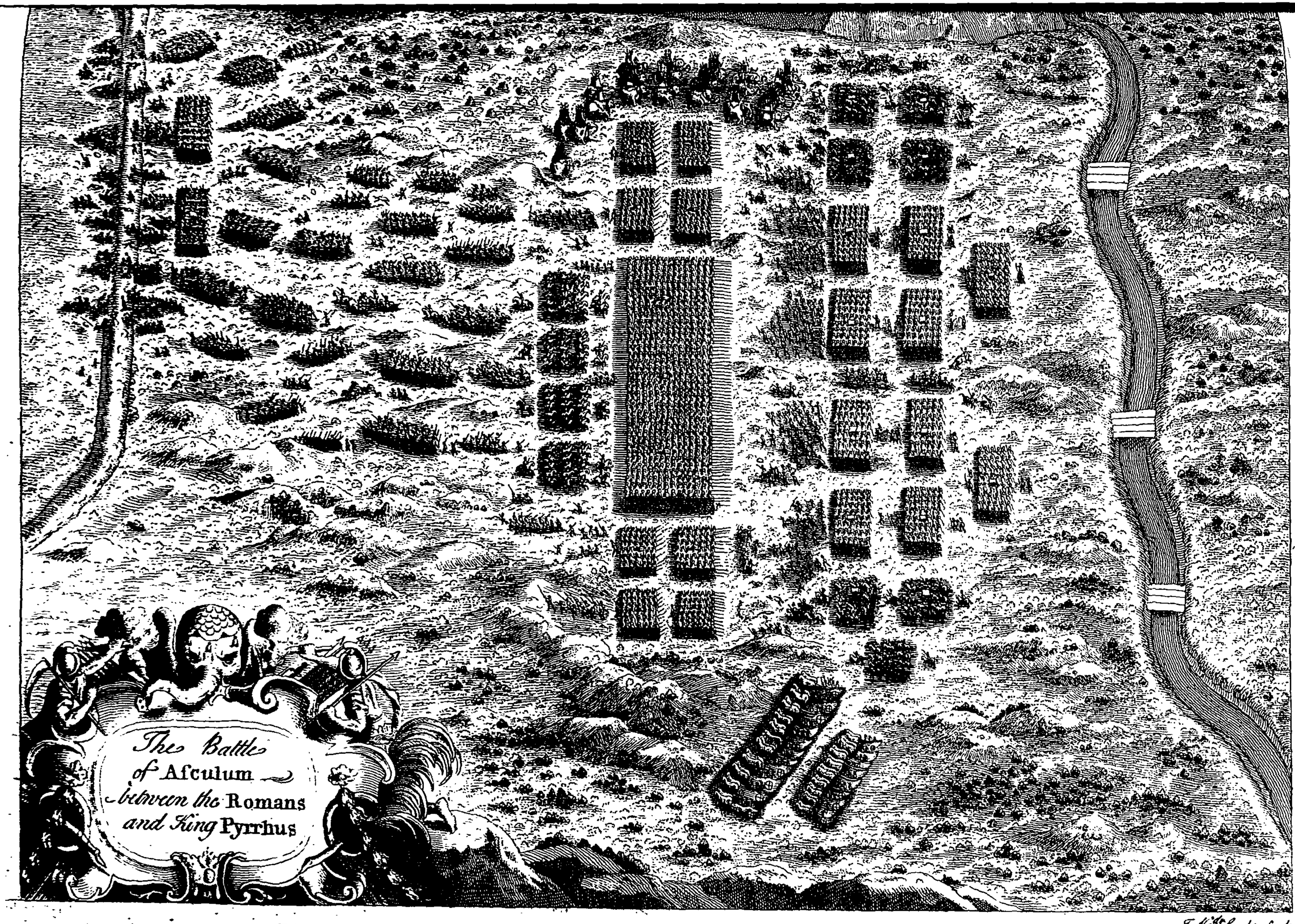
Plin. B. 8. and *Florus* B 1.

Zonaras B. 8. *c.* 5.

As for *Pyrrhus*, he alſo drew up his Men in Battalia; and all the Ancients do him the Juſtice to ſay, that no Officer ever more perfectly underſtood the Art of drawing up an Army, and directing its Motions. He conſidered the Nature of the Ground, on which the Battel was to be fought; and finding it full of Rocks, and Buſhes, he plainly foreſaw that the Cavalry could be of little Uſe in the Action: And therefore placed them and his Elephants, in the laſt Rank. In the right Wing, he poſted his *Epirotæ*, and the *Samnites*: In his left, the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, and *Salentini*. As for the Troops of *Tarentum*, he had no very good Opinion of them, and therefore blended them with his *Phalanx*, and would not ſuffer them to act in a ſeparate Body. The *Romans*, on the other hand, diſpoſed their Army as uſual. Their firſt Line, which engaged the Enemy's *Phalanx*, conſiſted of two *Legions*, and the ſecond of two more. They left Spaces between the *Manipuli* 93 like Streets, according

Frontin. in Stratag. B. 2.

93 The *Legions* were only divided into *Manipuli* at this time. They were not divided into *Cohorts* till afterwards. We find the latter firſt mentioned in *Julius Cæſar*'s Army. But in order to prove that the *Roman Legions* were not divided into *Coborts*, in *Polybius*'s time eſpecially, it is proper to make theſe previous Obſervations. 1. That the *Legions* anciently conſiſted of three ſorts of Soldiers, *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*. 2*dly*, That according to *Polybius*, there were 4200 in a *Legion*, including the *Triarii*, which were always 600. But the Number of the *Haſtati* and *Principes* varied, according as the *Legions* were bigger, or leſs. 3*dly*, That all Hiſtorians agree, that there always were to be ten *Coborts* in a *Legion*, whether it contained 4000, 5000, or 6000 Men. Suppoſing then, that it contained 4200 Men, which *Polybius* ſays it did in his time; in this Caſe, each *Cobort* could have contained but 420 Men, which does not agree with the fixed Number of 600 *Triarii*, which were the main Strength of the *Legion*: Unleſs we divide them into two Bodies, in order to make two *Coborts* of them, and then they will be reduced to 300 Men each. The ſame Difficulty will follow, if there were 5000 Men in the *Legion*. If indeed it contained 6000, then each *Cohort* will be 600, which was the Number of the *Triarii*. But nevertheleſs it is certain, that this Diviſion into *Cohorts* was not in Uſe before *Cæſar*'s time; which is invincibly proved in this manner. It is certain, the *Triarii* were the choice of the *Legion*, and that when drawn up in Battalia, they were poſted in the third Line. And it is alſo certain, that none were admitted into the firſt *Cohort*, but Men of the moſt experienced, and moſt diſtinguiſhed Valour; which is the Account the Ancients give us of the *Triarii*. But the latter were never poſted any where but in the third Line; and how then could they make the firſt *Cohort*, which all ancient Writers agree, engaged at the Head of the Army? So that the three Orders of the *Haſtati*, *Principes* and *Triarii*, could not be preſerved, and the *Legions* be at the ſame time divided into *Coborts*. Beſides, it muſt be granted, that the firſt *Centurion* of the *Triarii*, was the ſame Perſon whom the *Romans* called *Primipilus*, from the *Pilum*, a Weapon uſed only by them. Among the *Romans*, *Pilani* and *Triarii* were ſynonimous Terms. What we ſay of the *Primus Pilus* with Regard to the *Triarii*, may be equally applied to the firſt *Centurion* of the *Principes*, and the *Haſtati*. The former was called *Primus Princeps*, the latter *Primus Haſtatus*. If then we contend, as ſome Moderns do, that the three Bodies were divided into *Coborts*, we must neceſſarily



T. Vᵈᵉʳ Gucht Sculp

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIV. P. Sulpicius Saverrio, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

two general Battels were fought near *Aſculum*, on two Days ſucceſſively. Some give the *Romans*, others the King of *Epirus*, all the Advantage. Some greatly magnify, others exceſſively diminiſh the Number of the Slain, and Standards which were taken. As for us, we ſhall not interrupt our Narration with Diſputes, but barely relate, upon the Teſtimony of the beſt Hiſtorians, what we think moſt probable and has the leaſt Appearance of Partiality. The *Romans* paſſed the Stream, and drew up in the Plain. The Fear they had at firſt been in, of the Elephants, was a little abated. A *Roman* Soldier had told his Companions the laſt Year, that they might be driven out of the Field, by cutting off their Trunks. Beſides, in the ſeveral Wars *Rome* had carried on againſt the *Gauls*, ſhe had ſoon learnt, not to fear the Arms of Strangers, or to be terrified at their different Ways of Fighting. Before the *Romans* had found out how to conquer the *Senones*, it had coſt them the Loſs of one Battel: And it was to be preſumed, that it would be with *Pyrrhus*, as it had been with them; that is, that after the firſt Overthrow, true Valour would gain the Aſcendant, as ſoon as it had conquered the Surpriſe of the Novelty of Things. Nor was this all. The *Conſuls*, in order to guard againſt the Fury of the Elephants, had prepared Chariots, thick ſet with long Points of Iron, like Forks, and filled with Soldiers. The *Gauls* had formerly uſed theſe Chariots in their Armies with Succeſs, and the *Romans* now imitated their Example in this Particular, for the firſt time. The Men carried in theſe Machines, were armed with Firebrands, which were to be thrown at the Elephants, to frighten them, and ſet their wooden Towers on Fire. And to this the *Roman* Generals added another Precaution. They ordered a Body of *Apulian* Troops, to come and attack *Pyrrhus*'s Lines, in the Heat of the Battel, in order either to force them, or at leaſt draw off ſome of the Enemy's Troops from the Engagement. In point of Strength, the *Romans* and *Epirotæ*, were equal. Each Army was computed at forty thouſand Men.

Plin. B. 8. and *Florus* B 1.

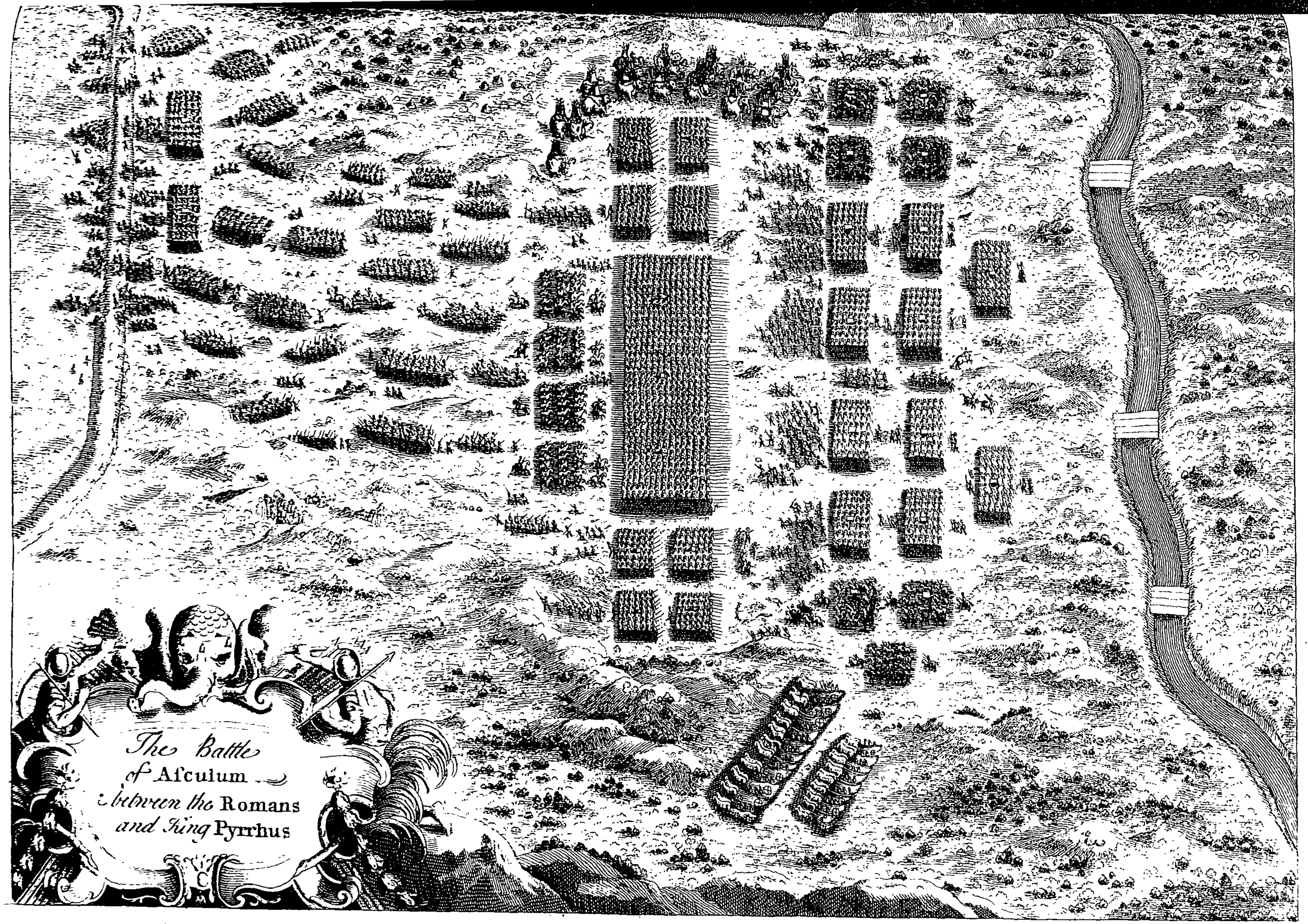
Zonaras B. 8. c. 5.

As for *Pyrrhus*, he alſo drew up his Men in Battalia; and all the Ancients do him the Juſtice to ſay, that no Officer ever more perfectly underſtood the Art of drawing up an Army, and directing its Motions. He conſidered the Nature of the Ground, on which the Battel was to be fought; and finding it full of Rocks, and Buſhes, he plainly foreſaw that the Cavalry could be of little Uſe in the Action: And therefore placed them and his Elephants, in the laſt Rank. In the right Wing, he poſted his *Epirotæ*, and the *Samnites*: In his left, the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, and *Salentini*. As for the Troops of *Tarentum*, he had no very good Opinion of them, and therefore blended them with his *Phalanx*, and would not ſuffer them to act in a ſeparate Body. The *Romans*, on the other hand, diſpoſed their Army as uſual. Their firſt Line, which engaged the Enemy's *Phalanx*, conſiſted of two *Legions*, and the ſecond of two more. They left Spaces between the *Manipuli* 93 like Streets, accord-

Frontin. in Stratag. B. 2.

in

93 The *Legions* were only divided into *Manipuli* at this time. They were not divided into *Cohorts* till afterwards. We find the latter firſt mentioned in *Julius Cæſar*'s Army. But in order to prove that the *Roman Legions* were not divided into *Cohorts*, in *Polybius*'s time eſpecially, it is proper to make theſe previous Obſervations. 1. That the *Legions* anciently conſiſted of three ſorts of Soldiers, *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*. 2*dly*, That according to *Polybius*, there were 4200 in a *Legion*, including the *Triarii*, which were always 600. But the Number of the *Haſtati* and *Principes* varied, according as the *Legions* were bigger, or leſs. 3*dly*, That all Hiſtorians agree, that there always were to be ten *Cohorts* in a *Legion*, whether it contained 4000, 5000, or 6000 Men. Suppoſing then, that it contained 4200 Men, which *Polybius* ſays it did in his time; in this Caſe, each *Cohort* could have contained but 420 Men, which does not agree with the fixed Number of 600 *Triarii*, which were the main Strength of the *Legion*: Unleſs we divide them into two Bodies, in order to make two *Cohorts* of them, and then they will be reduced to 300 Men each. The ſame Difficulty will follow, if there were 5000 Men in the *Legion*. If indeed it contained 6000, then each *Cohort* will be 600, which was the Number of the *Triarii*. But nevertheleſs it is certain, that this Diviſion into *Cohorts* was not in Uſe before *Cæſar*'s time; which is invincibly proved in this manner. It is certain the *Triarii* were the choice of the *Legion*, and that when drawn up in Battalia, they were poſted in the third Line. And it is alſo certain, that none were admitted into the firſt *Cohort*, but Men of the most experienced, and moſt diſtinguiſhed Valour; which is the Account the Ancients give us of the *Triarii*. But the latter were never poſted any where but in the third Line; and how then could they make the firſt *Cohort*, which all ancient Writers agree, engaged at the Head of the Army? So that the three Orders of the *Haſtati*, *Principes* and *Triarii*, could not be preſerved, and the *Legions* be at the ſame time divided into *Cohorts*. Beſides, it muſt be granted, that the firſt *Centurion* of the *Triarii*, was the ſame Perſon whom the *Romans* called *Primus pilus*, from the *Pilum*, a Weapon uſed only by them. Among the *Romans*, *Pilani* and *Triarii* were ſynonimous Terms. What we ſay of the *Primus Pilus* with Regard to the *Triarii*, may be equally applied to the firſt *Centurion* of the *Principes*, and the *Haſtati*. The former was called *Primus Princeps*, the latter *Primus Haſtatus*. But then we contend, as ſome Moderns do, that the three Bodies were divided into *Cohorts*, we muſt neceſſari-


The Battle
of Asculum
between the Romans
and King Pyrrhus

ing to their old Cuſtom; and the Auxiliaries, which were light-armed, were continually in Motion from Place to Place, and fought with Slings and Darts. The *Roman* Cavalry was poſted in the Wings, ſo as not to incommode the Infantry, and yet be ready to act upon the firſt Orders. The Chariots were poſted over againſt the Elephants, and were ordered not to ſtir, till they entered upon Action. And in point of Skill, an ancient Author boldly ſays, that the *Romans* had then learnt the Art of War 94 to Perfection, by their Wars with the *Gauls*, and *Samnites*. So that never

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIV. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO, P. DECIUS MUS, Conſuls. *Polybius B.* 8.

neceſſarily diſplace the *Primipilus* of the *Triarii*, in order to put him at the Head of the firſt *Cohort*, which is the Poſt the Hiſtorians give the *Primipilus*, in *Julius Cæſar*'s Army. Beſides, we are told by *Polybius*, that the *Principes* and *Haſtati*, were each divided into ten Battalions, which were called *Manipuli*: And each of theſe Battalions contained more or fewer Soldiers, according to the Number of Men in the *Legion*. In a *Legion* of 4200 Men, which is the Number *Polybius* gives it, each *Manipulus* muſt have contained 120 Soldiers, which were called an *Ordo*, or *Manipulus*. The ten *Manipuli* together made juſt 1200 Men, as well of the *Principes*, as the *Haſtati*. If then we divide this Number 1200 into three Parts, to reduce them to *Cohorts*, it is plain there can be but three *Cohorts*, of 400 Men each, in the *Haſtati*, and the like Number in the *Principes*; ſix in all: and there are four more to be taken out of the 600 *Triarii*, if we make the *Legion* complete. So that we can never bring the *Cohorts* to ten, if there were juſt 400 Men in a *Cohort*. And if we reduce a *Legion* of 4200 Men, to that Number of *Cohorts*, yet ſtill the reckoning will not be right; for then every *Cohort* will be 420 Men. But it may perhaps be anſwered, that the light-armed Infantry, which, according to *Polybius*, were 1200 Men, will make three *Cohorts* more, and ſo bring up the Number to nine. But then the tenth *Cohort*, which will conſiſt of the 600 *Triarii*, will have 200 Men too much. Add to this, that the light-armed Troops were not incorporated into the *Legions*. This Name was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, given only to the *Triarii*, *Principes*, and *Haſtati*. The others were, if I may ſo ſpeak, Supernumeraries, and not reckoned as a part of the regular Troops. For which Reaſon, they were not divided into *Manipuli*; and had no Colours, or fixed Poſt, when the Army was drawn up. On ſome Occaſions, they were diſtributed among the other Battalions equally, or ordered to advance at the Head of the Army, and begin the Attack. But the proper Buſineſs of this light-armed Infantry, was to harraſs the Enemy with continual Skirmiſhes, till the general Action began. Nevertheleſs, *Polybius* reckons them among the Soldiers of the *Legion*. That of 4200 Men, contained, according to him, but 1200 *Haſtati*, as many *Principes*, and 600 *Triarii*. Each of theſe Bodies was divided into ten *Manipuli*; thoſe of the two former contained 120 Men each, which is the tenth part of 1200: and each *Manipulus* of the *Triarii*, muſt have contained ſixty Soldiers, the tenth part of 600. So that theſe thirty Battalions together make juſt 3000 Men, which was the Standard of the old *Legion* of *Romulus*; and in order to make the *Legion* 4200 Men, according to *Polybius*, we muſt add to theſe 3000, the 1200 light-armed Soldiers, which the *Greek* Hiſtorian ſays, were incorporated with the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*.

Now, from what has been ſaid, it follows, 1. That the Moderns, and *Livy* himſelf did not rightly underſtand the Terms Τάγμα, Σπεῖρα, and Σημεία, which *Polybius* often uſes to ſignify a *Manipulus*. The latter underſtands by the Word Τάγμα, what the *Romans* called *Manipulus*, or *Ordo*. This ſort of Battalions were called in *Latin Ordines*, becauſe the *Legions* were *orderly* divided into *Manipuli*. The *Greek* Word Σημαία, which that Hiſtorian uſes, anſwers to the *Latin* Word *Signum*, and ſignifies an Enſign, or Standard. It is well known that each *Manipulus* had its own, as we have elſewhere obſerved, particularly *B.* 1. where we treat of *Romulus*'s *Legion*. So that it is not at all ſtrange, that *Polybius* ſhould call a *Manipulus*, Σημαία. *Signum* and *Manipulus* were ſynonimous Terms. The other *Greek* Word Σπεῖρα, is indifferently uſed by the *Greek* Writers, to ſignify either a *Cohort*, or *Manipulus*; and *Livy* has taken it, in the former Senſe, when he ſpeaks of the old *Roman* Diſcipline. He ſpeaks the Language of his own Age, when the *Legions* were no longer divided into *Manipuli*, but *Cohorts*. Inſtead of taking it in the Senſe it had, in *Polybius*'s time, he gives it another Signification, which it had not till afterwards. He did not conſider that the Senſe of theſe arbitrary Terms is relative, to the Cuſtoms of the Age in which they are uſed. And the Commentators have taken this Inadvertency in this great Hiſtorian, for an abſolute Determination. Hence the Anachroniſms, and wrong Computations of thoſe, who pretend, that the *Roman Legions* were always divided into *Cohorts*.

94 It muſt be granted, that the *Roman* Soldiery underwent many changes. We have obſerved, that in *Servius Tullius*'s Reign, the richeſt Citizens, who made the firſt *Claſs*, engaged at the Head of the Army. The inferior *Claſſes* were placed behind the firſt, according to the Order of their *Centuries*. Afterwards every Soldier was placed according to the Number of Years he had ſerved. The youngeſt were foremoſt; thoſe who were advanced in Age, were poſted in the main Body; and the Veterans, who were more experienced than the reſt, were a *Corpſe-de-reſerve*, and were generally the laſt reſource of the Army, in great Emergencies. This Order likewiſe was ſeveral times changed, according to the Difference of Times, Circumſtances, and Enemies. Thus we ſhall ſee the Choice of the Troops poſted in the firſt Ranks, in After-ages, and the Light-infantry, made the Rear-guard. This new Order was introduced by *Marius*, who changed the old Order of Fighting, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper Place. And laſtly, we are not to imagine, that the *Roman* Soldiery were ordered in the ſame manner by the Emperors, as in the preceding Ages. For want of attending to this, moſt Commentators have confounded that Diſpoſition of the *Roman* Armies, which *Polybius* deſcribes, with that which *Julius Cæſar* has given in his *Commentaries*. Hence ariſe *Vegetius*'s Miſtakes, who makes one confuſed Jumble of all the different Orders obſerved, building upon the Accounts of ſeveral Authors whom he joins all together, though they lived in very diſtant Ages. And it is not at all ſurpriſing, that he ſhould ſtumble, almoſt at every Step, when he lays down for a conſtant Rule, certain arbitrary Cuſtoms, which were either interrupted, or aboliſhed: And from hence it is, that moſt reaſon about the *Roman* Soldiery, without regard to the order of Time. Whereas the leaſt Knowledge of Antiquity will ſhew us, that modern Authors have not treated of the military Art of the ancient *Romans*, with the Accuracy, that ſo important and ſo obſcure a Subject requires. By joining ſo many Situations in one view, they have

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIV. P. Sulpicius Saverrio, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

never two Armies engaged upon a greater Equality. *Pyrrhus* made War by Rules and the *Romans* practiſed their old way of Fighting, which they had by Experience found to be the beſt. At length the Attack begun.

I

have confounded the Objects, which muſt be repreſented ſucceſſively, and under different Aſpects, if we would ſee them diſtinctly. For want of conſidering the *Roman* Soldiery, with this Exactneſs. *Vegetius* fancied, that thoſe were called *Principes*, who were poſted in the firſt Line, when drawn up in Battalia. Whereas it is evident, from the *Roman* Hiſtorians, that they were poſted in the ſecond, and the *Haſtati* in the firſt, long before the Time of *Scipio*. So that the *Principes* were poſted between them and the *Triarii*. But *Vegetius* is nevertheleſs excuſable, in following *Celſus*, and *Frontinus*. Theſe Authors likewiſe for want of attending to different Changes that were made in the Order of the *Roman* Armies, were miſtaken in thinking that the *Principes* were placed before the *Haſtati*. And they were confirmed in their Miſtake by this, that thoſe who fought in the firſt Line, were called *Principia*, and *Principales Milites* in their time. Thus, in *Cæſar*'s time, the light-armed were indifferently called, either *Principes*, or *Anteſignani*, or *Velites*. *Varro*'s Teſtimony alone is ſufficient to ſhew, that the Order of the *Roman* Armies was not always the ſame. He ſays, the *Haſtati* were formerly placed in the firſt Rank. *Haſtati dicti quod primi pugnabant Haſtis*. Behind them were the *Principes*, whoſe Weapon was the Sword. But in After-ages, when the Order of the Armies had been changed, the moſt inconſiderable part of the Troops were called *Principes*. *Principes quia principio gladiis pugnabant, & poſt, commutata re militari, minus illuſtres ſumuntur*. So that, in *Varro*'s time, the light-armed Troops were called *Principes* and *Anteſignani*; whereas in the more diſtant Ages, only the *Haſtati* and *Principes* were called *Anteſignani*, becauſe they marched before the *Colours*, which were generally poſted among the *Triarii*. To this Order ſucceeded another, according to which, the *Triarii* were poſted in the firſt Line, with the Eagle of the *Legion*, and other Standards: And then the light-armed Troops, who skirmiſhed at the Head of the Army, were called *Anteſignani*, and *Principes*, becauſe they were the *firſt* who engaged. And laſtly, we ſhall in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, ſee the Names of *Principia*, and *Principales Milites* applied to the *Tribunes*, *Centurions*, and chief Officers of the firſt *Manipuli*. In *Cæſar* and *Pompey*'s Army, we ſhall find no mention made of the *Triarii*. Our Buſineſs therefore in this Place, is to run over in order, the ſeveral Changes that were made in the military Art, among the *Romans*; which we propoſe to do, by conſidering the *Roman* Armies in their different Situations, from the Eſtabliſhment of the Republick, to the time of *Scipio*. What the Ancients ſay, on this Subject, may be reduced to theſe Heads.

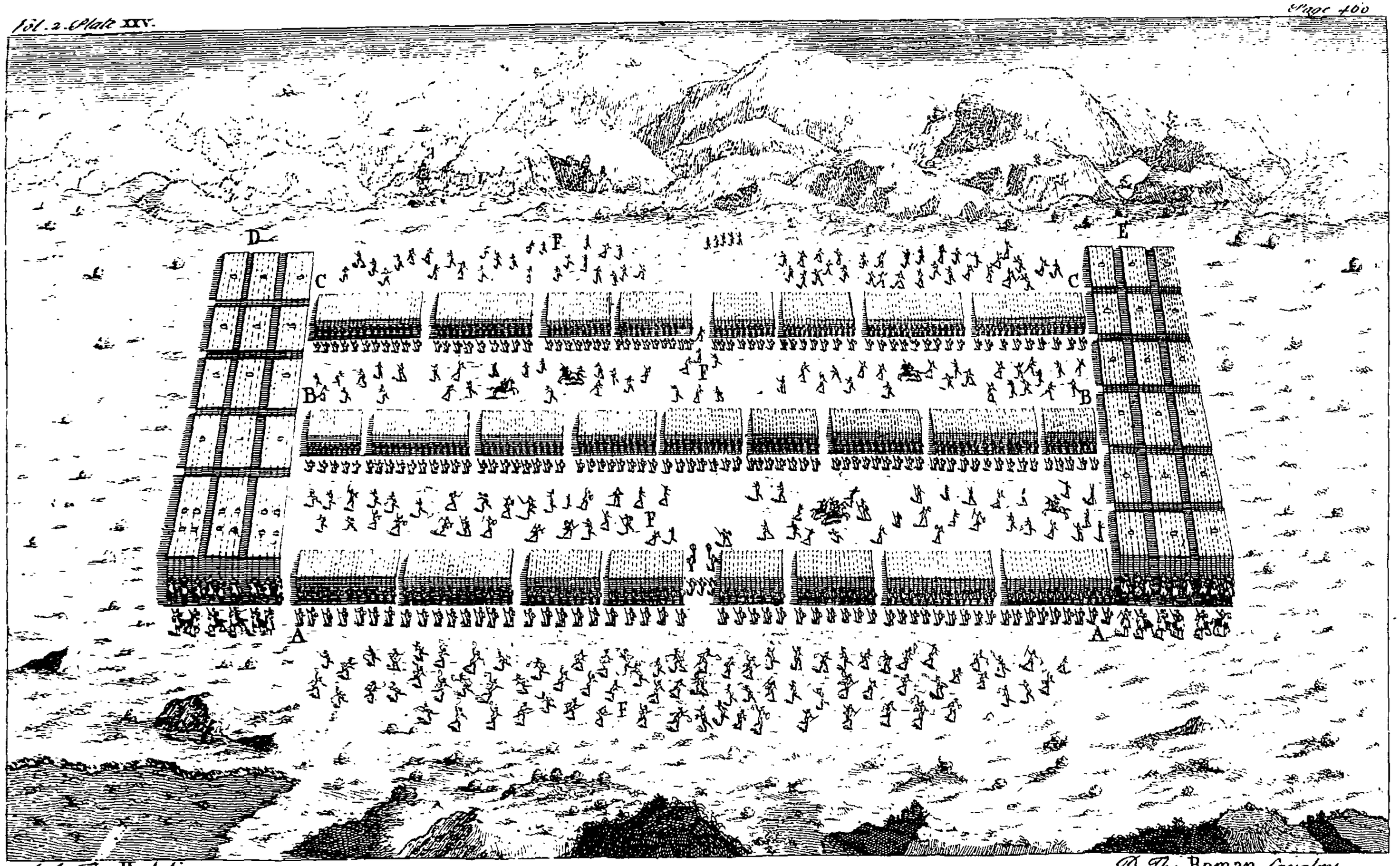
1. The *Romans* moſt commonly drew up their Armies in three Lines, conſiſting of Soldiers completely armed, as well to act offenſively, as defenſively. The *Haſtati*, ſo called from a ſort of Weapon like our Lances, made the firſt Line. In the ſecond were the *Principes*; ſo called from the *Latin* Word *Princeps*, either becauſe in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, they were placed at the Head of the Army, or becauſe they were preferred before the *Haſtati*. *Varro* tells us, that their offenſive Weapon was the Sword. *Principes, qui a principio gladiis pugnabant*. The *Triarii* were poſted in the *third* Line; from whence they were called *Triarii*, or *Tertiani*. Their Weapon was a ſort of Lance, which the *Roman* Hiſtorians call *Pilum*. Thus the *Roman* Army engaged in three parallel Lines.

2. Theſe three Orders of *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, were divided into *Manipuli*. Between theſe little Battalions there were generally empty Spaces left, in ſuch a manner, that the *Manipuli* of the ſecond Line, were poſted directly over againſt the Spaces of the firſt, and thoſe of the third over againſt the Spaces in the ſecond. By this means the *Principes* were ready to take the Place of the *Haſtati* whenever they ſhould be repulſed by the Enemy, and forced to retire through the Spaces between each Line, and each *Manipulus*. And then it was the Buſineſs of the *Principes* to ſuſtain the Attacks of the Enemy, till the *Haſtati* rallied behind the third Line. If the ſecond Line underwent the ſame Fate as the firſt, it retreated through the Spaces beforementioned, and was relieved by the *Triarii*. And then, as the third Attack was the laſt Effort of the *Legion*, all three Bodies were ſo united, as to make but one great Battalion. This Union hindered the *Triarii* from giving way; but if they were once cut in pieces, the *Roman* Army had no Refuge, but in a ſpeedy Flight.

3. As ſoon as the *Legions* were drawn up in Battalia, the *Conſul* ordered the light-armed Infantry, which the *Roman* Hiſtorians call *Leves*, *Rorarii*, and *Accenſi*, to advance into the Spaces between each *Manipulus*. The *Rorarii* and *Accenſi* ſeem to have been two different Claſſes, both comprehended under the general Name of *Leves*. At leaſt we have Reaſon to gueſs ſo from *Livy*'s Account of the Order of the *Roman* Army, *B.* 8. where he is ſpeaking of the War, the Republick maintained againſt the confederate Nations of *Latium*. We have already ſpoken of the *Rorarii* and *Accenſi*, *B.* 16. *p.* 167. of this Volume, *Note* 64. Theſe were Dart-men and Slingers, who skirmiſhed at the Head of the *Legions*. After they had made their firſt Attack, they retired through the Spaces between the Battalions, and returned to the Charge a ſecond or third time, till the Battel was begun.

4. The *Roman Legions* were flanked, both to the right and left, by the auxiliary Infantry, which the People of *Latium*, among others, furniſhed. Theſe foreign Troops were drawn up in the ſame manner as the *Legions*. They had their *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, as we are told by *Livy*, *B.* 8. Theſe were poſted in three different Lines, ſo as to flank the *Roman Legions*, which were in the Center. As for the Cavalry, both that of the *Romans*, and their Auxiliaries, was inferior in Number to the Infantry, in which the main Strength of the Army conſiſted: and the Horſe were generally poſted in the two Wings, ſo as to cover the two Flanks. They fought in *Turmæ*, or Squadrons, which were drawn up at ſome Diſtance from one another, that they might have the more Liberty, to wheel, and make the ſeveral Motions, then uſed by the *Roman* Cavalry. Each *Turma* contained thirty Men; which were ſubdivided into three *Decuriæ*, which were Brigades of ten Horſemen each, with an Officer at the Head of them, who was called *Decurio*. It is uncertain, whether theſe three Tens, were joined in one Body, or poſted at a Diſtance from each other.

5. The Army was generally drawn up in the Form of a Square. I ſay generally, becauſe the Commander ſometimes had Regard to the Situation of the Ground, the Order and Strength of the Enemy, and ſeveral other Circumſtances, which obliged him to alter the Diſpoſition of his Army. So that the *Legions* were ſometimes drawn up in the Form of a Triangle, ſometimes in that of a Wedge, and



A.A. The Hastati.
B.B. The Principes.
C. The Triarii.

A. Roman *Army drawn up in Battalia.*

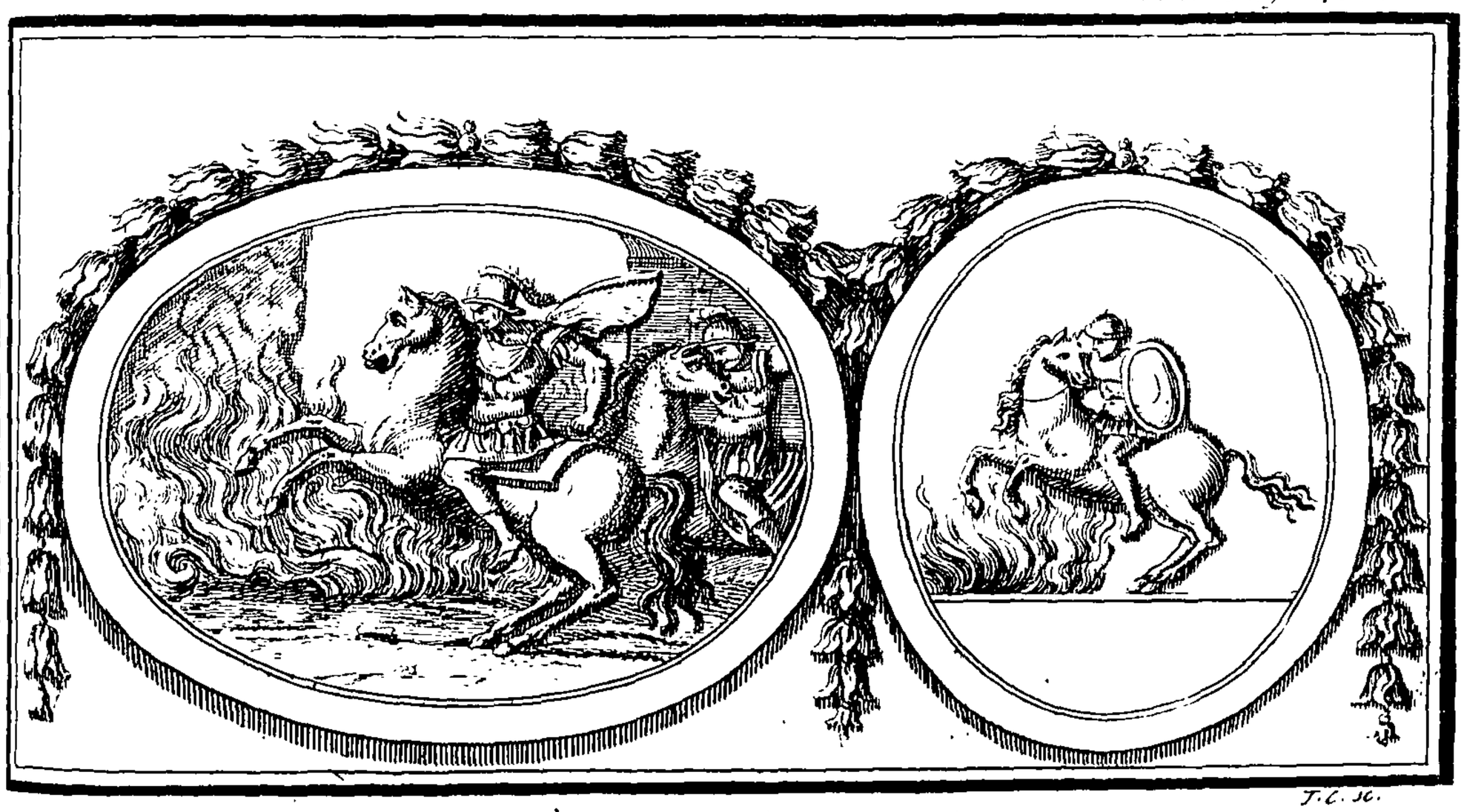
D. The Roman *Cavalry.*
E. The Cavalry of y^e Auxiliaries.
FFFF. Light-armed Soldiers.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIV. P. Sulpicius Saverrio, P. Decius Mus, Consuls.

It is moſt certain, that the *Romans* ſurpaſſed in Courage that Multitude of Troops of different Nations, of which *Pyrrhus*'s Army conſiſted: And the *Epirot* could ſcarce have any Advantage over the *Conſuls*, but in his Readineſs and Skill in finding out Expedients. However, the *Greeks* ſuſtained the furious Attacks of the *Legions* a great while, but were at laſt forced to give Way. The *Romans* preſſed them with ſuch Vehemence, that they repulſed, diſordered, and broke through the Enemy's Battalions. And then *Pyrrhus* gave ſuch Orders, as recovered his Affairs. He commanded his Elephants to advance; but not to the ſide where the *Romans* had poſted their Chariots; they marched round, and came and fell upon the *Roman* Cavalry. Theſe Animals were moſt formidable to the Horſes; which no ſooner ſaw them, but they were too headſtrong for their Riders to govern them. The *Roman* Squadrons were routed; and the Diſorder of their Horſes, brought on the Slaughter of theſe brave Men. As for the *Roman* Infantry, the Elephants could indeed little incommode them; but it is probable, that the *Epirotæ* were inſpired with freſh Courage, at the Defeat of the Enemy's Cavalry. Then all Things went ill with the *Romans*: And it may be preſumed, that at this inſtant, the *Conſul Decius* loſt his Life in the Fight. Whether it was by Accident, or whether he deſignedly ſought Death, in the midſt of the Enemy's Battalions, after he had [95] devoted himſelf to the *Dii Manes*, may be doubted. *Cicero* [96] tells us he imitated his Fathers, and freely ſacrificed his Life to ſave his Country. But be that as it will, for the Hiſtorians don't ſay enough of it, to aſcertain it; it is undoubtedly true, that *Decius* was killed upon the Spot, and that there was then but one *Conſul* left to command the two *Roman* Armies.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 5.

Vol. II. Page 401.



F. C. Sc.

and ſometimes in a Circle, that it might face every Way. This general Account of the *Roman* Armies will be better underſtood, by conſidering the Plate annexed. And we ſhall frequently have Occaſion hereafter, to explain more particularly, what we have here only given a Sketch of.

[95] See *B.* 16. *p.* 164, 165, of this Volume; and *B.* 19.

[96] *Cicero* ſays, *Tuſculan. B.* 1. that the *Conſul Decius* here ſpoken of, was the Grandſon of *Publius Decius*, who devoted himſelf to Death, to ſave his Country, during the War between the *Romans* and the *Latins*, as has been related, *B.* 16. To which he adds, that this *Conſul* was alſo the Son of him, who followed his Father's Example, in the Battel the *Romans* fought, with the united *Hetrurians* and *Gauls*, as we have likewiſe obſerved before, *B.* 19. And upon *Cicero*'s Teſtimony, we thought we might declare, that this laſt *Decius*, ſacrificed his Life after the Example of his Anceſtors, and was killed in the ſecond Battel with *Pyrrhus*. The *Roman Orator*'s Words are theſe. *Si mors timerecur, non cum Latinis decertans pater Decius, cum Etruſcis filius, etiam cum Pyrrho Nepos, ſe hoſtium telis objeciſſent.* And he takes the ſame thing for granted, in his ſecond Book, *De finibus Bonorum & Malorum.* Neither *Plutarch*, *Florus*, nor *Eutropius* ſay any thing of it. *Zonaras* indeed ſays, *Annals, B.* 2. That this *Conſul* made all proper Preparations for devoting himſelf; but does not ſay, that he put his Deſign, of ſeeking Death in the midſt of the Enemy's Squadrons, in execution. *Curtius* was the firſt Inſtance of this ſort of *Devotements* in *Rome*; when he rode, completely armed, into the midſt of a Gulph, in order to procure his Republick a perpetual Duration. There is an Antique in the *Borgheſe* Vineyard, which expreſſes this Action of *Curtius*, with a Spirit never to be enough admired: and we have given the Reader a Copy of this Maſter-piece *. The Figures above are taken from two other Antiques, on which two Horſemen are repreſented as devoting themſelves, by leaping into the midſt of Flames.

**See the Frontiſpiece to this Volume.*

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIV.
P. Sulpicius Saverrio, P. Decius Mus, Conſuls.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Oroſius B. 4.

But whilſt *Pyrrhus* was recovering his firſt Diſadvantages, and his Infantry was gaining Ground, a new Accident put his Troops into Diſorder. The Body of *Apulians*, whom the *Conſuls* had laid in Ambuſh, came on a ſudden, and fell upon the Camp of the *Epirotæ*. The Attack they made upon it, obliged *Pyrrhus* to diſpatch away a Detachment in haſte, to fly to the Relief of his beſieged Entrenchments: And this ſudden Departure of ſome of his Troops, cauſed the Battel to end to his Diſadvantage. Some of his Soldiers fancied their Troops began to loſe Ground, others thought their Camp was taken; and all imagined the Misfortune to be greater than it was. And upon this they immediately gave Way, and fled. *Pyrrhus* in vain endeavoured to rally his Troops, and lead them back to the Engagement: Whilſt, on the other hand, the *Romans* cloſely puſhed the Fugitives, without giving them time to breathe, and came and fell upon *Pyrrhus* himſelf. Then the King, in the midſt of his Friends, and chief Officers, received a conſiderable Wound; as did *Fabricius* likewiſe, who commanded, as Lieutenant-General in the *Roman* Armies. Nor did the *Roman* Soldiers ſpare the Elephants. They put theſe terrible Beaſts to flight, by clapping lighted Flambeaux under their Bellies; and they fled ſo ſwiftly, that they ſtruck Terror and Confuſion even into the *Greek Phalanx*. In the mean time, the Sun was near ſetting. The two Armies were both fatigued with the Fight; and the Slaughter had been exceeding great. A great Number of *Romans* had alſo received Wounds, and were not in a Condition to march far after the *Epirotæ*. For which Reaſons, *Sulpicius* ſounded a Retreat, repaſſed the Stream, and brought his Troops back to his Camp, to refreſh themſelves there.

Such was the Battel of *Aſculum*. But ſome 97 Hiſtorians make this ſingle Action to have been two Battels. Without doubt, the different Succeſs of the Day, in which *Pyrrhus* was firſt Conqueror, and then conquered, was what led them to divide this ſingle Engagement into two. Some indeed give the *Romans*, others the *Epirotæ*, all the Advantage: which often happens after Battels, in which the Succeſs has been doubtful, and the Loſs equal. Each Party claims the Victory, and the credulous Writers give it to one or the other, according as they are informed or inclined. As for us, we cannot but be of Opinion, that *Sulpicius* was not thought at *Rome* to have gained a complete Victory, in the Battel of *Aſculum;* and the Republick her ſelf is our Voucher for it. She did not decree the ſurviving *Conſul* a Triumph; the *Triumphal Tables* don't mention any. Nevertheleſs, *Rome* had no Reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the Succeſs of the Campaign: ſince ſhe had at leaſt taught *Pyrrhus*, that ſhe was able to keep his Victories in ſuſpence. As to the Number of the Dead, leſt we ſhould exaggerate them, we ſhall confine our ſelves to 98 *Plutarch*'s Account, who ſays, there were in all fifteen thouſand ſlain. *Pyrrhus*

was

97 Hiſtorians give us very different Accounts of the Battel of *Aſculum*. *Plutarch* pretends it was a double Action between the *Romans* and *Epirotæ*. His relation of it, is this. *Pyrrhus*, ſays he, was pent up in a Place, where the Cavalry could not be of any Uſe, near a River, whoſe Banks were marſhy, and not eaſy to be come at. So that it was not poſſible for him to bring up his Elephants, to join his Infantry. He loſt a great Number of Men on the Spot, and had as many wounded. Night alone, which put an end to the Battel, ſaved him from an entire Defeat. The next Day, *Pyrrhus*, to repair his Loſſes, took Poſſeſſion of a more even Ground. There he placed his Elephants; and very early in the Morning, a Body of his Troops, ſeized, by his Order, thoſe difficult Poſts, which had proved fatal to his Army in the laſt Action. He drew up his Army in Battalia, and poſted a great Number of Archers and Pikemen, among his Elephants. In this order, he advanced towards the Enemy, and fell with Impetuoſity upon the *Roman* Troops, which, after a long Reſiſtance, fled before the Elephants, whoſe furious Attack they could not withſtand. But *Eutropius*, on the other hand, gives all the Glory of the Battel to the *Romans*. According to him, *Pyrrhus* loſt his Elephants in it, was wounded himſelf, and forced to fly to *Tarentum*, to eſcape being taken by the Enemy. But this Account is contradicted by the other Hiſtorians. *Dion. Hal.* according to *Plutarch* himſelf, contends, That there was but one Battel fought near the City of *Aſculum*: That the Succeſs of this great Action was very doubtful: That *Pyrrhus* was wounded in the Arm with a Spear, and That his Baggage was plundered by the *Samnites*. And on this Occaſion, he makes *Pyrrhus* give the following Anſwer to a Man, who congratulated him upon his Victory, *Such another will ruin us.*

98 Authors diſagree as to the Number of the Dead. *Hieronymus*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, reckons that the *Romans* loſt ſix thouſand, and *Pyrrhus* three thouſand five hundred. And in proof of this, he quotes the Regiſters of this Prince, which mention thoſe Numbers. But according to *Dion. Hal.* as quoted by *Plutarch*, there were about fifteen thouſand ſlain on both ſides. *Eutropius*, who falſely ſuppoſes, that the *Roman* Army was victorious, ſays, that *Pyrrhus* loſt twenty thouſand Men in the Battel, and the *Romans* only five thouſand: *Pyrrhus vulneratus eſt, Elephanti interfecti, viginti millia cæſa hoſtium, & ex Romanis tantum quinque millia, Pyrrhus Tarentum fugatus.* And here we ought to take Notice of a ſtrange Contradiction in *Florus*. He, ſpeaking of *Pyrrhus*'s Wars with the *Romans*, ſays, That the Elephants were of great Service to this King in his firſt Battel: That in the ſecond, the Soldiers were not terrified at the ſight of theſe Animals: (one of them, ſays he, was wounded; which was enough to ſhew that they were mortal;) and That in the third Action, they proved fatal to the

was very ſenſible, that he had not gained any Superiority over his Enemies. He was deſtitute of Proviſions, and wanted Medicines for his wounded Men; and therefore, unknown to the *Romans*, retired to *Tarentum*, where he ſtayed the reſt of the Campaign. As for *Sulpicius*, he appeared upon the Field of Battel again the next Day, reſolving to bring the *Epirotæ* to another Engagement. But he found them decamped; and therefore retired himſelf, and put his Troops into Winter-Quarters in *Apulia*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIV. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO, P. DECIUS MUS, Conſuls. *Zonar. B.* 8.

§. XXIII. AT *Rome*, the publick Apprehenſions were greatly diminiſhed, ſince the *Conſul Sulpicius* had fought the formidable *Pyrrhus*, with at leaſt equal Succeſs. The Hopes of all Men revived; and it was now thought no impoſſible thing, to drive that Foreigner out of *Italy*, whoſe firſt Victory had made him thought invincible. In order to get rid of him with the greater Certainty, two Men were choſen *Conſuls*, who lived in a perfect Underſtanding with one another, and whoſe Probity and Valour were revered even by their Enemies. Theſe were the famous *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, who had been *Conſuls* together four Years before. So that the Law 99, which forbad any Perſon to exerciſe this great Office above once in ten Years, was already grown obſolete. Beſides, in great Emergencies, it is not always beſt to proceed in the moſt regular, but in the ſafeſt Way. Under the Adminiſtration of theſe two great Men, *Rome* had Reaſon to expect to ſee *Italy* delivered by her own Forces only; which Expectation was, doubtleſs, what made her ſo proud, as to reject the Aſſiſtance *Carthage* offered her. The 100 *Carthaginians* had entered into ſeveral Treaties with the *Romans*, and had long been their Friends and Allies. And the *African* Republick, thought this a favourable Opportunity, to ſend an Embaſſy into *Italy*, to prevail on the *Romans*, under the Pretence of Friendſhip, to receive the Succours *Carthage* ſent her. Accordingly *Mago*, the *Carthaginian*, appeared on the Coaſts of *Italy*, and brought with him a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Sail, to the Road neareſt to *Rome*. There the Ambaſſador landed, went to *Rome*, and appeared in the Senate. The *Carthaginians* are known to have been naturally an artful People, whoſe Policy was not always accompanied with Truth and Fidelity. The *Romans*, on the contrary, valued themſelves on their Integrity; but did not want Penetration. They did not deſire to deceive; but were very careful not to be deceived themſelves. *Mago* repreſented to the *Conſcript Fathers*, the Matter of his Embaſſy, without diſcovering the Motives of it. *Carthage*, ſaid he, *could not ſee the moſt flouriſhing Republick in* Italy *attacked by the King of* Epirus, *without intereſting her ſelf in the Glory and Safety of* Rome, *her ancient Friend and Ally. My Country has deputed me, to come hither, and offer you the Men and Fleet I have brought to your Defence. One Foreigner makes War with you; others fly to your Aſſiſtance.*

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV. C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Conſuls. *Zonar. B.* 8. c. 5.

Juſtin, B. 18.

the *Epirotæ*. And the ſame *Florus* tells us, that the Elephants robbed the *Romans* of the firſt Victory, kept the ſecond doubtful, and determined the laſt Battel in favour of the *Romans*; in the following Words, *Eædem feræ, quæ primam victoriam abſtulerant, ſecundam parem fecerunt, tertiam ſine controverſia tradidere.* He plainly had forgotten, that he had declared a few Lines before, that this Action, which he here calls the ſecond, was deciſive, in favour of the *Romans*, and that they gained a complete Victory over *Pyrrhus*: inſomuch, that this Prince was obliged to fly, was wounded in the Shoulder, and carried off by his Guards. *Jam quippe belluarum terror exoleverat, ubi Caius Minucius quartæ Legionis Haſtatus, unius Proboſcide abſciſa, mori poſſe belluas oſtenderat, ita ruit & in ipſas pila congeſta ſunt, & in turres vicinæ faces, tota hoſtium agmina ardentibus ruinis obruere, nec ante cladi finis fuit quam nox derimeret; poſtremuſque fugientium ipſe Rex a ſatellitio ſuo humero Saucius, in armis ſuis referretur.* And laſtly, the ſame Author adds a little lower, that the Camp of the King was plundered twice, *viz.* in the ſecond, and in the third Battel; *bis exuto caſtris.* But if this were true, how could he ſay, that neither Party was victorious, in the ſecond Battel? Nor is *Florus* leſs blameable for ſaying, as he does in the ſame 18th *ch.* of *B.* 1. that *Curius* and *Fabricius* were then *Conſuls*. *Deinde apud Aſculum melius dimicatum eſt Curio Fabricioque Conſulibus.*

99 *Livy* ſays, this Law was made, when *Caius Marcius Rutilus*, and *Quintus Servilius*, were *Conſuls*, in the Year of *Rome* 411. *Item aliis Plebiſcitis cautum, ne quis eundem Magiſtratum intra decem annos caperet.* If this Law was really made by the *Comitia by Tribes*, it does not appear, that any great Regard was paid to it, as the Reader will eaſily obſerve, if he runs over the Succeſſion of the *Conſuls*, from the time it was enacted. It is plain, that the ſame Magiſtrates, eſpecially the *Conſuls*, were often promoted to the ſame Offices a ſecond, and a third time, at two or three Years diſtance. The Merit of the Candidate, and certain Exigencies and Neceſſities of State, generally cauſed the Law to be overlooked.

100 It ought to have been obſerved, that the *Romans* made their firſt Treaty with the *Carthaginians*, in the Infancy of their Republick, when *Brutus* and *Valerius Poplicola*, or *Marcus Horatius* were *Conſuls*. And *Polybius* ſays, they made a ſecond Alliance with them, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Valerius*, and *Popilius Lænas*, and in the Year of *Rome* 405, which we have ſpoken of *B.* 15. *p.* 125. of this Volume. To which *Polybius* adds, *B.* 3. that the Articles of theſe Treaties were written on *Tables of Braſs*, which were preſerved in the *Ædiles* Office, near the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. But in this he contradicts one *Philinus*; who ſays in his Hiſtory, that by this laſt Treaty, which is that we are here ſpeaking of, the *Romans* obliged themſelves, never to attempt the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, and the *Carthaginian*, not to make any Deſcent in *Italy*. This Treaty is manifeſtly ſuppoſititious, ſays *Polybius*, we have no Monument left of it.

They

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV. C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Consuls.

They have even prevented your Desires, and will you not accept what they so kindly offer

IT was well known at *Rome*, how far the *Carthaginians* had extended their Con quests. They had subdued all the Islands near *Africa*, and almost all those of th *Tyrrhenian* Sea. The Art of Navigation, which they had brought from *Phœnicia* from whence they originally came, made them formidable in all the Seas, whic were then navigated. They had very lately entered *Sicily*, settled a large Dominio there, seized a great Number of Cities, and were much feared by those that yet pre served their Liberty. So that this mighty Progress made the *Romans* jealous of thes Conquerors; and their known double Dealings, gave them Suspicions of their Of fers. Or perhaps the Senate saw into the Ambassadors real Designs. *Mago* though

Justin. B. 18. the *Romans* too weak to resist the Forces, and Skill of *Pyrrhus*. He was afraid That *Rome*, pretending it to be her Interest, would make a Peace with the King o *Epirus;* and That then that Prince would make a Descent upon *Sicily*, and suspen the Conquests of the *Carthaginians* there. Distrusts kept the *Romans* upon thei Guard; and their Wisdom preserved them from the Snare. They indeed covere their Diffidence with a polite Behaviour. They thanked their *African* Allies, fo the Care they took of the Safety of their Friends, and paid great Civilities to thei Ambassadors. *We don't use to engage in any Wars*, said they to him, *but such as w are able to maintain, with our own Forces only.* Pyrrhus *is not so powerful an Enem as to be able to force us to have Recourse to our Friends. But to shew you how grateful a Sense we have of the Offers you make us; we will renew our ancient Treaties wit you, and add such Clauses to them, as the present State of Affairs requires.* Accord

Polyb. B. 3. and *Flor. Epit.* 13. ingly, in this last Treaty, which the *Romans* entered into with the *Carthaginian* which some make the third, and others the fourth Alliance with them; it wa agreed, *That if ever* Rome *made Peace with the King of* Epirus, *she should expres declare in her Treaty, that she was in Alliance with* Carthage, *and would take up Arm in Defence of that Republick, if* Pyrrhus *attacked it.* On the other hand, the *Ca thaginians* stipulated to the *Romans; That they would assist them, whenever it was d sired, and wanted; That the Troops which the Republicks reciprocally lent each othe should be paid by those who employed them; but That when the* Carthaginians se *their Fleets to assist the* Romans, *the latter should not oblige them to fight at Land.*

Justin. B. 18. THESE Precautions removed the Apprehensions of the *Carthaginians*, as to *Py rhus*'s Enterprizes upon *Sicily;* but these restless Politicians did not stop there. The ordered *Mago* to sail to the side of *Tarentum*, with his Fleet; and there he had Conference with *Pyrrhus*. The *Carthaginian* probably foresaw the King's Design who was tired with a War, the Success of which was not so quick as he desired and he wanted to put an honourable end to it, or at least interrupt it for some tim The *Sicilians* sent repeated Embassies to him, to sollicite him to come and deliv their Island from *Carthaginian* Slavery; and his natural Inconstancy, inclined him enter upon a new Career, in which he was to engage new Enemies. But the Schem had not yet had time enough to ripen in his Breast. He intended to p it in execution in a little while; but he had now made Preparations f another Campaign against the *Romans*. He had received fresh Troops fro *Epirus;* for most of those he had brought with him, had been killed in the two la

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus. Battels. He had lost his dearest Favourites, and best Officers. And it must be co fessed, that the Reinforcements which *Pyrrhus* had received from beyond Sea, cou not be so considerable, as he desired. An Army of *Gauls* had invaded *Maced* which bordered upon his Dominions; and it was dangerous, to leave his Count utterly bare, and exposed to the Mercy of these Barbarians, during his Absence. that *Mago*, who himself saw the Situation of *Pyrrhus*'s Affairs, took it for grante

Diod. Sic. ex. Enn. B. 22. he would not continue long in *Italy*. The Invitations the *Sicilians* gave him, fu nished the inconstant *Epirot* with an honourable Excuse, for going to another Pla to command the Army, which waited for him. The *Carthaginian* therefore reg lated his Affairs accordingly. In order to hinder *Pyrrhus* from passing the Streigh of *Sicily*, he entered them with his Fleet, under Pretence of besieging *Rhegium*, City, on the Point of *Italy*. This obliged the *Epirot* to continue at *Tarentum*, a carry on the War, at least for some Time longer, against the *Romans*.

Zonar. B 8. *c.* 5. §. XXIV. As soon as the Spring was far enough advanced, to suffer them take the Field, the *Consuls Fabricius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, marched their Troo into the Territory of *Tarentum*. *Pyrrhus* had now lost his former Ardour, whi ma

made him so hasty to take the Field first, and enter the Enemy's Country, to ravage it. The bare Name of *Fabricius* kept him more upon the Reserve. Such strong Impressions does the Opinion of a Man's Virtue make upon the boldest Minds! The *Epirot* Army only came and encamped within reach of the *Roman*. It is certain, *Pyrrhus*'s Esteem for *Fabricius* was now improved into a sincere Affection for him; but it is nevertheless probable, that his Inaction did not so much proceed from his Friendship, as his Fear of the *Romans* in general, and of *Fabricius* in particular. The two Armies continued a great while encamped, in sight of one another, and only observed, and watched each other. And then it was, that *Fabricius* did an Act worthy of himself, which all the Ancients have highly extolled, and which, if rightly understood, deserved much greater Commendations, than the gaining a Battel. It is related differently as to the Circumstances of it; but all the great Number of Writers who mention it, agree in the main Point. The *Consuls* were waiting for a favourable Opportunity to give Battel, when *Pyrrhus*'s Physician came to the *Roman* Camp, and demanded a private Conference with the *Consul Fabricius*. The Traitor's Name was *Nicias;* who being admitted to an Audience, proposed a Scheme to the virtuous *Roman*, which filled him with Horror. It was to poison the King his Master, and thereby put an end to a War, which was burdensome to the Republick, and might prove fatal to her. *Fabricius* did not long deliberate what Answer to make. His very Soul was shocked at the Proposal of the Crime; and when he had communicated the Affair to his Collegue, they both joined in a Letter to *Pyrrhus*, wherein they did not discover the Criminal, but only warned him to take care of himself, and be upon his Guard against the Treasons of those about him. The Letter was this. C. Fabricius *and* Q. Æmilius Consuls, *to King* Pyrrhus, *Health. You are unhappy both in the Choice of your Friends, and of your Enemies. This Letter may satisfy you, that the former are perfidious, the latter Men of Probity. You are betrayed* Pyrrhus. *The Hand that ought to be most faithful to you, offers to poison you. We give you this Information, not to merit your Good-will; but for fear we should be suspected of con-*

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV.
C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Consuls.

Quadrigarius apud Gellium. Plut. & Auth. de Vir. Illust. &c.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

101 This Action, which has immortalized the Memory of *Fabricius*, is differently circumstantiated by the Authors who mention it. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Pyrrhus*, says, That an unknown Person came to *Fabricius*'s Camp, and put a Letter into his Hands, sent him by the King of *Epirus*'s Physician; who offered to poison that Prince, provided the *Romans* would promise him a Reward, equal to the important Service of ending, by the Death of *Pyrrhus*, a War which was burdensome to the Republick: and That *Fabricius*, struck with Horror upon the mention of so black a Crime, sent the Letter to the King, with another to forewarn him against the Design, the perfidious *Nicias* his Physician had upon him. This Letter we have transcribed in the Text upon *Plutarch*'s Model. After this, *Plutarch* describes the Battel of *Asculum*, as if subsequent to it; but that is a Mistake in point of Chronology. *Valerius Antias*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, and *Valerius Maximus*, tell us, that after the two first Battels gained by *Pyrrhus*, one *Timochares* came privately into *Consul Fabricius*'s Tent; and promised him, that his two Sons, who were Cup-bearers to *Pyrrhus*, should poison him, provided the *Consul* would give him the Reward he demanded. Upon this *Fabricius* wrote to the Senate, who immediately sent Ambassadors to the King of *Epirus*, with Orders to inform him of the ill Designs some of his Domesticks had laid against him, but not to discover the Criminal's Name. *Timocharis nomen suppressit*, says *Valerius Maximus*, *utroque modo æquitatem amplexus, quia nec hostem malo exemplo tollere, neque eum, qui bene mereri paratus fuerat, perdere voluit.* In this, says that Author, *Fabricius* gave a double proof of the Uprightness of his Heart, both by refusing to procure *Pyrrhus*'s Death by such unjust Means, and by not betraying the Man who offered to do the Republick Service. *Quadrigarius* affirms, in *Aulus Gellius*, l. 3. c. 8. that the Name of the Traitor was *Nicias*, and that the *Consuls* themselves dispatched away an Express to the King of *Epirus*, to inform him of his Danger: and the same Author relates their Letter in different Terms, from that which we have inserted in the Text. It is this. *The* Roman Consuls *to King* Pyrrhus, *Health. Our only Desire, and Design, is to revenge our Quarrel with the Points of our Swords. And we think it our Duty to give all Ages an Instance of our Equity, by interesting our selves in your Preservation. Your Life is of Importance to us. Live, to give Lustre to our Victories.* Nicias, *whom you Honour with your Confidence, is come to us, to engage us to give him a Reward to execute the Plot he has formed against your Life. But we detest his Treason, and did not hesitate a Moment, whether we should notify it to you. Had we concealed this Villany from you, we should justly have been suspected of an Intelligence with the Criminal; and should have given the World Reason to believe, that we made use of such Methods against you, as are unworthy of* Romans. *In the mean time, take care of your self, and prevent the Blow, with which you are threatened.* Ælian gives *Pyrrhus*'s Physician the Name of *Cyneas*, and pretends he wrote to the Senate of *Rome*, who rejected his Proposal, and notified it to the King of *Epirus*. *Cicero Offic. B.* 3. supposes, that *Fabricius* sent to *Pyrrhus* the Villain, who designed to poison him; and says, the *Consul* was directed to do this, by the Senate. *Eutropius*, and *Aurelius Victor*, think, that the Physician himself went to *Fabricius*, who put him in Irons, and sent him back to his Master, in that Condition. *Florus* robs *Fabricius* of the Glory of this Action, and gives it to *Curius*. *Medicum venale caput Regis offerentem remisit.* This Abridger did not judge as *Pyrrhus* did, who saw *Fabricius* in this great Action. Amidst these various Accounts, we have followed that of *Plutarch*, who adds, that upon the *Consul*'s Information, *Pyrrhus* condemned the Traytor to death: and some say, that he was hanged by the King's Order.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV.

C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Consuls.

Entrop. B. 2. Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

ſenting out of Intereſt to an Aſſaſſination, which we deteſt and abhor. We don't deſire to end the War, by ſecret and villainous Attempts, but openly, and with our Swords.

IN this inſtance of a Probity truly *Roman*, the King diſcerned the virtuous *Conſul*, and cried out: *It is as eaſy to ſtop the Sun in his Courſe, as to divert from the Paths of Juſtice.* Then, out of a deep Senſe of Gratitude for ſo great a Benefit, he releaſed, without Ranſom, all the Priſoners he had taken from the *Romans.* But *Rome* was too proud to accept of the Offers of an Enemy, as a Gift: ſhe would not receive the Captives but by way of Exchange. She ſent the King back as many *Tarentini* and *Samnites*, as he had releaſed *Romans;* and ſhe even treated the Captives which were ſent back by *Pyrrhus* with Contempt. They were not employed in the Armies, but with Diſtruſt. They were by a Decree of the Senate forbidden ever aſſembling together in a Body, or ever fighting againſt *Pyrrhus.* They were in ſome ſort degraded, and placed lower in the Soldiery than before. The Horſe were forced to ſerve on Foot, and all were put in inferior Stations to thoſe they poſſeſſed before they were taken. So ſhameful a thing was it, among the *Romans*, to fall alive into the Hands of an Enemy! Then *Pyrrhus* was more earneſt than ever to conclude a Peace with *Rome.* He ſent *Cyneas* a ſecond time, to try to work upon the *Romans* [102] by Preſents, and endeavour to gain them over by his artful Harangues. But the Senators were ſteady in their Reſolutions. They declared to the Ambaſſador, a ſecond time, that the Republick would never enter into any Treaty with his Maſter, till he had left *Italy*, and withdrawn his Troops from thence. But *Pyrrhus* performed only the firſt of theſe Conditions. He thought it proper to ſet out for *Sicily*; but he could not eaſily perſuade himſelf to relinquiſh the Authority he had uſurped in *Tarentum.*

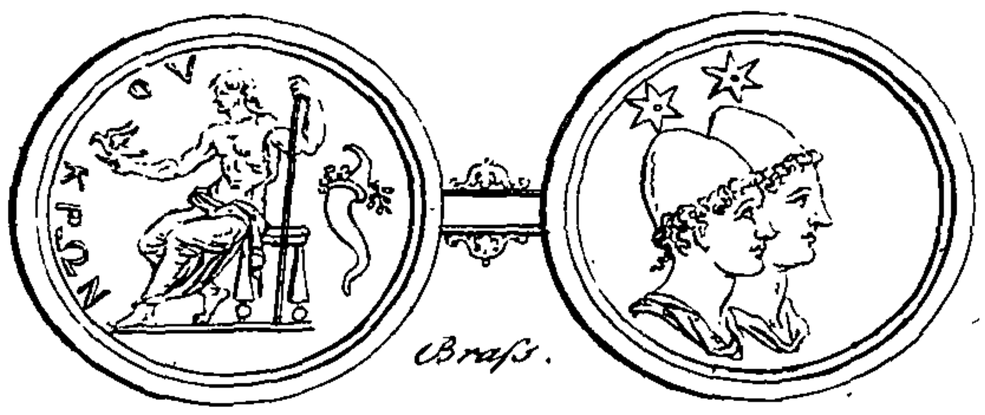
IT is very probable, that this Deſign of *Pyrrhus* to go into *Sicily*, was what made him reſolve not to hazard a Battel with *Fabricius*, whom he both feared, and eſteemed. He employed all his Skill in the military Art, to avoid a Battel; and whatever ſome Hiſtorians may ſay to the contrary, ſucceeded in it. As all his Deſires now centered in that wealthy Iſland, he with all Speed ſent thither his faithful *Cyneas*, who was his Forerunner wherever he went. But nevertheleſs, he had like to have changed his Reſolution, during theſe Tranſactions. *Pyrrhus* received Intelligence from his own Country, which kept him ſome time in ſuſpence. King *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, had formerly ſeized *Macedon*, of which *Pyrrhus* had been King; and the Death of *Ceraunus*, who had been killed in a Battel with the *Gauls*, had now left that Throne vacant. The *Macedonians* wanted a King to guard them againſt the Inundations of the Barbarians; and nothing could be more acceptable to the *Epirots* than a Kingdom, which formerly belonged to him, and bordered upon his own Dominions. In this Perplexity, he pleaſantly complained of *Fortune*, and ſaid; *Why does ſhe offer me ſo many Conqueſts at once? She oppreſſes me with the Multitude of her Favours.* So that *Pyrrhus*, an unfortunate Prince, who was all his Life-time the Sport of his own Paſſions, wavered between the two Expeditions; but at length determined for *Sicily.* His Hatred for the *Carthaginians*, and his Deſire of copying with them, made him prefer the Defence of *Sicily*, to the Recovery of a Crown, which he had been Maſter. With this view, he ſeparated from his Allies, whom he left alone in the Field, and returned to *Tarentum* with his Troops.

BUT before he embarked, the King aſſembled the *Tarentini*, and harangued them in this manner. *I am going to the Relief of a People near* Italy, *without deſerting* Italians, *who firſt implored my Aſſiſtance. Two ambitious Republicks are endeavouring the one to deprive you, the other the* Sicilians, *of Liberty. But* Pyrrhus *alone is ſufficient to put a Stop to the Rapidity of their Conqueſts. The ſame Compaſſion which brought me hither, now carries me to thoſe oppreſſed and unhappy People, who in-*

[102] According to *Juſtin*, B. 18. not one Perſon was ſeduced by *Pyrrhus*'s Preſents; they all, to a Man, rejected them. *Neminem, cujus domus muneribus pateret, invenit.* And *Valerius Maximus*, B. 4 ſays the ſame thing. *Nulla cuiquam dono janua patuit.* And the former gives us much ſuch another Inſtance of the Diſintereſtedneſs of the *Romans* in the ſame Year. He ſays, That the Senate ſent Ambaſſadors to *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* (but he does not mention their Buſineſs) who would not accept of any of the magnificent Preſents the King offered them, as Marks of his great Eſteem: and That ſome Days after, the King invited them to a Feaſt, and preſented them with ſeveral Crowns of Gold, which they received, only to crown *Ptolomy*'s Statues with them.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV. C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Conſuls.

me to them. Don't imagine, Tarentini, *that I am going to deliver you up to the Mercy of the Enemy: I will return to you upon the firſt Notice, and bring with me the new Allies I ſhall have made you, where I am going. My Heart is with you, and as a Pledge of my Affection,* Milo *ſhall be my Repreſentative here, and take care of your Safety. As for our faithful Allies, I will give them a yet more convincing Proof of my Attachment to them. The* [103] Locri *ſhall have my Son* Alexander *among them as an Hoſtage. Ought not this ſenſible Proof of my Confidence in you, merit yours in return?* But this artful Speech and Conduct did not ſatisfy the *Tarentini. Since we have called you in, to defend us,* ſaid they to *Pyrrhus, either continue with us, or leave* Tarentum *in the Condition, in which you found it. Any Garriſon without you, will be burdenſome to us.* The *Tarentini* had had time enough to become ſenſible of the



Braſs.



Braſs.

[103] The ancient Geographers give the Inhabitants of the City of *Locris* in *Italy*, the Name of *Locri Epizephyrii*, becauſe it ſtood near the Cape, anciently called *Zephyrium*, now *Capo Burſano*. *Strabo* ſays, its Inhabitants were a Colony of the *Locri* of *Greece*, who inhabited the Country near *The Gulph of Corinth*, not far from the City of *Criſſa*, which he places on an Eminence, which he calls *Eſopis*. It is thought, that *Locris* was afterwards removed into that part of *South Italy*, where the City of *Gierazzi* now ſtands, on the Banks of a River, the Mouth of which made *the Port of the Locri*, or *Portus Locrorum*. The *Locri* who removed into *Italy*, are diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Narycii*, becauſe they were thought to have come originally, from an ancient City called *Naryx*, which *Stephens* reckons among the Cities of the Territory of the *Grecian Locri*.

Hic & Narycii poſuerunt mœnia Locri.
Virg. Æneid. 3.

The *Locris* here ſpoken of was famous for the magnificent Temple, which its Inhabitants erected in Honour to *Proſerpine*, in the Neighbourhood of their City. Some ancient Monuments prove, that this People worſhiped that Goddeſs, whoſe Head we find on a Medal, and with it a burning Torch; which alludes to the fabulous Account the Poets give of the Circumſtances of the Rape of *Proſerpine*. *Pyrrhus* ſeized the Riches of this Temple; and as a Puniſhment for his Sacrilege, ſay the Hiſtorians, the ſacred Treaſures, which he carried on board his Ships, were ſwallowed up by the Sea. His Fleet was diſperſed by a Tempeſt, and the Ships, which carried theſe valuable Spoils, run a-ground on the Coaſts of the Country of the *Locri*. Upon this, the King of *Epirus*, who attributed this Misfortune to the Anger of the Goddeſs, reſtored her all the Money, which the Tempeſt had ſpared, and an equivalent for what had been loſt. *Zaleucus* was the firſt Law-giver, who eſtabliſhed a Form of Government in *Locris*. The Hiſtorians boaſt of his Wiſdom, and the Equity of his Laws: among which theſe two are remarkable. One, whereby he forbad all Perſons, the Sick not excepted, unleſs ordered them by their Phyſicians, to drink any Wine, upon pain of Death. And another, whereby he condemned ſuch Perſons, as ſhould be taken in Adultery, to loſe their Eyes. The latter was firſt put rigorouſly in execution, upon *Zaleucus's* own Son. The Citizens in vain interceded for him; *Zaleucus* was inflexible. He would not have it ſaid, that he firſt violated his own Laws himſelf. Nevertheleſs, that he might ſhew ſome Regard to the repeated Requeſts of the Citizens, and in ſome Meaſure give way to his paternal Tenderneſs, he ordered only one of his Son's Eyes to be put out; and at the ſame time, leſt his Law ſhould be, in any manner, contravened, he inflicted the other part of the Puniſhment on himſelf, and put out one of his own. The *Locri* had afterwards great Wars with the *Crotoniates*, whom they at laſt vanquiſhed. They aſcribed their Victory to the Protection of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and in Gratitude for it, built them a ſtately Temple. They alſo fancied, that *Jupiter* had declared himſelf in their Favour, becauſe, according to *Juſtin*, an Eagle had planed over their Army, till they became Maſters of the Field of Battel. And both theſe Events are repreſented on the Medals above. On one ſide of the firſt are *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and on the other *Jupiter*, the tutelary God of the *Locri*. The reverſe of the ſecond is an Eagle, with a Palm Branch, the Symbol of Victory.

hard

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXV.

C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Conſuls.

hard Slavery to which the *Epirot* had reduced them: and they lamented the Loſs of their former Indolence. Had *Rome* ſubdued them, ſhe would at leaſt have let them enjoyed ſome of their Pleaſures, and the Advantages of their Commerce. But it was their Misfortune, to have a Foreigner their Lord, and to ſee themſelves ſubject to the ſevere Government of *Milo*, who being Maſter of their Citadel and City, kept their Perſons, Eſtates, and even Paſſions, in Captivity. *Pyrrhus*'s Orders muſt be obeyed. *It becomes you*, ſaid he to them, *to wait with Reſpect and Patience, for the time when I ſhall come to your Defence. It belongs to me to chooſe what Seaſon I think moſt proper for it.* Thus ſpake *Pyrrhus*, and then ſet ſail, after he had reſided two Years and four Months in *Italy*. The Army he carried into *Sicily*, conſiſted of 30000 Foot, and 2500 Horſe, which he tranſported thither on board his Fleet which conſiſted of 200 Sail.

Died. Sic. in Excerp.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

But *Pyrrhus*'s Departure proved fatal, both to the confederate Nations, who had joined with him, and the *Tarentini*. The two *Roman* Armies parted, and went to carry on the War, in the Countries of the Nations, who were in a Confederacy againſt the Republick. Then ſome few Cities of *Hetruria* endeavoured to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke; but theſe were the laſt Convulſions of their expiring Liberty. The Conſul *Æmilius Papus* probably undertook to chaſtiſe theſe Rebels, and quelled them; but his Expedition was not thought to deſerve the Honours of a Triumph. As for his Collegue *Fabricius*, he took Advantage of the Abſence of *Pyrrhus*, and his *Epirots*, and fell upon the *Bruttii*, *Lucani*, *Tarentini*, and *Samnites*, who were united together, but had loſt a Head, who was of more Conſequence to them than a whole Army. He defeated them, forced them to leave the Field, and laid their Countries waſte. And in order to ſtraiten proud *Tarentum* the more, *Fabricius* brought the City of *Heraclea*, and ſome other neighbouring Cities, into an Alliance with the *Romans*. For theſe Exploits a Triumph was decreed him; and his Collegue's not partaking of that Honour with him, is a ſufficient Proof that he had no Share in his Victories. *Fabricius* alone entered *Rome* in Triumph, on *The Ides of December*: An Honour which was decreed him, only for having conquered the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, *Tarentini*, and *Samnites*. But every *Roman* in his own Breaſt, aſcribed to him the Honour of a more glorious Victory. They all thought themſelves indebted to his Virtue for *Pyrrhus*'s Departure. *It is* Fabricius *alone*, ſaid they, *who, without fighting, has put the* Epirot *to flight, merely by the Impreſſions his Valour and Probity made upon him.*

Cicero pro Balbo.

Tab. Triumph.

TH

Plate XXVI

30 31 32 33 34

39 39

THE TYRRHENIAN SEA

ISLES OF VULCAN OR OF LIPARI

Strongyle I.
Hicesia I.
Didyme I.
Isle of Lipari Colony
Cstrodes I.
Ericodes I.
Phenicodes I.
Vulcan I.
Cape Pelorum
Agathyrsus
Myla
Scylla
Tyndaris Colony
Alonca
Messana Colony
Rhegium Colony
Charybdis a whirlpool
Hyscara
Panormus Colony
Solus
Cephaloedis
Thermæ
Orethus R.
Himera
Himera Colony
Aleba
Alæa
Tissa
PELORIAS
ÆGADES ISLES
Mint Ena
Buccina
Hiera I.
Drepanum
Segesta
Paropus
Ægusa I.
Ægithallus
ELYMÆI
Himera R.
Myttistrata
Herbita
Tauromenium Colony
Naxos
Mount Ætna
Lilybæum Colony
Cape Lilybæum
Entella
Inicum
Capitium
Enguyum
Craftus
Petrina
Selinus
Triocala
Petra
Galarina
Adrana
Inuessa
Catana Colony
Asborus
Centuripa
Thermæ Colony
Camicus
Halycus R.
Erbessa
Enna
Hybla
Morgantia or Morgantina
Heraclea Colony
Omphace or Agrigentum
Callonia
Nomymna
LEONTINI
Leontini
Menæ
Himera R.
Phintia
Gela
Megara
Eubœa
Leon
Anapus R.
Syracuse Colony
The Island of Ortygia
Erbessa
HYPERIA
Acrillæ
Acræ
Camarina
Netum
Motya
Elorum

THE SEA OF LIBYA OR OF AFRICA

THE IONIAN SEA

Island of Cossyra

38 38

37 37

A MAP OF ANCIENT SICILY, otherwise call'd SICANIA and TRINACRIA by Mons.r De Lisle, First Geographer to

Scale
Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each.

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XXII.

§. I. THE Scene on which *Pyrrhus* will next diſplay his Courage, and to which we ſhall ſoon ſee the *Romans* extend their Dominion, is *Sicily*: and it cannot therefore be improper to enquire into the Condition of this Country, at the time *Pyrrhus* made his Deſcent upon it. This is well known to be the largeſt, moſt fruitful, and richeſt Iſland in the *Mediterranean*. It is ſeparated from *Italy* only by narrow Streights, which are difficult to paſs, though not long. It has ever been thought, That *Sicily* was originally joined to the Continent of *Italy;* and That the Sea breaking in upon the Land, wore it away by Degrees, till it at length made the Channel, which now divides them. *Sicily* is almoſt of a triangular Form, and was formerly called *Trinacria*, from the three [1] *Capes*, which ran out into the Sea, at the Extremities of its three Angles. Cape [2] *Pelorum* faces *Italy;* Cape [3] *Pachynum*, *Greece*, or *Peloponneſus;* and Cape [4] *Lilybæum*, *Africa*. And *Colonies* came ſucceſſively

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV. C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Conſuls.



1 Theſe three Promontories are emblematically repreſented on Medals, by three Legs and Thighs ſo diſpoſed, that the three Legs make the three ſides of a Triangle: and all center in a Man's Head. The three Ears of Corn, were deſigned by the Coiner, to denote the Fruitfulneſs of *Sicily*.

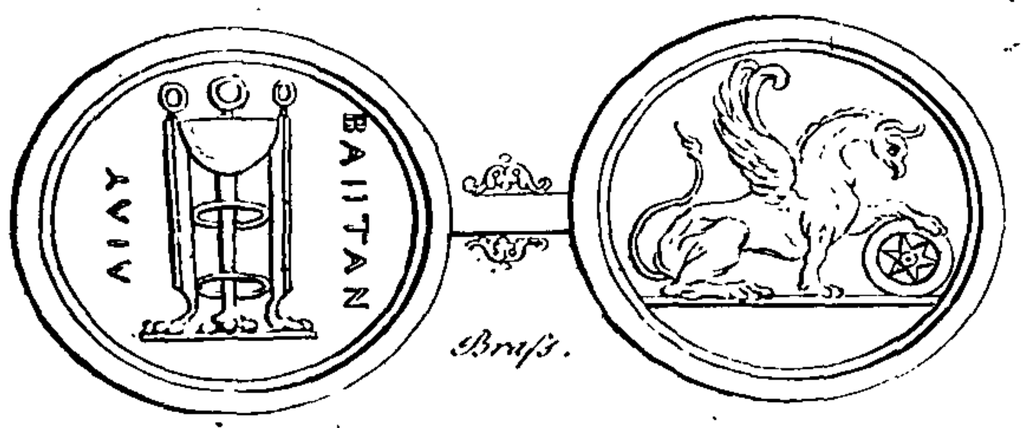
2 Cape *Pelorum*, is now called by the Natives, *Capo di Faro*, or *Capo della Torre di Faro*. It took its ancient Name, according to *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 9. *c.* 8. and *Mela*, *B.* 2. *c.* 7. from the Pilot *Pelorus*, who was killed by *Hannibal*. They aſcribe his Death to the *Carthaginian* General's Jealouſy, upon ſeeing his Ship brought into the Streights of *Sicily*, between *Italy*, and that Iſland. He fancied the Pilot was going to ſurrender her up to the *Romans*. But he was afterwards ſenſible of his Miſtake; and to make ſome Amends for it, paid him all funeral Honours, and erected a Statue to his Memory, in the Place where the Promontory ſtands. If the Reader pleaſes, he may conſult theſe two Hiſtorians; but indeed, they agree ſo little in the Circumſtances of their Story, and there are ſuch manifeſt Contradictions in it, that ſome have with Reaſon doubted of the Truth of the Fact. Moreover, this Promontory gave Name to the *Faro of Meſſina*. Theſe famous Streights reach from the Tower of the *Faro*, which is the moſt northern Point of the Iſland, over againſt the Town of *Sciglio*, to the *Capo dell Armi*, or *Cape of Arms*, which is the moſt ſouthern Point of *Calabria*. They are thought to be thirty thouſand geometrical Paces long, and twelve thouſand or fifteen thouſand wide, in the broadeſt Place. They are famous for the Rapidity of the Currents, and the Flux, and Reflux of the Sea, which return every ſix Hours, and ſometimes with ſuch Violence, that the Ships riding at Anchor, are in Danger of periſhing. The two famous Shelves of *Sylla* and *Charybdis*, ſo much celebrated by the Poets, are at the North Entrance into the Streights, at a little Diſtance from the Cape.

3 *Cape Pachynum* is the moſt eaſtern, and the moſt ſouthern Point of *Sicily*. It is now *Capo Peſſaro*, or *Peſſalo*, in the *Valley of Noto*, one of the three Provinces of this Kingdom. The two others are, the *Valley of Mazara* to the Weſt, and that of *Demona* to the North. At the left Hand of *Cape Pachynum*, there was formerly a Port, of the ſame Name. *Cicero* mentions it in his *Fifth Oration againſt Verres*.

4 *Cape Lilybæum*, is now called *Capo di Marſella*, or *Capo di Boco*. It lies on the Weſt of *Sicily*, in the *Valley of Mazara*. *Ælian*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Valerius Maximus*, all ſay, that a certain Perſon, to whom they give the Surname of *Strabo*, had ſuch excellent Sight, that he could from this *Cape*, diſtinguiſh all the Ships, that came out of the Port of *Carthage*. And yet *Strabo* reckons the Paſſage to be

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV. C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Consuls.

sively from *Italy*, and *Greece*, [5] and settled themselves in *Sicily*, before the *Africans* attempted the Conqueſt of this fine Country. When *Pyrrhus* arrived there, the *Sicilians* were ſubject to three different Nations, which ſhared their Country among them, and kept them in Slavery. [6] *Meſſana* on the ſide of *Italy*, *Lilybæum* towards *Carthage*



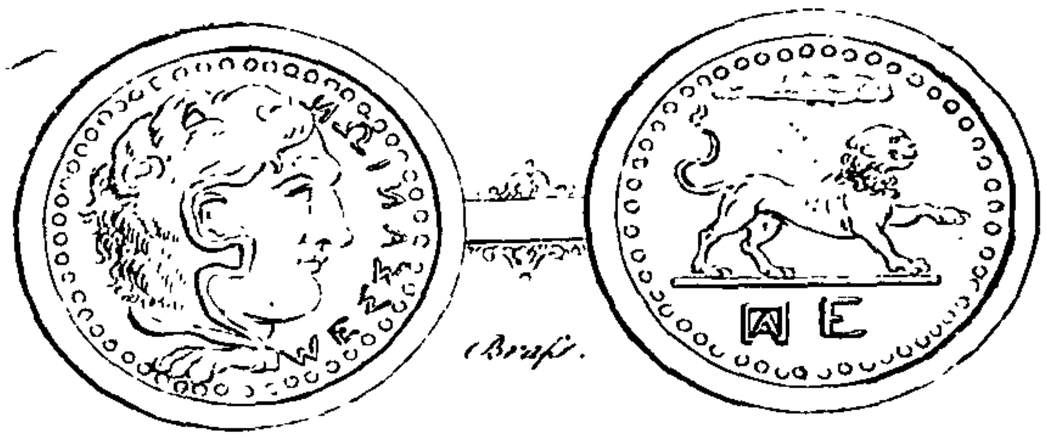
Brass.

1500 *Stadia* over, that is, 187500 geometrical Paces. But *Pliny* and *Solinus* make it no more than 135000. The City of *Lilybæum* gave this Cape its Name. It was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable and ſtrongeſt Cities in *Italy*. *Tully* gives us this Account of it, in his *Fifth Oration againſt Verres*. *Teſtis Splendidiſſima civitas Lilybætana.* *Strabo* ſays, *B.* 6. that it was in being in his time. There is nothing of it now remaining, but Ruins. The City of *Marſala* was built near it; and we now find the Ruins of ſome Aqueducts, and Buildings in that Neighbourhood. Old *Lilybæum* had a Port, which was a ſafe Retreat for Ships, even in *Julius Cæſar*'s time, according to *Hirtius* in his *Hiſtory of the African War*. The *Romans* indeed endeavoured ſeveral times to fill up this Port, during their Wars with *Carthage*; but their Attempts were fruitleſs. The Heaps of Stones which they threw into it, were too weak to reſiſt the Violence of the Sea, and of Tempeſts. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, *B.* 22. that the *Carthaginians* firſt laid the Foundations of *Lilybæum*, after *Dionyſius the Tyrant*, had taken the City of *Motya* from them. And according to the ſame Author, *B.* 14. the taking of this City coincides with the fourth Year of the 95th *Olympiad*, which was about the Year before Chriſt 397. But if *Lilybæum* was then founded, how ſhall we account for *Diodorus*'s ſuppoſing, *B.* 11. that it exiſted above fifty two Years before, that is, in the third Year of the 81*ſt Olympiad*? This laſt Author affirms, that it ſuffered a ten Years Siege from the *Carthaginians*, during the Wars they made with the *Romans*, in *Sicily*. *Solinus* reports, *c.* 11. that the Sepulchre of the *Sybil of Cumæ*, was formerly to be ſeen near *Lilybæum*: and *Iſidorus* atteſts the ſame thing, *De Origin. B.* 8. *c.* 8. *Diodorus* ſpeaks of a Well at *Lilybæum*, whoſe Waters had, according to him, this wonderful Virtue, that all thoſe who drunk of them, were ſuddenly ſeized with a prophetick Enthuſiaſm, and foretold Things to come. And therefore the Inhabitants of this City paid a particular worſhip to *Apollo*, as appears by the Medal above; on one ſide of which is a Griffin, which is known to have been conſecrated to *Apollo*; and on the other, the *Tripos*, from which the *Sybil* uſed to utter her Oracles.

5 The *Cyclopes*, and *Læſtrigones*, were, according to *Juſtin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Thucydides*, deemed the firſt Inhabitants of the Territory of *Leontium* in *Sicily*, near Mount *Ætna*. Nevertheleſs the laſt of theſe Writers confeſſes, that he knew nothing of their Origin, but what he had learnt from Poets and Fables. That there formerly were *Cyclopes*, ſome Moderns have pretended to demonſtrate, by the Remains of ſome dead Bodies of a gigantick Size, which are found in ſeveral Parts of this Iſland. The Reader may conſult *Thomas Frazellus*'s *Hiſtory of Sicily*, *Decad.* 1. *B.* 1. *c.* 7. on this Head. *Mariannus Valguarnera*, in his Book *Of the firſt Inhabitants of Sicily*, omits nothing that could help him to prove that theſe Giants, were deſcended from *Japhet*, and came into this Country, after the Confuſion of Languages. The Inhumanity of the People with regard to Strangers, and the Fires which *Ætna*, a part of their Territory, was continually vomiting out, gave Occaſion to the Fiction of the Poets, That the *Cyclopes* fed upon human Fleſh, and were employed by *Vulcan* to make Thunderbolts for *Jupiter*. Among the other Nations that inhabited *Sicily*, the Ancients reckon the *Phæaces*, and *Sicani*: and ſome of them, particularly *Dion. Hal. R. Antiq. B.* 1, make the latter to have come from the Banks of the *Segre*, a River in *Spain*. They were driven out, ſays he, by the *Siculi*, an ancient People of *Auſonia* properly ſo called, according to *Hellenicus of Lesbos*, or of *Liguria*, according to *Philiſtus*. Theſe Newcomers, under the Command of *Siculus*, drove the *Sicani* out of a great part of the Iſland, which from them was before called *Sicania*, but now *Sicily* from the time of this Invaſion of the *Siculi*. Afterwards, the Riches of this fertile Country, drew a great Number of *Phœnicians* thither, who mixed with the *Sicilians*. And in proceſs of time, ſeveral *Colonies* from *Crete*, *Theſſaly*, *Phocis*, and ſeveral other Cantons of *Greece*, left their native Countries to come and ſettle in *Sicily*.

6 The City of *Meſſana* was originally called *Zancle*; either becauſe the Shore, on which it was built, turned round, in the Shape of an *Hook*, which the *Sicilians* called *Zancle*; or from one *Zancle*, whom ſome Hiſtorians make Governor of it. But be that as it will, if the Chronologiſts don't miſtake in their Calculations, *Zancle*, or *Meſſana* now *Meſſina*, was founded 530 Years, before the Siege of *Troy*, and 964 Years before *Romulus* laid the Foundations of *Rome*. When the Inhabitants of this City were ruined by the Incurſions of the Pirates of *Cumæ*, and of ſome other Nations, who joined with them, they had recourſe to the *Meſſenii*, a People of *Greece*; who haſtening to the Aſſiſtance of *Zancle*, drove away the *Cumæans*, made an Alliance with the Citizens, and ſettled in the City; which was from them called Μεσσήνη by the *Greeks*, and *Meſſana* by the *Latins*. See *Thucyd. B.* 1; *Pauſanias* in *Meſſenicis*; and *Strabo*, *Geog. B.* 6. Theſe three Authors agree in the main, though they vary in Circumſtances. The ſecond ſays, that *Anaxila*, *The Tyrant of Rhegium*, joined with the *Meſſenii* againſt the City of *Za-*

Carthage, and 7 *Syracuſe* towards *Greece*, were as it were three Capitals of three different Nations, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the Iſland, and extended their Dominions to the Center of it. *Meſſana* is ſaid to have been ſubject to Tyrants, who came from *Italy*, ſeized it by Fraud, and kept it by Injuſtice. According to the *Latins*, theſe Uſurpers were originally *Campani*, and gave themſelves the Name of *Mamertini*, that is, *Invincible Warriors*, from the Word *Mamers*, or *Mavors*, which ſignified the God *Mars*, in ſeveral Countries in *Italy*. The *Mamertini* then, a bold and reſolute ſort of People, were invited into *Sicily* by King *Agathocles*, to aſſiſt him in his Conqueſts: Year of ROME CCCCLXXV. C. Fabricius, Q. Æmilius Papus, Conſuls.





and overthrew its Forces, in a Sea-fight. After which, he, with the Aſſiſtance of theſe new Allies, poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Territory of the *Zancleans*, ſettled in their Capital, and gave it the Name of *Meſſana*, in Compliment to the *Meſſenii*, who had expedited his Conqueſts. *Pauſanias* places this Event in the 29th *Olympiad*, when *Miltiades* was the ſupreme Magiſtrate at *Athens*. *Herodotus* mentions this Expedition, *B.* 6. and aſcribes all the Glory of it to the People of *Samos*, who were commanded by *Anaxila*. Theſe Diſagreements diſable the beſt Criticks from forming any Judgment of theſe Things, eſpecially of the Origin of Nations. We have often remarked the ſtrange Differences of Authors, on that Subject. We have ſeveral Medals yet preſerved, which bear the Name of *Meſſana*. Perhaps, the Victory *Anaxila* gained in the *Olympick Games*, the Hares he is ſaid by the Hiſtorians of that time to have firſt brought into *Sicily*, and the Worſhip the *Sicilians* paid to *Hercules*, are all alluded to, in the Medals above. The Face of the firſt, is the Head of an *Hercules*; and its reverſe, the *Nemæan* Lion, and his Club. On one ſide of another is a Hare; and on the other ſide of it is a Chariot drawn by two Horſes, with a winged *Victory*, holding a Crown over the Driver.

7 *Syracuſe* was then one of the moſt famous Cities in the World, for the Advantage of its Situation, its prodigious Extent, and the Beauty of its Buildings. The *Abridger of Stephens*, and *Marcian of Heraclea* ſay, it took its Name from a neighbouring Pond, called *Syraco*. It was built, according to *Thucydides* and *Strabo*, by *Archias*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, who came from *Corinth* to *Sicily*, in the ſecond Year of the eleventh *Olympiad*. *Cicero* highly commends *Syracuſe*, in his *Fourth Oration againſt Verres*. He chiefly boaſts of its beautiful Appearance, the Convenience of its Ports, and the Stateline ſs of its Buildings. Beſides the Quarter called *Epipolæ*, *Syracuſe* contained within its Circumference, four conſiderable Cities; *Acradina*, *Tyche*, *Neapolis*, or *The New City*, and the Iſland of *Ortygia*. Theſe four Parts of this immenſe Place, are repreſented on the reverſe of the other Medal above, by a Square, with theſe *Greek* Letters, ΣΥΡΑ, which ſignify *Syracuſe*, in the four Angles of the Figure. *Strabo* makes the Walls of this City to have been 180 *Stadia*, that is, about eight Leagues in Compaſs. In *Acradina*, the largeſt Part of the four, there was a large Square, ſurrounded with Portico's; a magnificent Temple, dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*; the *Prytaneum*, or Town-houſe; and a ſpacious Palace, in which Juſtice was adminiſtred: not to mention ſeveral other Buildings, which were remarkable for their Architecture. *Altera autem eſt urbs Syracuſis, cui nomen Acradina eſt, in qua Forum maximum, Pulcherrimæ Porticus, Ornatiſſimum Prytaneum, ampliſſima Curia, Templumque egregium Jovis Olympii; cæteræque urbis partes, unâ latâ via perpetuâ multiſque tranſverſis diviſæ, privatis ædificiis continentur.* This Quarter was divided from *Neapolis*, and *Tyche*, by a Range of very thick Walls, againſt which the Waves of the Sea beat. The ſecond City, called *Tyche*, lay between *Acradina*, and *Epipolæ*, ſo that it had the former to the Eaſt, and *Neapolis* to the South. Among its Ornaments, is chiefly reckoned, a very large and beautiful *Gymnaſium*, to which the Youth reſorted, to learn all bodily Exerciſes. Several of its Temples were admired for their Structure, and among the reſt that of *Fortune*, whom the *Greeks* call Τύχη; and from which Temple, this part of

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXV. C. Fabricius, Q. Æmilius Papus, Conſuls.

queſts: and they at firſt kept themſelves within due Bounds, and ſerved the King with Fidelity and Courage. Afterwards, they were admitted as Allies in *Meſſana*; which was ill requited by their Treachery. They were charmed with an Habitation, which called to their Remembrance the Delights of their native Country, reſolved to ſettle there, make themſelves Maſters of the City, and erect a Republick in it, after their own manner. The ancient Inhabitants of *Meſſana* fell Sacrifices to their Ambition; and were all put to the Sword, except the Wives and Daughters, whom the Uſurpers married. The *Mamertini*, by their Valour, and by the Help of the Suc-



Bruſs. Silver. Bruſs.

Syracuſe took its Name of *Tyche*, if *Cicero* may be credited. *Quod in ea parte Fanum antiquum fuit Tyche nominata eſt; in qua, Gymnaſium ampliſſimum eſt, & complures Ædes ſacræ, coliturque ea pars, & habitatur frequentiſſime.* The third Quarter, called *The Iſland of Ortygia*, was joined to *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, by a Bridge. The Palace of *Hiero*, in which the *Roman Prætors* afterwards lodged, was one of its fineſt Ornaments. Beſides which, there were two ſtately Temples in it, one of *Diana*, and the other of *Minerva*, which were admired by all Spectators. The Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, worſhiped theſe two Goddeſſes with ſingular Devotion; as appears by the ancient Medals, which are yet in being. The Face of the firſt of thoſe above, is the Head of a *Diana*, with this Inſcription ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ, to ſhew that *Syracuſe* was indebted to her for its Safety and Splendor. On the ſecond, we ſee the ſame Goddeſs, in the Habit of an Huntreſs. On the third, is a military Goddeſs, repreſenting *Minerva*, or *Pallas*. *Cicero* ſpeaking of *Syracuſe*, gives us this Account of *The Iſland of Ortygia*. *Ea tanta eſt urbs, ut ex quatuor urbibus maximis conſtare dicatur, quarum una eſt ea, quam dixi, Inſula, quæ duobus portubus cincta in utriuſque portus oſtium, aditumque projecta eſt; in qua domus eſt, quæ Regia Hieronis fuit, qua Prætores uti ſolent. In ea ſunt ædes ſacræ complures, ſed duæ, quæ longe cæteris antecellunt, Dianæ una, & altera quæ fuit, ante iſtius* [Verris] *adventum, ornatiſſima Minervæ. ..... Quæ appellatur inſula, mari disjuncta, anguſto ponte rurſum adjungitur, & continetur.* The laſt City of the four was called *Neapolis*, or *The New City*, becauſe built after the other three. There was a great Amphitheatre in it, and two Temples of admirable Architecture, one conſecrated to *Ceres*, the other to *Libera*, or *Proſerpine*. But the famous Statue of *Apollo Temenites*, which was afterwards carried to *Rome*, was ſo large, and ſo beautifully carved, that it was the moſt valuable Monument in *Neapolis*. *Quarta autem eſt Urbs*, as *Cicero* goes on in his *Fourth Oration againſt Verres*, *quæ quia poſtrema ædificata eſt, Neapolis nominatur; quam ad ſummam theatrum eſt maximum, præterea duo templa ſunt egregia, Cereris alterum, alterum Liberæ, ſignumque Apollinis, qui Temenites vocatur, pulcherrimum, & maximum.* Of theſe four Cities, only *The Iſland of Ortygia* is now remaining, which the *Italians* call *Syracoſa*, and the *Spaniards Saragoſſa*. Some Footſteps are yet to be ſeen of the other Parts of old *Syracuſe*, in the Ruins of the Buildings, and the Remains of the Portico's, Temples, and Palace. The famous *Fountain of Arethuſa*, of which the Poets, and Romance Writers of thoſe Times, have told us ſo many wonderful things, riſes in this Iſland. *Cicero* tells us, that it abounded with all ſorts of Fiſh, and was ſo large and deep, that it might have been taken for a great River, *In hac Inſula extrema, eſt fons aquæ dulcis, cui nomen Arethuſa eſt, incredibili magnitudine, pleniſſimus piſcium.* A Peer of Stone kept the Sea from overflowing it. *Qui fluctu totus operiretur, niſi munitione ac mole lapidum, a mari disjunctus eſſet.* It has long diſappeared, and its Spring dried up. In the Quarter of *Epipolæ*, there were places called *Latomiæ*, which *Dionyſius* had dug in the Rock. The Entrance into theſe Quarries was ſo defended on all ſides, that it was inacceſſible; and this was the Priſon, in which the Tyrant ſhut up all thoſe, who had the Misfortune to incur his Diſpleaſure. *Cicero* gives us this Account of it. *Latomias Syracuſanas omnes audiſtis. Opus eſt ingens magnificum Regum ac Tyrannorum, totum eſt Saxo in mirandam altitudinem depreſſo, & multorum operis penitus exciſo. Nihil tam clauſum ad exitus, nihil tam ſeptum undique, nihil tam tutum ad cuſtodias, nec fieri, nec cogitari, poteſt..... Carcer ille, qui eſt a crudeliſſimo Tyranno factus Syracuſis*, &c. This Cave was 125 geometrical Paces long, and two *Plethræ*, or 200 Feet broad. The Walls of *Syracuſe* were flanked with Towers, in ſuch a manner, that the little Caſtles which were built round it, at certain Diſtances, made it almoſt impregnable. It was ſeveral times attacked by numerous Armies, and forced them to raiſe the Siege. The Conqueſt of it was reſerved for the *Romans*, who took it at laſt, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, where we will give an exact Map of *Syracuſe*. Before it was taken by *Marcellus*, it underwent ſeveral Revolutions. It was ſometimes governed by Kings, and ſometimes was a Republick, yet ſtill retained ſo great a Degree of Power, that *Gelon*, in the Year of *Rome* 260, and the other Tyrants, who uſurped the Government of *Syracuſe*, became formidable both to the People of *Greece*, and *Aſia*. *Dionyſius the Younger*, who governed in this City, had 10000 Foot and 10000 Horſe in Pay; and a Fleet of 400 Sail.

cour

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV. C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Conſuls.

cours they received from *Rhegium* (where a *Roman Legion*, all Men of *Campania*, had ſettled themſelves, by following their Example, in murdering the Citizens, who had called them in to their Aſſiſtance) maintained themſelves in their Uſurpation, at a time, when *Sicily* was a Prey to an hundred Tyrants; and their Dominion encreaſing by Degrees, it now reached to the middle of the Iſland.

BUT the *Carthaginians*, reckoning from *Lilybæum*, had already made a greater Progreſs in the Conqueſt of the Iſland, than the *Mamertini*. After thoſe Conquerors had invaded *Sardinia*, they had long made Attempts upon *Sicily*. Though often repulſed from this Iſland, which lay ſo very conveniently for them, they as often returned; and their Eagerneſs to conquer it had been much quickened, ſince the Death of King *Agathocles*. So that being Maſters of the Sea, they had extended their Conqueſts in *Sicily*, partly by Negotiation, and partly by Force, and had acquired a vaſt Tract of Ground. All things conſidered, the *Carthaginians* were become the moſt prevailing Nation, and the moſt formidable Tyrants in the Iſland.

INDEED, *Syracuſe* and its extenſive Territory, were not yet ſubject to the *Carthaginians;* but the bare Name of the *African* Republick made the *Syracuſans* tremble. Their City had undergone many Revolutions ſince the poiſoning of King *Agathocles*. *Moeno*, his Aſſaſſin, had uſurped a ſort of tyrannical Authority there; and being afterwards expelled the City by *Hycetas*, a *Prætor* of *Syracuſe*, *Moeno* had had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, and had put himſelf under their Protection. Hence aroſe the War the *Syracuſans* were obliged to enter into, with thoſe who eſpouſed *Moeno*'s Intereſt. *Hycetas* took Advantage of the Want his Country was in, of his Valour and Ability; perpetuated himſelf in the Magiſtracy; and governed *Syracuſe* nine Years like a Sovereign Prince, without any Collegue. Nay, he even ventured to take the Field, and march againſt *Phintias*, the Head of the [8] *Agrigentini*; but his Abſence turned to his Diſadvantage. One *Toenion* took hold of this Opportunity to diſpoſſeſs *Hycetas*, made himſelf *Prætor* of *Syracuſe*, and uſurped the Government of it. But the Nobility of the Country, could not bear the too abſolute Power of the new *Prætor*. *Toenion* had his Competitors. *Soſiſtrates*, among others, aſpired at the Supremacy in his City, formed his Cabals, and ſhared the Hearts and Hands of the *Syracuſans* with *Toenion*. *Syracuſe* was then divided, as it were, into two diſtinct Cities; the one built on the main Land of *Sicily*, the other on the Iſland of *Ortygia*, which was ſeparated from it by an Arm of the Sea: and theſe two diſtinct Parts of the ſame City, were united by a Bridge. *Toenion* poſſeſſed himſelf of that part, which was in the Iſland of *Ortygia*, and *Soſiſtrates* of that which was in *Sicily*. So that the War which enſued between the two Competitors was properly a civil War, and carried on in their

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. L. 21.



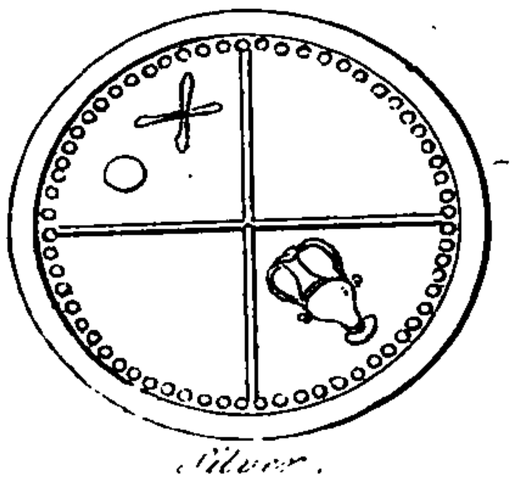
Silver.

8 *Agrigentum*, called by the *Greeks* Ἀκράγας, now *Gergenti*, *Girgenti*, and *Giorgenti*, was one of the moſt wealthy, and moſt conſiderable Cities in *Sicily*. The Inhabitants of *Gela* firſt laid the Foundations of it, under the Direction of the *Duumviri*, *Ariſto* and *Piſtillus*. According to *Thucydides*, *B.* 6. it was built about the 99th *Olympiad*, between the Rivers *Agragas* and *Hypſa*: The former of which is now called, *Fiume di Gergenti*, *Fiume di Sancto Biagio*, and *Fiume di Naro*; and the latter, *Fiume Drago*. We may judge of the Grandeur and Situation of Old *Agrigentum*, by the Deſcription *Polybius* gives us of it. *It excels*, ſays he, *moſt Cities in Sicily, for its Fortifications, which guard it from all Attacks; and for its beautiful Appearance, and magnificent Buildings. It ſtands* 118 Stadia, *that is, five Leagues from the Sea, and can conveniently import by Water, all Sorts of Proviſions, and Conveniences of Life. Its Situation and Fortifications make it one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the Iſland. Its Walls are built upon a Rock, which by much Labour, is made almoſt inacceſſible. The River from which it took its Name, covers it to the South, and the* Hypſa *to the Weſt: and to the Eaſt, it is defended by a Fortreſs, on the Edge of a Precipice, which guards it inſtead of a Ditch.* Among other remarkable Buildings in it, there was a Temple of *Minerva*, another of *Jupiter Olympius*, and another of *Jupiter Atabyris*, ſo called from a Mountain in *Rhodes*, called *Atabyris*, on which that God was worſhiped. Some People, who came originally from *Rhodes*, founded *Gela* firſt, and then *Agrigentum*, and gave a Mountain in *Sicily* this Name, in Memory of their native Country. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that the Citadel called *Omphace*, which defended *Agrigentum*, was much more ancient than the City itſelf, and ſtood at a little Diſtance from the Mouth of the *Agragas*, and upon the Banks of the *Hypſa*. It was deemed a maritime City, which is ſymbolically repreſented by the Crab and Fiſh, on the Medal above.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV. C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Conſuls.

common City: till at length, the two Heads grew tired of a Quarrel, which could only end in their common Ruin. It was natural for *Carthage* to take Advantage of their Diviſions, and *Syracuſe* had nothing more to fear, than the *Carthaginian* Yoke. A Regard therefore to the common Good, united the two Rivals, whoſe Ambition had occaſioned their Conteſts. They both joined together in inviting *Pyrrhus* into *Sicily*, to put an end to the Troubles there, and to expel thoſe who had uſurped a Dominion in it. They had many Reaſons for chuſing to have Recourſe to the King of *Epirus*, rather than to any of the many Sovereigns, who reigned in *Europe* and *Aſia*. *Pyrrhus* was the Son-in-law of *Agathocles* their laſt King. He had had one Son at leaſt, by *Laneſſa*, the Daughter of *Agathocles*, and it was very reaſonable to place the Grandſon, on the Throne of his Grandfather. Beſides, by the Reputation he had acquired by his perſonal good Qualities, and his Arms, he ſeemed to be the only General, able to make Head againſt the *Carthaginians*. The People of 9 *Leontini* and the *Agrigentini* alſo, joined with *Toenion* and *Soſiſtrates*, in preſſing *Pyrrhus* to come and take upon him the Government of a State, which was conſiderable, by the Union of ſeveral Cities. *Syracuſe* was already inveſted by a *Carthaginian* Fleet, and an Army of 50000 Men threatened it by Land. Indeed *Cyneas*, who arrived in *Sicily* ſome few Days before *Pyrrhus*, had already begun, in ſome Meaſure, to reſtore it to its Security; which the Preſence of his Maſter, alone could eſtabliſh.

THESE 10 Motives of Glory and Intereſt therefore had haſtened the Departure of the



Silver.



Silver.

9 The City of *Leontini*, was founded by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*, under the Command of *Theocles* the *Athenian*, in the firſt Year of the 13th *Olympiad*, after they had built *Naxus* in *Sicily*, according to *Thucydides*, *B.* 6. Several Antiquaries are of Opinion, that the Lion on the ſecond Medal above, alludes to the Name of this City. *Polybius*, *B.* 7. gives us this Account of *Leontini*. In the midſt of the City is a great ſquare Market-place, which terminates in a gentle Declivity; and there a publick Market is kept, for the Sale of all ſorts of Proviſions. In this Market-place ſtands the Building, in which the Magiſtrates and Judges meet, to deliberate about the publick Affairs of the Nation, and to adminiſter Juſtice. This *Forum* is ſurrounded on both ſides by ſteep Hills, which take up a great deal of Ground, and are covered with a great many Houſes, and ſome Temples. *Leontini* is divided into two Quarters. One ſtands towards *Syracuſe* to the South, the other lies to the North, towards the Plains called, *The Plains of Leontini*. Its Territory is watered by the River *Liſſus*, which runs at the Foot of a Rock, and falls into the River *Terias*, now *Fiume di Sancto Leonardo*. This River runs at the Diſtance of a thouſand Paces from *Leontini*. *Thucydides* ſays, this City was defended by two Citadels; one of which he calls *Arx Phoceæ*, and the other *Arx Bricinniæ*. Near it was a very Fiſhy Lake, which was twenty Miles in Compaſs. The Marſhes it made by its overflowing, emitted peſtilential Vapours in the Summer; and therefore the Ancients ſay, that the Air of *Leontini* was very unwholſome. But to make Amends for that, its Fields were ſo fruitful, that they, according to *Pliny*, brought forth an hundred Fold. For this Reaſon, *Cicero* calls it *Caput rei frumentariæ*. Its Wines were thought the moſt delicious of any in *Sicily*; but the Inhabitants abuſed this Benefit, by their Intemperance: whence the Proverb, *Leontini ſemper ad pocula*: i. e. *The People of* Leontini *are always at their Cups*. The great Plenty of Vineyards in their Territory, is evidently pointed out by the Wine-veſſel, on the reverſe of the Medal above, which is taken out of *Beger*'s Cabinet. *Dionyſius the Tyrant* was long very ambitious of conquering *Leontini*; and he at laſt made himſelf Maſter of it, by Capitulation, and removed the Inhabitants of this City to *Syracuſe*.

10 *Pyrrhus* was already propoſing to himſelf the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, being preſſed to go thither by the Deputies of *Syracuſe*, *Agrigentum*, and *Leontini*, who were come to him, to give him Poſſeſſion of thoſe three Cities. And at the ſame time he received Advice by ſome Ambaſſadors, who came from *Greece*, that *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, had been killed in a Battel with the *Gauls*, who had ſpread themſelves all over *Macedon*. They repreſented to him, that this was a very favourable Opportunity for him, to reconquer a Kingdom, he had formerly poſſeſſed. The Throne was then vacant, ſays *Plutarch* (from whom we take this Account) and *Macedon*, which wanted a King, ready to receive *Pyrrhus* with open Arms. But when *Plutarch* ſaid this, he did not conſider that this *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, the Brother of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, had loſt his Life in the *Conſulſhip* of *Lævinus*, three Years before the *Greek* Ambaſſadors arrived. The *Macedonians* then had a King. Three or four were reckoned to have mounted the Throne ſucceſſively, after the Loſs of that Battel; as *Meleager*, *Antipater*, *Soſthenes*, and *Antigonus*, who then filled it. *Plutarch* meant, that the Ambaſſadors aſſured *Pyrrhus*, That the laſt had only the Name of a King, and That the *Macedonians* waited only for his Arrival, in order to declare openly for him. Upon this News, the King of *Epirus*, continues *Plutarch*, complained bitterly of *Fortune*, who, ſo very unſeaſonably, opened to him, two ſuch different Ways to extend his Conqueſts, both at the ſame time. And being forced to ſet Bounds to his Ambition, one way or the other, he deliberated which to chuſe: and at laſt, after many Uncertainties, determined to make War in *Sicily*.

Almo

the King of *Epirus*. He had already embarked at *Tarentum*, and was come a great way towards the Iſland, with only his own Fleet; when *Toenion*, impatient of his Arrival, met him with the Ships of the *Syracuſans*. The King made a Deſcent into *Sicily*, with the Acclamations of a great Nation who ſubmitted to him; and immediately put him in Poſſeſſion of their Cities, Ships, and publick Treaſures. All the Ports on the Coaſt, which ſubmitted to him, reſounded with the Name of *Pyrrhus*, and Victory ſeemed to have landed with him. It was a common thing for *Pyrrhus* to be adored at firſt, by the People in all Places wherever he came. Before they became acquainted, they were charmed with him; but as ſoon as they knew him, they were undeceived, and the Eſteem of the Publick turned to Averſion. This had been the Caſe at *Macedon*, and at *Tarentum;* and this was now the Caſe in *Sicily*. His firſt Exploits were worthy of the greateſt Heroes. He drove the *Carthaginians* from Port to Port, till he at length cleared the Country of them. He took [11] *Eryx* from them, which was thought impregnable. He was himſelf the firſt Man, who mounted the Walls, and with his own Hand, killed a great Number of *Africans*, who were affrighted at his very Looks. In ſhort, he deprived the *Carthaginians* of all the Places they had conquered, except *Lilybæum*. Nor was this enough to ſatisfy him. The *Mamertini* alſo, thoſe other Tyrants of *Sicily*, felt the Effects of his Courage. *Pyrrhus* defeated them in a pitched Battel, drove them out of the Lands they poſſeſſed, and reduced them to their *Meſſana* only. And ſo many Exploits would have made *Pyrrhus* abſolute Maſter of *Sicily*, had his Conduct been equal to his Valour. He already depended ſo much upon the Reduction of the *Sicilians*, that he cauſed one of his younger Sons to be ſtiled King of *Sicily*, and the other King of *Italy*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXV. C. FABRICIUS, Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, Conſuls.

§. II. BUT whilſt *Pyrrhus* was buſy in defending the *Sicilians* againſt their Uſurpers, *Rome* took all the Advantages his Abſence offered her. After *Fabricius*'s [12] Triumph was over, the *Centuries* were aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, to elect new *Conſuls*. *Fabricius*, who preſided in the Aſſembly, had gained ſo high a Reputation by his Virtue, that he was become Maſter of the Elections. Among the Candidates was one *P. Cornelius Ruffinus*, an able Soldier, but covetous, and ſelf-intereſted, to an Exceſs. This made him odious to *Fabricius*, who was of a quite contrary Character; and *Ruffinus* himſelf deſpaired of being nominated to the *Conſulate* by the pooreſt, and the moſt abſtemious, of all the *Romans*. So that he was much ſurprized to ſee *Fabricius* vote for him, and incline the *Centuries* in his Favour: And when he was elected, he returned his Benefactor thanks, and told him how much he was ſurprized, that *Fabricius* ſhould think him worthy of his Suffrage. To which the honeſt *Fabricius* frankly and openly anſwered, *That he had rather ſee the* Roman *People plundered a little by a* Conſul, *than brought into Subjection by a formidable Enemy*. An ingenuous Declaration, which did honour to *Fabricius*, and was very proper both to reſtrain the Covetouſneſs of *Ruffinus*, and encreaſe his Bravery in Battel. The Colleague the *Centuries* gave *Ruffinus*, was *C. Junius Brutus*. They were both now raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*, the ſecond time; but the two Generals did not divide their Forces. They both marched their Armies to one *Rendezvous*, and carried on the War jointly. What induced them not to march directly to *Tarentum*, and lay Siege to it, I cannot

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVI. P. CORNELIUS RUFFINUS, C. JUNIUS BRUTUS, Conſuls.

diſcover.

almoſt all the Inhabitants of the Iſland opened their Arms to him, and prepared the Way for his Conqueſt. Beſides, its Neighbourhood to *Africa* opened a large Field for the Exerciſe of his Valour. So that, after many Struggles, he preferred *Sicily* to *Macedonia*.

11 *Eryx* ſtood on the Top of a Hill of the ſame Name near the Sea, at a little Diſtance from the Place where *Trapane del Monte* now ſtands. This City was famous for the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, of which we have ſpoken, *B.* 1. *p.* 5. of the firſt Volume, *Note* 19. The People of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, came thither in Crouds to pay their Vows, and make their Offerings to the Goddeſs. We have yet ſome Traces of the Worſhip which was paid her, in an antique Marble, which has this Inſcription, DEÆ VENERI ERYCINÆ SACRUM. It was dug up in the very Hill, on which the Temple ſtood. The Myrhologiſts ſay, this City was founded by one *Eryx*, the Son of *Buthes*, and *Venus*. The taking of this Place, which was by its Situation one of the ſtrongeſt in *Sicily*, was thought by Pyrrhus an Enterpriſe of ſuch Importance, and at the ſame time ſo difficult, that he thought it neceſſary to ſecure himſelf the Protection of *Hercules*, before he began ſo dangerous an Attempt. He made a Vow, ſays *Plutarch*, to celebrate publick *Games*, to the Honour of that God, and to offer Sacrifices to him, if in the Siege of the City, he ſhewed himſelf worthy of his Anceſtors. *Eryx* was taken by Aſſault: and in Gratitude for it, the King of *Epirus* performed his Vow, offered Sacrifices to *Hercules*, and entertained the *Sicilians* with the *Games* he had promiſed.

12 According to the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Fabricius* triumphed a ſecond time, over the *Lucani*, *Bruttii*, *Tarentini*, and *Samnites*, on *The Ides of December*, in the Year of *Rome* 475. And in this they agree with *Plutarch*. He tells us, That *Fabricius* conquered the *Lucani* and *Samnites*, after *Pyrrhus* was gone for *Sicily*; and That the Republick honoured him with a Triumph on Account of his Victory.

13 The *Conſuls* for this Year, had been *Conſuls* once before, though neither *The Greek Tables*, nor *Zonaras*, nor *Caſſiodorus*, mention their firſt *Conſulſhip*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVI.
P. CORNELIUS RUFFINUS, C. JUNIUS BRUTUS, Conſuls.
Zonar. B. 8. c. 6.

diſcover. Perhaps they were afraid of thoſe few Troops *Pyrrhus* had left there under the Conduct of *Milo*. Or, it may be, they thought it more proper not to leave any Enemy behind them, and to begin their Expeditions by marching againſt the *Samnites*. Theſe Rebels had deſerved the ſevereſt Reſentments of the Republick ſince their Revolt; and it was neceſſary to reduce them, before *Pyrrhus*, their Ally, returned. Againſt *Samnium* therefore the *Conſuls* firſt turned their Arms. But the *Samnites* neither tarried for their coming in their Towns; nor did they appear in the Field. They were too weak to ſuſtain either the Attacks, or Sieges, of two *Conſular* Armies. They had nothing to do, but to fly to their Mountains, remove their Wives, Children, and Effects thither, and fortify themſelves there. So that the *Romans* could only make Incurſions in the flat Country; where they ſeized ſome Caſtles which they found deſerted, and laid the Country waſte, without any Oppoſition. And at length, the *Conſuls* advanced with their Troops towards Mount [14] *Cranite*, which was the Aſylum for theſe obſtinate Rebels. It was no eaſy Matter to attack a whole Nation, covered with Multitudes of Entrenchments; but nevertheleſs the *Romans* reſolved to attempt to force them. The *Samnites* fought in Defence of every thing that was moſt dear to them; and their natural Fierceneſs was encreaſed by the affecting Sight of their Wives and Children. Beſides, they had all the Advantage of the Ground, and in ſmall Parties fell upon the *Romans*, as they were climbing up the ſteep Rocks, in ſeveral Quarters: and the Aſſailants were ſeverely puniſhed for their Raſhneſs. A great Number of *Romans* were killed, in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, and as many taken, and loaded with Irons. And at laſt, the *Conſuls* were ſo much aſhamed of their joint Enterpriſe, that each threw the Blame of it upon his Collegue. But we judge, by the Conſequence, that *Cornelius Ruffinus* was moſt in Fault; at leaſt, *Junius Brutus* refuſed to carry on the War jointly with him, any longer. The two Armies ſeparated. *Junius*, with his, continued in *Samnium*; while *Ruffinus* marched to the Country of the *Lucani* and *Bruttii*, in hopes of finding Means among them, to repair the Diſgrace he had ſuffered at the Foot of Mount *Cranites*.

§. III. *LUCANIA* and *Bruttium* perſevered in their Adherence to *Pyrrhus*, and nothing could draw them off from the *Tarentini*. *Ruffinus* therefore entered the Territories of theſe Enemies; where he did not content himſelf with laying the Country deſolate with Fire, and Sword: in order to recover his Honour, he thought it neceſſary to attempt ſomething more. *Croton*, which ſtood in the extreme Part of *Italy*, to the Eaſt, was a great City, on the Borders of the *Ionian* Sea, at a little Diſtance from Cape [15] *Lacinium*. It then belonged to the [16] *Bruttii*, and *Ruffinus* therefore thought the Conqueſt of it juſt, and worthy of a *Conſul*. It was no eaſy Matter for him to make himſelf Maſter of it by Force. We are aſſured, That it was twelve Miles round, and was defended by a ſtrong Citadel; and That the River [17] *Æſarus* ran through the middle of it. So that *Ruffinus* deſpaired of taking it, unleſs he could find Means to have Intelligence with the Place. But he was informed that a great Number of the Inhabitants were exaſperated at *Pyrrhus*'s Departure, and might eaſily be prevailed on to break the Oath of Fidelity they had taken

Livy B. 24. c. 3.



14 Only *Zonaras* mentions this Mount *Cranites*, which we are otherwiſe utterly ignorant of.

15 The *Lacinian* Promontory, now *Capo delle Colonne*, was at the Point of *Bruttium*. *Strabo* places it 150 *Stadia*, that is, near thirteen Leagues from *Croton*. This Cape gave its own Name to a neighbouring Temple dedicated to *Juno Lacinia*. It was remarkable for its Stateline's. It had been enriched, by the Offerings the People of *Great Greece* had brought to it. Near it was a conſecrated Grove, and Paſtures which were ſet apart, to feed the Flocks, which were kept to be offered up, to the tutelary Divinity of theſe Places.

16 The People of *Bruttium* were naturally a warlike and reſtleſs People. Their Genius for War is repreſented on moſt of their Medals, by the Figure of ſome warlike Divinity. That above is *Bellona*.

17 The River *Æſarus*, now the *Eſaro*, riſes in *Bruttium*, waters the Territory of *Croton*, in which the Mouth of it lies, and empties itſelf into the *Ionian* Sea.

their Allies. *Croton* [18] had been ſubject to the *Romans* for ſome time; and the Republick had yet ſome Friends in it; and by the help of theſe, *Ruffinus* hoped to make himſelf Maſter of it. But he did not carry on his Negotiation with Secrecy enough. The Inhabitants, who favoured the *Tarentini*, were ſoon apprized of it, and got Succours from *Tarentum*, under the Command of *Nicomachus of Croton*. *Milo* ſent them theſe Troops for their Defence. In the mean time, *Ruffinus* advanced with his Army, quite up to the Gates of *Croton*, fully expecting that the City would ſurrender to him. So that it was no ſmall Surpriſe to him, to ſee a Troop of *Epirotæ* whom he did not expect, fall upon his *Romans*. They made a Sally out of the City, overpowered the *Roman Legions*, which were not upon their Guard, and forced their General to retire a great Way from the City which he inveſted. This was the ſecond Check *Ruffinus* had met with, ſince the opening the Campaign. He therefore had recourſe to Stratagem, which ſucceeded better with him, than bare Force. He exaggerated his Loſs in the laſt Sally of the Enemy; and upon the Reports, which he cauſed to be ſpread Abroad in the Country, the People of *Croton* were eaſily brought to believe, that the *Conſul* would retire with his Troops, and remove to a great Diſtance. In order to make this Conjecture the more probable, *Ruffinus* ſuborned two Deſerters, one of whom told the *Crotoniates*, that *Ruffinus* was ready to decamp, and was going to march towards the Country of the *Locri;* and the other affirmed, that he was already gone, and ſhewed ſome Cloaths, which he had picked up, during the precipitate Flight of the Enemy. And this Agreement in their Teſtimony deceived *Nicomachus*. He left *Croton* in haſte, in order to go and relieve *Locris*, which he thought threatened with a Siege. *Ruffinus* had indeed made a Motion with his Troops; but upon the firſt News of *Nicomachus*'s Departure, he returned back again: and a thick Fog favoured his Entrance into *Croton*. The City thinking itſelf out of Danger, was negligent and ſecure. The *Romans* entered it, almoſt before the Enemy ſaw them: and this Succeſs was followed by others, which comforted *Ruffinus*, after his Loſſes. *Nicomachus*, being deceived by the *Conſul*, returned towards *Tarentum*, with Intent to carry back his Detachment thither. But *Ruffinus* intercepted him in his Paſſage, gave him Battel, defeated the Body he commanded, and forced him to fly. Nor was this all. *Locris* ſurrendered to the *Romans*. The Tyranny of the Governor *Pyrrhus* had left in it, was grown inſupportable to the *Locri*, who maſſacred him and all the Garriſon; but what they did with young *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*'s youngeſt Son, whom he had in Confidence left with them, is not known. All theſe Succeſſes, had doubtleſs deſerved the Honours of a Triumph, for the *Conſul*, *Cornelius Ruffinus;* and *Pliny* accordingly aſſures us, that he did Triumph. But the *Faſti Capitolini* grant that Honour only to his Collegue *Junius Brutus;* to whom they aſcribe all the Exploits of *Ruffinus*, in *Lucania*, and the Country of the *Bruttii*. So that in this Contradiction, between the Hiſtorians, and the *Triumphal Tables*, we can only ſay, that one of the *Conſuls* triumphed at *Rome*, on *The Nones of January*, for having conquered the *Bruttii*, and *Lucani*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVI. P. Cornelius Ruffinus, C. Junius Brutus, Conſuls.

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 6.

Frontin. Strat. B. 3. and *Zonaras B.* 8. *c.* 6.

Appianus in Excerptis, apud Valeſium.

B 33. *c.* 6.

§. IV. Nevertheless, it may truly be ſaid, that *Pyrrhus*'s Preſence was not abſolutely neceſſary to his Allies, the Year after he left them. They yet ſupported themſelves againſt the *Romans*. The *Samnites* having retired to their Mountains, were become rather the more formidable to the Republick; and *Bruttium* had only loſt two Cities. The Conqueſts of *Pyrrhus*, in his new Career, kept up the Courage of the *Italians*, who had ſubmitted to him. They depended upon the Promiſe he had given them, to return upon the firſt Summons, either to deliver them from Oppreſſion, or help them to humble *Rome:* and flattering themſelves with theſe pleaſing Expectations, they let him take his full Courſe in *Sicily*. The *Romans*, in the mean time, choſe two new *Conſuls*, who were very fit Perſons to oblige *Pyrrhus* to return into *Italy*. One was *Q. Fabius Gurges*, the Son of the Great *Q. Fabius*, whoſe Valour he inherited. He had long ſince effaced the Remembrance of his firſt Debaucheries, though he ſtill retained the Name of *Gurges*. He had already been honoured both with the *Conſulſhip* and a Triumph; and now that he was choſen *Conſul* a ſecond time, he acquired new Glory, and made *Pyrrhus*'s Preſence neceſſary to his Allies. His *Plebeian* Collegue, was one *C. Genucius*, ſurnamed *Clepſina*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVII. Q. Fabius Gurges, C. Genucius, Conſuls.

[18] See *B.* 21.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVII. Q. FABIUS GURGES, C. GENUCIUS, Conſuls. *Oroſius B.* 4. *c.* 2.

THE beginning of their Adminiſtration was not at all promiſing to the *Roma* It ſeemed to be the unalterable Fate of *Rome*, to be tormented with Calamities Home, whenever ſhe was delivered from a formidable Enemy. After *Pyrrhus*'s D parture, a new [19] kind of Plague raged both in the City and Country. It chie affected Women with Child, and breeding Cattle. Children were no ſooner form in the Womb, but they died there. This made it neceſſary to tear them out of t Bowels of their Mothers, who were either killed with the Acuteneſs of the Pa or infected with thoſe corrupted Parts of the *Fœtus*'s which were left within the And it was the ſame Caſe with the Cattle. Inſomuch, that Heaven ſeemed det mined to deſtroy the Species, both of Men, and Beaſt, before they came to Mat rity. Even *Æſculapius*, the Serpent of *Epidaurus*, which had been brought *Rome*, ſome time ſince, did not cure this univerſal Contagion. *Doubtleſs*, ſays *Auſtin*, pleaſantly, *becauſe this God did not come to the* Romans *to be their Midw but their Phyſician.* The Cauſe of the Calamity was therefore enquired into ; a inſtead of aſcribing it to the Infection of the Air, or bad Food, the *Romans* imput it to the Vengeance of the Gods. After much Enquiry, a *Veſtal*, named *Sext* was found to have broken her ſolemn Vows ; and being convicted of Inceſt, w buried alive, without the Gate *Collina*. Perhaps ſhe would have eſcaped the Rigo of the Laws, as many others did, had not this extraordinary Plague rouſed the Z of the *Pontifices*, and made them examine the more ſtrictly, into the Manners of t Prieſteſſes. There was alſo ſome Superſtition in the manner of putting an end this publick Calamity. The *Romans* had recourſe to the old Cuſtom, of driving Nail in the Temple of *Minerva* upon the *Capitol;* and it is probable, that *Cornel Ruffinus*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year, was choſen *Dictator*, to perform this religio Ceremony. At leaſt, it is certain, that we ſhall find him nominated to the [20] *D tatorſhip;* but cannot imagine when, or upon what Account, if it were not on th Occaſion, and for the Diſcharge of that Office.

D. *Civit. Dei l.* 3. *c.* 17.

Eutrop. & Paulus Diac. B. 4. *c.* 2.

BUT the Sickneſs at *Rome* did not hinder the *Romans* from continuing the W Whether the *Conſul Genucius* commanded a ſeparate Army, or attended his Colleg in his Expeditions, is uncertain ; and it is probable, that if he did either, he ma but an indifferent Figure in the Field ; ſince all the Glory of the Battels they foug is aſcribed to *Fabius Gurges* only. He ſucceſſively vanquiſhed the *Samnites*, *Luca* and *Bruttii*. It is much to his Diſadvantage, that the Hiſtorians have not record the Particulars of his Victories ; for there are two Circumſtances which plainly ſhe they were not inconſiderable ones. The firſt is, that the Republick granted him Triumph, for having conquered the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Bruttii*, which Triumj he enjoyed on *The thirteenth of the Calends of March*, the Feſtival of the *Quirina* in honour of *Romulus*. And the ſecond, That *Gurges*'s Exploits ſtruck Terror in *Pyrrhus*'s Allies in *Italy*. The *Conſuls* for the laſt Year had weakened, but not d couraged them. *Gurges* reduced them ſo low, that they could no longer ſubſiſt wit out *Pyrrhus*. They therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to him, to entreat him to return them, and again put himſelf at the Head of his faithful *Italians*.

Faſti Capitol.

Juſtin. B. 23.

§. V. WHEN theſe Deputies from *Italy* came to him in *Sicily*, the Face of I Affairs there was much changed. *Pyrrhus*, from being the [21] Idol, became t Cu

19 It is ſaid, in the Epitome of *Livy*, that the Head of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was ſtruck off by a Thunderbolt, and carried ſo far from the Body, that the *Aruſpices* were forced to make uſe of all their Art to find it again. An Accident ſo extraordinary, that it alarmed the *Romans*. They thought it a Mark of the Anger of the Gods, and an unlucky Preſage of the Calamities *Rome* ſuffered this Year.

20 Moſt of the Writers of ancient *Rome*, ſay, that *Cornelius Ruffinus*, whoſe Name was razed out of the Liſt of Senators, by *Caius Fabricius* the *Cenſor*, had been twice *Conſul*, and *Dictator*. The Difficulty is, to find out the Year in which he was *Dictator*. Some imagine, and with a great deal of Probability, that the epidemical Diſtempers, and publick Calamities, with which *Rome* was afflicted in this Year 477, determined the *Romans* to raiſe *Ruffinus* to the Supreme Magiſtracy. And this Conjecture we follow ; but mention it as ſuch. W is certain is, that his *Dictatorſhip* was at leaſ Year before *Fabricius*'s *Conſulſhip*. The only Q ſtion is, whether it happened in this Year. T Hiſtorians, and the *Faſti Capitolini*, are ſilent as this Matter.

21 The Reputation *Pyrrhus* had acquired by Valour, had ſo far prepoſſeſſed the People of *cily* in his Favour, that *Tyndarion* the chief Mar *Tauromene*, paid him a kind of Homage, in Name of the Inhabitants of that City. The C zens of *Catane* had received him as the tutelary G of their Country, and had heaped many Hono on him upon his Arrival. *Agrigentum* abſolut ſurrendered itſelf up to him, after it had expel the *Carthaginian* Garriſon. *Syracuſe* had ope her Gates to the King of *Epirus*, at the Perſuat of *Soſiſtrates* ; and this Example had been follow by thirty other Cities, which were eager to augm

Curſe of the *Sicilians*, after he had been two Years among them. They now ſet no Value on his Bravery and Conqueſts; and conſidered only his Tyranny, and Ingratitude. He, puffed up with his great Succeſs, forgot himſelf, in the midſt of ſo much Proſperity. Though it muſt be owned, that the Levity of the *Sicilians* contributed not a little to their Diſlike of him. But this being known before that time, *Pyrrhus* ought therefore to have managed them with more Art. Whereas the King looked on *Sicily* as a conquered Kingdom, and his natural Inconſtancy, already prompted him to go upon new Deſigns. He had Thoughts of ſailing over into *Africa*, and making War upon the *Carthaginians*, in their own Territories; though they were yet Maſters of *Lilybæum* in *Sicily*, and this Port, which was open to them, was a Key to the whole Iſland. Beſides, *Meſſana* was yet in the Hands of the *Mamertini*, and new Uſurpers might ſtart up in this warlike City: and it is eaſy to imagine, that *Pyrrhus*'s Deſign of going into *Africa* could not be very agreeable to the *Syracuſans*. But notwithſtanding all this, the King perſiſted in it. He had Ships enough of his own; and the maritime Cities, which were in his Intereſt, refuſing him Seamen, and Marines, he took them by Force. The Cities complained of this Violence; but he had no Regard to their Remonſtrances. However, the *Sicilians* bore theſe Outrages, with ſome Patience. His Deſigns hitherto were palliated, with a ſlight Pretence, at leaſt of promoting the publick Good; and the King's Diſlike to his new Subjects was encreaſed, by their oppoſing his Deſires. *Toenion* and *Soſiſtrates* in particular, who had invited him into *Sicily*, and crowned him there, were ſuſpected by him, and felt his Fury. *Pyrrhus*, full of Jealouſy, as all Tyrants are, would have forced *Soſiſtrates* to attend him into *Africa*. He did not think it ſafe to leave him in *Syracuſe*, during his Abſence. But *Soſiſtrates*, to avoid complying with ſo diſagreeable Commands, revolted from the Tyrant, and fled from his native City. As for *Toenion*, he was indeed more complaiſant, and continued with the King; but at the ſame time that he ſeemed in all Appearance to be one of his great Favourites, he was cruelly aſſaſſinated. And this Perfidiouſneſs put an end to *Pyrrhus*'s Succeſſes in *Sicily*. The Cities, tired with the Oppreſſion in which the King had indulged his *Epirots*, ſurrendered themſelves up, partly to the *Carthaginians*, and partly to the *Mamertini*. And indeed, ever ſince *Pyrrhus*'s Arrival in *Sicily*, the Natives had not been permitted to have any Share in civil or military Offices. All civil Employments were given either to the old Courtiers, or the King's Guards; whoſe Extortions being enormous, and their haſty Deſires of enriching themſelves before they left the Iſland, making them multiply their Exactions, the Odium of the Injuſtice of the Miniſters fell upon the King, *What are we the better*, ſaid the *Sicilians*, *for his being moderate in his Demands, if his Favourites devour us, like ſo many Harpies?* Murmurs, which both leſſened the People's Affection for *Pyrrhus*, and diminiſhed his Forces. His Troops were almoſt reduced to his *Epirot Phalanx;* and the *Carthaginians* were not ignorant of this Change in the *Sicilians*, and their Hatred to their new King. The *African* Republick therefore, ſent an Army into *Sicily*, to recover their ancient Conqueſts; whilſt the *Carthaginian* Fleet cruiſed round the Iſland, to keep *Pyrrhus* in it, and prevent his Departure.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVII. Q. FABIUS GURGES, C. GENUCIUS, Conſuls.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Dion. Hal. in excerptis apud Valeſ.

his Army with new Levies. The *Syracuſans* had already furniſhed him with eight thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe. With this formidable Army, he ſtruck Terror into all the Places which had adhered to the *Carthaginians*. The taking of *Heraclea*, and *Azone*, made *Selinus*, *Egeſta*, and *Helicyæ* tremble. Then theſe three Cities ſhook off the *Carthaginian* Yoke, and ſubmitted to *Pyrrhus*. The *Carthaginians* therefore, ſurprized at the Rapidity of his Conqueſts, were forced to have recourſe to the Clemency of the Conqueror. They demanded Peace, and his Friendſhip, offering to give him a conſiderable Sum of Money, and furniſh him with a certain Number of Ships. But the King of *Epirus* would not accept of theſe Conditions. Upon their refuſal to leave *Sicily*, and ſurrender it up to him, and to make the *Lybian* Sea the Boundaries of their Dominions, he purſued his Conqueſts. *Egyna* prevented the Conqueror by a voluntary Submiſſion. *Panormus* was taken by aſſault. The Fortreſs *Epicrete*, whoſe Situation made it impregnable, could not hold out againſt the Attacks of the *Epirot*. And in ſhort, every thing gave way before him. The *Carthaginians* were reduced to the ſingle Town of *Lilybæum*, which was their laſt Stake. They therefore provided it with all things neceſſary to enable it to hold out a long Siege. *Pyrrhus* inveſted and attacked it. But the Valour of the Beſieged, the Havock they made with their Engines of War, the frequent Succours and Supplies of Proviſions ſent in to them by Sea, and the Fortifications which defended the Approaches to *Lilybæum*, broke the King of *Epirus*'s Meaſures. He abandoned the Enterpriſe, and marched his Army againſt *Meſſana*, at the Sollicitation of ſome Cities, who groaned under the Tyranny of the *Mamertini*. He drove them by Force, out of all the Places they poſſeſſed, and laid their Territory waſte.

§. VI. THE

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVII. Q. Fabius Gurges, C. Genucius, Conſuls.

§. VI. This was the Situation of *Pyrrhus*'s Affairs, when the Deputies of th *Tarentini*, *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Bruttii*, his Allies, came to him from *Italy*. Fro whence it is eaſy to imagine, that he rejoiced at their Arrival. Their Embaſſy fu niſhed him with an honourable Pretence for extricating himſelf out of theſe Diff culties; and their Harangues were affecting. They repreſented the Dangers the had run, and the Loſſes they had ſuſtained, ſince *Pyrrhus*'s Departure; and remo ſtrated, that without him, their Cities and Liberties muſt fall a Sacrifice to the *R mans*. But *Pyrrhus* long deliberated, or at leaſt ſeemed to do ſo, what part to chuſ He ſeemed divided between *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Italy;* but at laſt *Italy* obtained th Preference. As he was fond of Applauſe, and very fearful of Diſgrace, he was d lighted to have this Opportunity to make the World believe, that the Fear of th *Carthaginians* had not driven him out of *Sicily;* but that he had generouſly compli with the Requeſts of his Allies. He therefore prepared for a new Voyage to *Ita* which the *Sicilians* did not obſtruct; and yet as he was ready to leave the Kingdo where he thought himſelf no longer ſafe, he cried out at the ſight of this fine Cou try, *O unfortunate Iſland, thou wilt ſoon become the Seat of a bloody War, between t* Carthaginians *and the* Romans! A Prediction, which the Event proved to be ve true. *Pyrrhus* knew the Power of the *Romans* too well, not to take it for grante that, after they had conquered the ſouthern Parts of *Italy*, they would go over in *Sicily*, and diſpute the Conqueſt of it with the *Carthaginians*. He embarked on t Ships he had brought, but did not carry them all into the Port of *Tarentum*. T *Carthaginian* Fleet attacked his, in his Paſſage, and was an overmatch for it. *Pyrrh* himſelf was a great Soldier; but neither he, nor his *Epirots*, were uſed to Sea-figh The *Carthaginians* had ſuch Advantages over him, by their Experience, and t Lightneſs of their Ships, that they eaſily overcame him. He was beaten, and fle and ſaved himſelf in the Ports of *Italy*, with only twelve Veſſels, the poor Remai of a Fleet of two hundred Sail. His Enemies ſunk ſeventy of his Gallies, and diſperſ the reſt, or at leaſt diſabled them for farther Service. Nor was this all.

Justin, B. 23.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Appian. in Excerptis, and *Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.*

The Enemies the King of *Epirus* had made himſelf in *Sicily*, purſued him in *Italy*. Upon the firſt Report of *Pyrrhus*'s Departure, the *Mamertini* detached eight thouſand Men, to moleſt him after his landing. Theſe landed at *Rhegium*, a Ci which ſome of the *Campani*, their Countrymen, had reduced, by the like unjuſt M thods, as they had done theirs; and the *Mamertini* poſted themſelves in the Ro which *Pyrrhus* muſt take, in his Way to *Tarentum*, by Land. As for the King, af he had ſeen his Fleet torn in pieces in the Streights of *Sicily*, he landed in *Ita* pretty near *Rhegium;* but his Loſſes had not leſſened his former Boldneſs. He w as raſh as ever, and formed a Deſign of ſurprizing *Rhegium*, and revenging the M fortune of his Fleet, on the Allies of the *Mamertini*. But *Rhegium* was too w guarded, and had Succours too near at Hand, to become a Prey to a Fugitive: that *Pyrrhus*'s Attempt failed. Then he made it his Buſineſs to collect the Rema of his Army, which was diſperſed in ſeveral Places along the Sea-coaſts; and with many of his old Troops as he could gather together, marched towards *Tarentu* The *Mamertini* lay in Ambuſh in Woods, and under Rocks, to intercept him in Paſſage, and attacked him both unexpectedly, and with Vigour; but *Pyrrhus* ſhew as much of the Hero, on this Occaſion, as ever. The Attack being made on Rear, he immediately appeared at the Head of his Rear-guard, and fought like deſperate. He continued in the Heat of the Battel, till a Wound he received on Head, forced him to retire; but he ſoon returned to the Charge with fr Fury. As he was ſuppoſed to be withdrawn, a proud *Mamertin*, tall of Stature, glittering in bright Armour, came out of the Ranks, and with a loud Voice, ch lenged the King of *Epirus*, if he was yet alive. *Pyrrhus* immediately turned ab to this new Champion, and inſtantly flew upon his Enemy. The Blood of Wound, which ran down his Face, made him more terrible than ever; and he g the *Mamertin* ſo violent a Stroke on the Head, that he cleaved him in [22] two, q do

Polybius B. 1. c. 7.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

22 To ſpeak the Truth, the Fact of which we have given an Account in the Hiſtory, upon the Credit of *Plutarch*, has all the Air of a Fiction invented at Pleaſure, to give the Story of *Pyrrhus*'s Exploits, a miraculous Turn. Theſe Strokes of the *Merveilleux*, ſuit the Taſte of our Romance-Writers, who greedily caught hold of them, as beſt Ornaments to ſet off the Exploits of their roes. Thus the old Knight-errants, *clove the moſt ſumptuous and daring of the Giants quite to the Sa* *Plutarch* cautiouſly ſcreened himſelf under *Hom* Authority, who ſomewhere ſays, That of all

down the Back. One part of his Body fell to the right Hand, and the other to the left. The *Temper* of *Pyrrhus*'s Sabre, and the Strength of his Arm, were equally admired; and this Feat, which has been ſince aſcribed to other Warriors, filled the *Mamertini* with Terror. They looked on *Pyrrhus* as a God. He was indeed deſcended from *Achilles;* but if he had all his Valour, he had all his Defects too. After this, the *Epirotæ*, who had loſt a good Number of Men, in their Rear-guard, and two Elephants, continued their March towards *Tarentum*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVII. Q. FABIUS GURGES, C. GENUCIUS, Conſuls. *Zonar. B. 8. c. 6.*

§. VII. THEY kept along by the Sea-ſide, and in order to reach *Tarentum* that Way, they muſt neceſſarily paſs thro' the Country of the *Locri*, or *Locrenſes*, who had, a little time ſince, gone over to the *Romans*, and recovered their Liberty, by maſſacring the *Epirot* Garriſon, and its Commander. And perhaps *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*'s youngeſt ſon, left at *Locris*, had met with the ſame Fate. At leaſt, we don't ſee him appear with his Brothers, in the laſt Adventures of the King their Father. But be that as it will, the *Locri* had exaſperated *Pyrrhus*, and now felt the Fury of his Revenge. He puniſhed them more ſeverely, than even their Crime, great as it was, deſerved. He inflicted all ſorts of Cruelties on this miſerable People: And after numberleſs barbarous Executions, he added another Puniſhment to all the reſt, which was calculated purely to ſerve his own Intereſts. There was near *Locris*, a Temple dedicated to *Proſerpine*, which was famous for the great Reſort of People to it, and immenſely enriched by the Offerings made at it. *Proſerpine* being deemed the Wife of the God of Hell, and of Riches, great pieces of Gold and Silver were thrown into a deep Pit, in honour to her; and this Treaſure *Pyrrhus* was reſolved to ſeize. The Horror of Sacrilege on the one Hand, and the preſſing Neceſſity of his Affairs on the other, held him in ſuſpence at firſt; but at laſt, his Covetouſneſs and Revenge, got the better of his Religion. *Pyrrhus* took out of the Earth, this Heap of Riches, which had been buried in it, and put them on board his Fleet, which coaſted along by the Sea-ſhore, whilſt he led his Troops by Land. But, if the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians may be credited, the Goddeſs ſoon revenged her ſelf on the Prophaners of her Sanctuary. They had hitherto had a favourable Wind, but it turned all on a ſudden, and was in their Faces. Then a Tempeſt aroſe, which daſhed the Ships, loaded with the ſacred Treaſure, againſt the Rocks, and all the Mariners were loſt. The Treaſures themſelves, as if *Neptune* had refuſed to enrich himſelf at the Expence of *Pluto* and his Wife, were carried with the Wrecks of the Ships to the Shore, near the prophaned Temple. And Superſtition made it believed, that all the Miſfortunes, which afterwards befel *Pyrrhus*, were all brought upon him, by this monſtrous Act of Impiety. Indeed, the King of *Epirus* did all that was in his Power, to make Amends for his Crime. As he was upon his March, he cauſed all the Treaſures, which were thrown on the Strand, to be very carefully gathered up, carried back, and caſt into their Pit: And he ſeverely repented of his Sacrilege, all the Days of his Life. But he in vain attempted to appeaſe *Proſerpine* with Victims; the Goddeſs is ſaid to have ſhewn him ſome Marks of her Anger, even in the expiatory Sacrifices he offered her; and *Pyrrhus* is affirmed to have been ſo terrified at them, that he put all his Flatterers to Death, who had given him that fatal Advice, to ſteal the Treaſures of the Temple. So forcible are the Remorſes of a guilty Conſcience, even in Men, who are intrepid in Battel!

Dio. apud Vales. and *Livy Epit. B.* 29.

Val. Max. B. 1. *c.* 1. *Exter.* 1.

Appian.

AT length, both the Defender, and the Tyrant of *Tarentum* arrived there. But all the Army he had carried into *Sicily*, *Pyrrhus* brought back into *Italy* only three thouſand Horſe, and not quite twenty thouſand Foot. To theſe the *Tarentini* added ſome Recruits; and after all, this was a very little Body, to contend with the *Roman* Armies. But the King's Dependence was in the firſt Place on his *Epirots*, who had been ſeldom vanquiſhed in *Italy*, and always victorious in *Sicily;* and in the laſt, on the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Bruttii*, his Allies.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Valour only was ſubject to thoſe Tranſports of Phrenſy, and Sallies of Fury, which work Miracles. *Thomas Bartholin* ſays, in his *Daniſh Antiquities*, that the northern People were formerly brought up, with this Perſuaſion. They feigned for themſelves a God *Odin*, who was their God of War; and they thought that the weakeſt Man, animated by the Fury, with which this military God inſpired whomſoever he pleaſed, was himſelf able to cope with any ten Men.

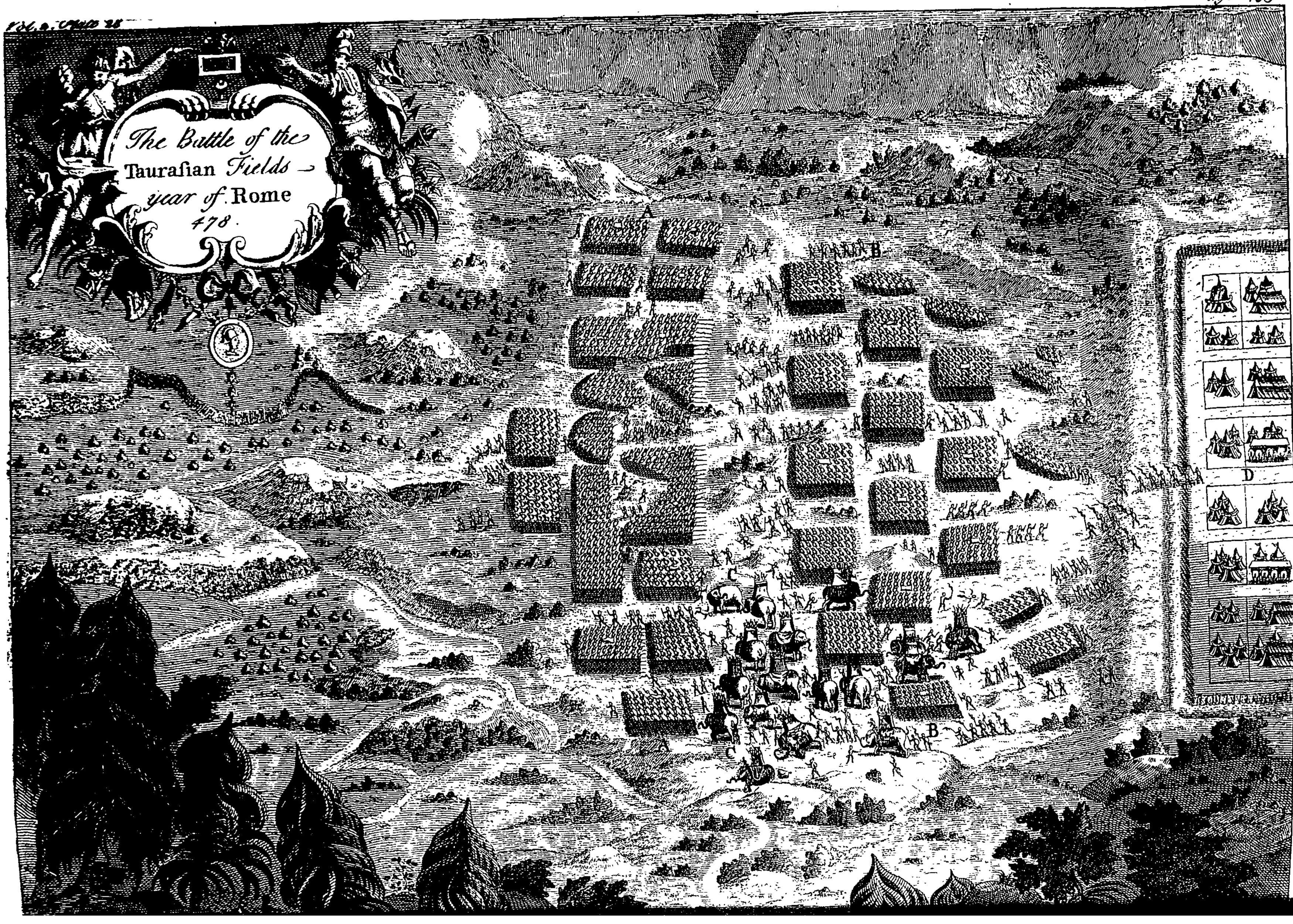
Year of ROME CCCCLXXVIII. M. CURIUS DENTATUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Consuls.

§. VIII. By that time the King was in a Condition to begin the War again, th Republick had changed her *Consuls*. *M. Dentatus* had just been raised to the *Co sulate* a second time. The *Romans* remembered the glorious Victory he had former gained over the *Samnites;* but chiefly, that Abstinence, which was Proof against a the Offers of the Enemy; his continual Poverty in the midst of Honours; an that most austere Wisdom which rendered him equal to *Fabricius*. It seems have been the Fate of *Rome*, that *Pyrrhus* should only be totally overcome by th two most virtuous Citizens, the Republick ever bred. *Fabricius* had forced him go into *Sicily*; and *Curius Dentatus* was now chosen by Heaven, to drive him ou of *Italy* for ever, and banish him to his Kingdom of *Epirus*. The Collegue th *Comitia* gave *Dentatus*, was an illustrious *Patrician*, named *L. Cornelius Lentulu* The *Consuls* made it their first Business, after their Election, to raise two Armie which should be numerous enough to oppose the King of *Epirus*, and all his Allie but the *Roman* Youth, from some unaccountable Caprice, refused to inlist themselv in the *Legions*. Doubtless, the Courage of the Citizens was affected by the la Contagion, and their Spirits as much sunk, as their Bodies. But be the Cause wh it will, the *Consuls* found great Difficulties in raising the Troops: and the wi *Curius* could not brook such pernicious Examples of Disobedience, in so critical Juncture. He assembled the *Tribes*, in the *Capitol*, threw all their Names into Urn, and the first he drew out was that of the *Pollian Tribe*. Lots were therefo drawn for the Levies, out of this *Tribe* first; and the first Man called, was an aud cious young Fellow, who did not appear. He was found in the Croud, and th *Consuls* would have forced him to enroll himself; and upon his Refusal, his Goo were ordered to be sold by Auction. Then the Rebel had recourse to the Prote tors of the Oppressed, and appealed from the *Consul* to the *Tribunes of the Peop* But the Cause of this refractory Citizen was too bad to find any Defenders; a *Curius*, to make him an Example, inflicted a double Punishment on him, for repeat Disobedience. Both [23] he, and his Effects were sold to the best Bidder. *The R publick*, said the wise Magistrate, *does not want Citizens who refuse to obey her*. Th the Fear of Slavery brought the Mutineers to their Duty, and the Successors of t *Consuls*, made his Severity their Precedent.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 3. §. 4.

THE

23 When the ancient *Romans* exposed any moveable, or immovable Goods, or Slaves, to publick Sale, they pitched a Spear in the Place where the Sale was to be. Hence the *Latin* Expressions, *Subhastare*, *Hastæ subjicere*, to signify, *to set up to Auction*. The Javelin was the Signal, which gave the Publick Notice of this kind of Sale; and the real Design of this Custom was to shew, that the Auction was made by the Authority of the Magistrate. This Weapon, as the ancient *Civilians* observe, was the Symbol of Power. And for this Reason, the Gods of the first Class are often drawn on Medals, and ancient Monuments, with Javelins in their Hands. The first Kings of *Rome* carried them instead of Scepters. But *Junius Rabirius* in his Treatise *de Hasta*, gives another Interpretation to this Custom. The Possession of whatever was taken in War, was, says he, deemed a lawful Possession: And he thinks, that the Design of the Javelin, was to shew that a Man's Right and Property, in whatever he bought by Auction, was incontestable. But be that as it will, it is certain, this Ceremony was enjoined by the Laws. Without it, neither the Sale, nor the Purchase, were deemed valid. It was generally used in the Sale of Slaves; nevertheless, some were sold *Sub Corona*, and others *Sub Pileo*. Enemies taken in War were sold *Sub Corona*. The Expression *vænire sub Corona* alludes, according to *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 7. *c.* 1. to the Crowns of Flowers, and Garlands, which were put upon the Heads of the Captives. Or perhaps, it might be taken from the *Ring* the Soldiers made round the Prisoners, to prevent their escaping. But that Author agrees with *Cato*, in explaining the Terms *Sub Corona*, in the former Sense. *Antiquitus*, says he, *mancipia jure belli Capta coronis induta vænibant, & idcirco dicebantur Corona vænire ..... vel quod milites custodiæ ca captivorum venalium greges circumstarent, eaque cumstatio militum corona appellata sit. Sed id m verum est quod supradictum.* And lastly, so Slaves were sold, *Sub Pileo*. They wore a sort Hat called *Pileus*, at the time of the Sale. By Sign, the Seller gave the Buyer to understand, he was to buy upon his own Examination Judgment, and that the Seller would not pret to warrant them. Thus *Aulus Gellius* remar *Pileus impositus demonstrabat, ejusmodi servos nundari, quorum nomine emptori venditor nihil p stare*. In proof of this, he quotes *Cælius Sab* an ancient *Civilian*, who confirms this Cust Without that, he who sold Slaves, or the Ma of a Family, who had a mind to part with an his, was obliged to tell the Purchaser their bo Imperfections, and bad Dispositions; otherwise Bargain was thought fraudulent, and adjudged by the Law of the *Ædiles*. In this Case, the Bu had a Right to Damages, in proportion to the jury he suffered, and could bring his Action ag the Seller. We find this Law in *Aulus Gel B.* 4, *c.* 2, in these Words. TITULUS SER RUM SINGULORUM UTEI SCRIPTUS SIT COE TO. ITA UTI INTELLIGI RECTE POSSIT, Q MORBI VITIIVE QUOIQUE; QUIS FUGITIVUS ROVE SIT, NOXAVE SOLUTUS NON SIT; is, *Let every Slave which is to be sold ha Writing about his Neck, shewing the Disease which he is subject, and the Faults he is guilt as whether he be a Vagabond, and Rambler, or g of any other Vice*. This was a necessary Pre tion against those whom a bad Education, the I of Liberty, the Hatred of their Masters, and Hard


The Battle of the
Taurasian Fields
year of Rome
478.
A
B
C
D

THEN the *Legions* were filled without further Oppoſition; and two large *Conſular* Armies were raiſed, which acted ſeparately. *Lentulus* marched his into *Lucania*, and *Curius Dentatus* entered *Samnium*. The *Samnites* were extremely diſmayed. Nothing was heard among them, but Murmurs againſt the King of *Epirus*, for his Delays. His *Sicilian* Expedition was Matter of Complaint, with an unhappy People, who thought they could not be relieved too ſoon. *Pyrrhus* therefore no longer deferred giving them that Aſſiſtance, which was neceſſary for the Support of his own Intereſt. Had the *Samnites* been deſerted by him, they would have had a plauſible Pretence for returning to the *Romans*. Beſides, *Lucania* was reduced almoſt to Deſpair, and ready to throw off his Alliance. So that the King found it neceſſary to divide his Forces, and oppoſe *Lentulus* with one part of them, and march againſt the *Conſul Curius* with the other. *Pyrrhus* thought he could not fail of conquering both the Collegues, if he could but firſt get ſome Advantages over the moſt formidable General of the two; and he therefore marched himſelf againſt *Curius*, with the Choice of his *Epirots*. This *Conſul* was advantageouſly poſted, within reach of *Beneventum*, a conſiderable City of *Samnium*. The wiſe *Roman* had conſidered, that the *Epirot Phalanx* would be impenetrable, if he allowed it room enough to extend itſelf: and therefore *Curius* reſolved not to give Battel, unleſs in narrow Places where *Pyrrhus*'s Soldiers ſhould be too much confined, and by being too much crowded, hurt one another. With this View he encamped in a rough, uneven Country, interſected by ſeveral Croſs-roads, among Woods, and Rocks. But *Pyrrhus*'s Earneſtneſs to fight, in order to allay the Jealouſy of his Allies, made him ſurmount all Difficulties. He reſolved to endeavour to ſurpriſe the *Romans*, by appearing before their Entrenchments all on a ſudden, and in the Night. He marched on his Troops by the Light of Lanthorns, which he ordered to be carried before them. But as ſoon as the Enemy's Army was arrived at the Hills which ſurround [24] *The Tauraſian Fields*, near *Beneventum*, the *Romans* perceived them. Upon which *Curius* inſtantly marched out of his Camp himſelf, at the Head of a Detachment of the *Legionaries*, reſolving to fall upon the advanced-Guard, which was not drawn up in Battalia. And in this firſt Engagement he ſucceeded to his Wiſh. He routed the advanced-Guard of the *Epirotæ*, repulſed it, put the Army behind it into Confuſion; and much Blood was ſpilt in the firſt Onſet. A great Number of the *Epirots* were killed, and ſome of their Elephants taken by the *Romans*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVIII. M. CURIUS DENTATUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Conſuls.

Frontin. B. 2. c. 2.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

THIS firſt Succeſs gave the valiant *Curius* new Ardour. Nevertheleſs, as he was a Man of Piety towards his Gods, and had great Faith in their *Aruſpices*, he conſulted the Entrails of Victims, which foretold nothing, but good Fortune. Full of Confidence therefore, he marched his Army down into *The Tauraſian Fields*, and drew it up in a Plain, which was wide enough for his Troops (which were drawn up in three Lines after the *Roman* manner;) but too narrow for the *Epirot Phalanx*, which uſed to be formed into one great Battalion. *Pyrrhus*'s Soldiers were ſo crouded, that they could not handle their Arms without Difficulty, and were therefore forced to have recourſe to their Elephants. Upon the firſt Signal the Action began; and the Victory ſeemed at firſt to incline to the *Romans*. One of the Wings of the King's Army gave Way. On the

Hardſhips of their Condition, rendered perverſe and untractable.

But to return to the manner in which the *Romans* made their publick Sales by Auction. There was a ſort of Inventory taken of the confiſcated Goods; and the Crier ſpecified the Things which were to be ſold, and at the ſame time publiſhed the Day and Conditions of the Sale. *Plautus* has given us the Form of this Proclamation, in theſe Lines of his *Menæchmi*;

Vis conclamari auctionem fore? quo die? die ſeptimi
Auctio fiet. Menechmi mane ſane ſeptimi,
Venibunt ſervi, ſupellex, fundi, ædes, omnia
Venibunt, qui qui licebunt præſenti pecunia.

Tertullian, *Apologet.* makes the uſual Place of publick Sales to be the Herb-market, or the *Capitol*. The Bankers, called at *Rome Argentarii*, were obliged to be preſent at the Sale. It was their Buſineſs to preſerve Order, and to ſet down in Books made on Purpoſe, the different Prices ſet upon every thing, till it came to be adjudged to the higheſt Bidder.

24 On each ſide of the *Calor* there was a vaſt Plain, which reached to *Beneventum*, and which the Hiſtorians call, *Campi Tauraſini*, or *The Tauraſian Fields*. They were ſo called, from their Nearneſs to *Tauraſium*, now *Tauraſi*, in the Country of the *Hirpini*, which is at preſent *The Further Principality*. This City afterwards became a *Roman Colony*, according to *Frontinus*. *Florus* calls the Plain, where the Battel was fought with *Pyrrhus*, *Auruſini Campi*; and even ſays, it was fought in *Lucania*. So that he is guilty of a double Miſtake, in diſfiguring the *Latin* Word *Tauraſini*, and in placing *Samnium* in the Territory of the *Lucani*. And *Oroſius* is fallen into the ſame Errors, as well as *Frontinus* in his Book *Of Stratagems*. The latter ſays, the two Armies fought in *The Aruſian Fields*, *in Campis Aruſinis*, near *Statuetum*, a City utterly unknown.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXVIII. M. CURIUS DENTATUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Conſuls. *Oroſius B.* 4. *c.* 2.

other hand, that part of it, where the King himſelf fought in Perſon, aſſiſted by his Elephants, gained Ground, and repulſed the Enemy, quite to the Foot of their Entrenchments: but this Advantage did not laſt long. *Curius*, whoſe Foreſight was equal to his Valour, had left a *Corps-de-reſerve* in his Camp, to act as there was Occaſion; and theſe freſh Troops falling ſuddenly on the Elephants, put them into Diſorder. They carried burning Torches in one Hand, and their naked Swords in the other; and throwing the former againſt thoſe furious Beaſts, and defending themſelves with the latter againſt their Guides, both the *Epirotæ* and their Elephants were forced to give Way to the valiant *Romans*. With their Fire they put theſe huge Animals to flight, and with their Swords mowed down the Men. There was a general Diſorder in *Pyrrhus*'s Army, which the return of the Elephants increaſed. After they had turned about, they broke into the *Phalanx*, as well cloſed as it was, trod the *Epirot* Soldiers under Foot, and did a great deal of Miſchief to their Maſters. And it is affirmed, that a remarkable Accident helped the *Romans* to conquer theſe monſtrous Animals, which were brought againſt them. It is ſaid, That a young Elephant, which was wounded in the Battel, made a terrible roaring; which the Mother hearing, left her Rank, ran to her young one, drew all the others after her, and thereby cauſed a Diſorder. But be that as it will, the *Romans* gained a complete Victory. In the former Battels, the Elephants had once gained *Pyrrhus* the Advantage; had made the Succeſs doubtful in the ſecond Engagement; and now in the third, they made the *Romans* ample Amends, for all the Miſchief they had done them. The Victory of *Beneventum* was indiſputable; notwithſtanding that *Pyrrhus*'s Army conſiſted of eighty thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, his *Epirotæ* included: whereas the *Conſular* Army was ſcarce twenty thouſand Men complete. Thoſe who exaggerate the King's Loſſes, ſay, that the Number of the Slain on his ſide was thirty three thouſand; others reduce it to twenty thouſand. And all agree, that *Curius* took from the Enemy twelve hundred Priſoners, and eight Elephants. The moſt deciſive Victory *Rome* had ever yet gained, which brought all *Italy* into Subjection to her, and paved the Way for thoſe vaſt Conqueſts which made her Miſtreſs of the World!

Oroſius B. 4. *Eutrop. B.* 2.

§. IX. In the mean time, *Pyrrhus*, being vanquiſhed, and flying, returned to *Tarentum*, attended only with a ſmall Number of Horſe. His Camp was taken and plundered; but the Riches the *Romans* found in it, were not the only Advantage they drew from it. They admired the Form of it, and made it their Model for the future. Their Camp had hitherto been nothing more than a wide Ditch, and a Rampart; within which the *Legions* encamped in great Diſorder, in little ſeparate Quarters, like ſo many Hamlets. But now, the *Romans* brought their Camps to Perfection, after *Pyrrhus*'s Example. They learnt from him to pitch their Tents in Lines, ſeparate their Lodgings from one another, and at the ſame time join them together, like the Houſes of the ſame Street. After this, each Body of Troops had its proper Quarters aſſigned it; which was all the Improvement the *Romans* borrowed from the *Greek* Soldiery. We don't find, that they altered their manner of drawing up their Troops, which was then brought to its Perfection. As for the King of *Epirus*, who ſeems to have done the *Italians* no other Service, but that of teaching the *Romans* the Art of marking out their Camps, he now had Thoughts of leaving this fatal War, in which he had had no Succeſs. But nevertheleſs it was neceſſary to conceal his Departure, and at the ſame time kept his Allies from ſinking into Deſpair. With this View therefore he repreſented to them, That the Loſs of one Battel was not utter Ruin: That the Conſtancy of the *Romans* had more than once recovered their Affairs, after they had been beaten by him; and That he could ye have recourſe to *Ætolia*, and the Kings of *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, who would not refuſe him their Aſſiſtance. Accordingly, he diſpatched away Ambaſſadors to all thoſe Courts; demanding Money of ſome, Troops of others, and Succours of ſome kind or other from all. But the Anſwers of theſe Princes could not have been favourable to him; ſince he had no way left to ſupport the drooping Spirits of his *Italian* Allies, but by reading to them forged Letters, which he pretended to have received from them. Such was the lamentable Condition to which this Hero was reduced. Being obliged to diſſemble his Flight, he ſupported the Courage of his Friends with vain Hopes, and ſtill kept his Enemies in play. But at length the time came, when he could no longer conceal his Departure. However, he palliated it in ſuch a manner, as ſtill to leave his Friends in *Italy* ſome Hopes, and to ſave his Ho-

Frontin. B. 4. *c.* 1.

Polynæus Stratag. lib. 8.

nour, at leaſt, for ſome time. He complained of the Dilatorineſs of his Friends on the other ſide the Water; and pretending to be very impatient to receive their Succours, he burſt out into a violent Paſſion all on a ſudden, and ſaid; *Then I muſt go my ſelf, and fetch them hither.* In the mean time he had long been making Preparations for embarking his Troops; but nevertheleſs left behind him a ſtrong Garriſon in *Tarentum*, under the Command of the ſame *Milo*, who had kept the City for him, during his Stay in *Sicily*. And in order to keep this Governor to his Duty, out of Fear, *Pyrrhus* is ſaid to have made him a very odd Preſent; which was, a Chair covered with the Skin of the unfortunate *Nicias*, that treacherous Phyſician, who had offered *Fabricius* to poiſon his Maſter, and his King. After all theſe Diſguiſes, and Precautions, *Pyrrhus* ſet ſail for *Epirus*, with a fair Wind, and arrived ſafe at [25] *Acroceraunium*, which was upon the Frontiers of his Dominions, and there he landed. What a change was there now made in *Pyrrhus*'s Affairs, in the Space of ſix Years? Nothing could be more glorious or promiſing than his ſetting out; nothing more melancholy than his return. He ſcarce brought Home with him thirteen thouſand of his [26] *Epirots*, on board a very ſmall Number of Ships. Upon his return, he found his Treaſures exhauſted, and his People diſcouraged. But he, who was never depreſſed with bad Fortune, and always ſatisfied, provided he had but a War upon his Hands, marched his Troops againſt a new Enemy. *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius*, then reigned in *Macedon*, which bordered upon *Epirus;* and this was the new Rival he reſolved to contend with, both from a Love of Change, and in order to find Means to make his Troops ſome Amends, for the Pay he owed them; and to revenge the *Macedonian*'s Refuſal to ſend him Succours into *Italy*. But we ſhall not follow *Pyrrhus* in his new Conqueſts. We ſhall only obſerve, that he deprived [27] *Antigonus* of the beſt part of his Dominions, and added a vaſt Tract of Ground to his Kingdom of *Epirus*. He had been but too happy, could he have carried on his Enterpriſes with a Conſtancy, equal to the Reſolution, with which he began them! But his natural Levity made him leave *Macedon*, when it was almoſt conquered, to go upon new Expeditions in *Peloponneſus:* where he was killed, two Years after he left *Italy*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVIII. M. CURIUS DENTATUS, L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Conſuls. *Zonaras, B. 8. c. 6.*

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

§. X. *CURIUS* was not the only General whoſe Victories were celebrated at Rome. His Collegue *Lentulus* had made a very ſucceſsful Campaign in *Lucania*. He had taken Towns, won Battels, and ſacked the Territories of the united *Bruttii* and *Lucani*. And this was enough to gain him great Applauſes: but *Curius*'s Victory over *Pyrrhus* himſelf was too glittering, not to eclipſe the Glory of his Competitors. So that a [28] Triumph was in the firſt Place decreed *Curius*, which he ſolemnized in *February*, but we know not on what Day, with an extraordinary Magnificence. After he had already triumphed three times, he now drew all the Attention of the People on his preſent Glory. *Rome* had never yet ſeen a more ſtately Proceſſion. The greateſt Embelliſhments, which had hitherto adorned the triumphal Pomp, were only ſome *Sabines* in Chains, ſome Herds of Oxen taken from the *Volſci*, ſome broken Chariots which had been taken from the *Gauls*, or gilt and ſilvered Arms which had been picked up, after ſome Defeats of the *Samnites*. But now the Scene was changed. Now Veſſels of Gold, made after the *Greek* manner, were firſt carried on Hand-barrows, in the Proceſſion; and with them, purple Carpets, Statues, and Pictures of great Value; and in ſhort, all the Fineries of the *Greek* Cities. Among the Captives, were *Epirots*, *Theſſalians*, and *Macedonians;* not to mention the *Bruttii*, *Lucani*, and different Nations of *Apulia*. The Appearances and Dreſs

Faſti Capitol.

Flor. B. 1. c. 18.

[25] *Acroceraunium*, or the *Ceraunian* Promontory, was a part of thoſe Mountains near the Sea, which the Ancients called *Ceraunii* and *Acroceraunii Montes*. They were ſo called from the two Greek Words Ἄκρος and Κεραυνὸς, becauſe they were often ſtruck with Lightning. This Promontory divides the *Adriatick* from the *Ionian* Sea. It ſtands over againſt the *Lacinian* Cape, and is but 75000 geometrical Paces from it. Moſt Geographers now call it, *Capo della Chimera*, from a City of the ſame Name near it.

[26] *Plutarch* ſays, that *Pyrrhus* returned to *Epirus* with only 8000 Foot, and 500 Horſe.

[27] *Pyrrhus* was indebted for this Conqueſt, in part at leaſt, to a Reinforcement of *Gauls*, with which he recruited his Army, and to two thouſand *Macedonians*, whom he had drawn off from *Antigonus*. Though this King had in his Pay a great Number of thoſe *Gauls*, who at this time over-ran all *Greece*; yet he was driven from Poſt to Poſt, and reduced to the greateſt Extremities.

[28] The *Faſti Capitolini* reckon this to be the fourth Triumph which was decreed *Curius*; and in this, they agree with the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*. But in this Number we are to include the *Ovation* granted him by the Republick for having overcome the *Lucani*. *Plutarch* and *Cicero* not ſpeaking of the *Ovation*, mention only three Triumphs.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXVIII. M. Curius Dentatus, L. Cornelius Lentulus, Conſuls. *Seneca de brevitate Vitæ.*

of ſo many Foreigners, gave the Spectators Pleaſure; but nothing ſo much raiſed their Admiration, as the Elephants which were taken in the Battel. Theſe ſtately Animals were but four in Number; (the other four died of their Wounds) and they hung down their Heads, as they walked, as if ſenſible of their Servitude. They, with their Towers upon their Backs, were an agreeable Sight to the *Romans*, who had never ſeen any before, and who at firſt called them *Lucanian* Oxen. But they afterwards found out the Difference between theſe monſtrous Beaſts, and the Oxen in *Italy*. As for the triumphant Victor, he rode in a Chariot; and the Acclamations the People gave him were very ſincere; the Republick thought ſhe could never give Proofs enough of her Gratitude to *Curius*. The Senate empowered him to poſſeſs fifty Acres of Land, as his Property, though there had formerly been a Law paſſed, which forbad any *Roman* to have more than ſeven. But the modeſt *Conſul* declined this honourable Mark of Diſtinction: and ſaid, that he ought to be looked upon as a dangerous Subject, who could not live upon the Produce of ſeven Acres [29] of Ground; or who, not content with the ordinary Allotment, ſought to diſtinguiſh himſelf by new Privileges. Of all the Spoils that he had taken from the Enemy, *Curius* reſerved to himſelf only a little Veſſel of Beech, to be uſed in his domeſtick Sacrifices. A wonderful Inſtance of Diſintereſtedneſs, and worthy of the wiſeſt of the *Romans!* Can we, after this, wonder at the Progreſs of a Republick, which was governed by Virtue itſelf? This ſame *Curius*, who was thus wonderfully frugal of the publick Treaſure, when his own Intereſt was in Queſtion, was altogether as profuſe, when the Service of the Publick required it. During his *Cenſorſhip*, which he held a few Years after his fourth Triumph, he built a magnificent Aqueduct, with the Spoils of the Enemy, and brought the Water of the *Anio* to *Rome*. Add to this, that as ſoon as his *Conſulſhip* was ended, *Curius* returned into the Country, and there cultivated the little Field of his Fore-fathers. He lived to a very great Age, and made the Toils of an Huſbandman, the innocent Pleaſures of his Life.

Pliny B. 16. and *Val. Max. B.* 4. *c.* 3. §. 5.

To this magnificent Triumph of *Curius*, that [30] of *Lentulus* ſucceeded. He, in his Turn, entered *Rome*, in a triumphant manner, on the firſt Day of *March*. There was nothing new for the People to admire in his Proceſſion; but they were very ſenſible, how much they were indebted to the triumphant Victor. Among his other Conqueſts, *Cornelius Lentulus* had taken from the [31] *Samnites* the City of *Caudium*, which had formerly done the *Romans* ſo much Miſchief. The Hiſtorians indeed ſay nothing of this Conqueſt, which wiped off the Reproach of *The Caudian Forks;* but it is nevertheleſs very probable, that it was made in this Campaign, and by *Lentulus*. The [32] *Faſti Capitolini* give us Reaſon to believe, that from this time the Appellation of *Caudinus* was added to his Surname. Which is one Proof among others, that his Deſcendants took this Surname from him, and that none of the Family could merit it, but this illuſtrious *Conſul*. This happy *Conſulſhip* ended with a *Cenſus*, and a *Luſtrum*. The virtuous *Fabricius*, and the famous *Æmilius Papus*, his conſtant Collegue, in all his military and civil Employments, had been made *Cenſors:* and the auſtere Virtue they profeſſed, would not [33] permit them to tolerate the

29 According to *Pliny*, the *Plebeians* were not ſuffered to poſſeſs more than ſeven Acres of Land in the firſt Ages of the Republick. The *Romans* gave the Name of *Jugerum*, or Acre, to as much Ground as one Yoke of Oxen could plough in a Day. *Jugerum vocabatur, quod uno* jugo *boum in die exarari poſſet. Plin.* 18. 3. Hence the great Difference of Acres in different Provinces. *Pliny* makes an Acre to be 240 Foot long, and 120 broad; that is, 28800 ſquare Feet.

30 Only the *Faſti Capitolini* have preſerved the Memory of *Cornelius Lentulus*'s Triumph. The Hiſtorians ſcarce mention his Victories over the *Samnites* and *Lucani*, and totally omit his Triumph. Nevertheleſs, *Plutarch* affirms, that *Lentulus* made War in *Samnium* and *Lucania*, whilſt his Collegue *Curius* was gaining great Advantages over *Pyrrhus*. And the ſame Author adds, that the King of *Epirus* detached away a part of his Troops, to block up the Defiles, and hinder *Lentulus*, who was then in *Lucania*, from paſſing them; for fear the two Armies ſhould join againſt him. *Pliny*, *B.* 33. *c.* 2. takes it for granted, that *Lentulus* won a Battel in *Samnium*, where he ſays, that out of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, he gave *Servius Cornelius Merenda*, who had ſignalized himſelf by his Valour, a Crown of Gold.

31 *Pliny*, *Ibid.* ſays, that *Cornelius Lentulus* had taken a City in *Samnium*; *Samnitium oppido capto*. Poſſibly, the Word *Caudium* may have been dropped by the Copyiſts, or the Author might think that City ſufficiently pointed out, in theſe Words, *Samnitium oppido capto*. It is well known that this City was famous for the Misfortune of the *Romans*, in the Affair of *The Caudian Forks*.

32 There is indeed a Chaſm in the *Faſti Capitolini*, in which there was at firſt another Surname of *Cornelius Lentulus*; but it is now too much defaced to be read.

33 The Authority of the *Cenſors* was at that time formidable to any of the three Orders of Men in *Rome*, whether Senators, Knights, or *Plebeians*, who behaved themſelves ill. It reached the *Patrician*

the Corruptions which prevailed in *Rome*, and which reached to the chief Persons in the State, even those who had been more than once raised to the supreme Dignity. For when Reformation of Manners was the Question, *Fabricius* and *Papus* were incapable of Fear, or Partiality; so that when they had drawn up the List of the Senators, and published it, the People were surprized to find many Alterations in it. The *Censors* had struck the Names of all those who lived dissolute Lives out of the List. But the most astonishing Circumstance was, That the Name of *Cornelius Ruffinus* was struck out of the Roll: a Man, who had acquired no small Reputation as a Soldier; who had been promoted to the *Consulship*, preferably to so many others, by *Fabricius* himself; and lastly, who had been advanced to the *Dictatorship*. But the Times were changed. When dangerous Wars threatened the State, *Ruffinus* was a proper Man to be placed at the Head of *Roman* Armies. But now, his Avarice was thought to deserve Punishment: And he was degraded from being a Senator, only because he was found to have ten Pounds weight of Silver in Plate, for his Table. Happy times for the Republick, when Riches and Luxury were branded with Infamy! A Simplicity in Furniture, and a Love of Poverty, preserved the Virtue of the *Romans*, as long as they subsisted among them; and this People were never greater, than when State and Expence were banished their City. As for *Fabricius*, the richest piece of Furniture he had, was a silver Salt-seller, with an Horn-foot: and *Papus*'s greatest Treasure, was a little silver Dish, in which he made his Offerings to the Gods, and which was transmitted down to him by his Ancestors. By the *Census*, taken by these two grave *Censors*, there appeared to be in *Rome* two hundred seventy one thousand two hundred twenty four Men fit to bear Arms.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXVIII. M. Curius Dentatus, L. Cornelius Lentulus, Consuls. *Plut. Life of Sylla. Seneca, &c.*

Val. Max. B. 4. c. 4. §. 3.

§. XI. As for *Pyrrhus*, the Republick still feared him, even after his Departure. The bare Name of great Soldiers, leave lasting Impressions behind them. It was apprehended, that the King of *Epirus* would soon appear in *Italy* again, with a more numerous Army, than ever: And the *Romans* being under these Apprehensions, their *Comitia* once more promoted *Curius* to the *Consulate*, which was the third time he was raised to this supreme Dignity. The *Patrician* Collegue, the Electors gave him, was one *Cornelius*, surnamed *Merenda*, a Man of Valour, who had been honoured with a Crown of Gold the last Year, by *Lentulus*, as a Reward for his Exploits in *Samnium*, and *Lucania*. And the Republick may be said to have gained a second Victory over *Pyrrhus*, by her continuing *Curius* in the *Consulship*. It is probable, That the *Epirote* was afraid of coping again with so formidable a Rival, as this *Consul*, and despaired of conquering him; and That this alone was sufficient to deter him from making any farther Attempts upon *Italy*. And if it be granted, that the Fear of *Curius* was what alone determined *Pyrrhus* to turn his Arms against *Macedon;* it must be allowed, that no *Roman* ever acquired a greater Share of true Glory, or did his Country more Service, than this *Consul* did, by the bare Terror of his Name. As for the *Tarentini*, they had hated *Pyrrhus*, almost from the time he arrived among them; and now they began to despise him. His Flight, his Stay in *Sicily*, the Delay of the Succours he had promised them, and his new War in *Macedon*, made them fear, the Protector they had chosen, had deserted the common Cause. Yet still, *Milo* alone, with his *Epirote* Garrison, kept them as

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIX. M. Curius Dentatus, Cornelius Merenda, Consuls.

tians as much as the meanest of the People. They had a Power of setting Marks of Infamy on them, by publishing their Crimes, either in writing, or *viva voce*. But their Decrees were not irrevocable. It was common, at least in *Tully*'s time, for those who had been degraded by the *Censors*, to get themselves restored at the Tribunal of the People. For this Reason, *Cicero* says, *B. 4. de Republica*, that the Sentence of the *Censors* reached no farther than to the Ignominy and Shame of a publick Reprimand. *Censoris judicium, nihil fere damnato effert, præter ruborem. Itaque quod omnis ea judicatio versatur tantummodo in nomine, animadversio ignominia dicta est.* An Office of this Importance, required, without doubt, a Rectitude and Integrity of Mind, Proof against all Temptations, in those who discharged it. They being, in some measure, the Arbiters of the Reputation of private Persons, and the Honour of Families, it was to be feared, that they might abuse their Power; and that their Resentments, or Revenge, might influence them in their Censures. For this Reason, before they entered upon the Exercise of their Office, they took a solemn Oath, that they would conform themselves to the Laws of Equity in all things, and would aim at nothing but how best to promote the Interest of the Publick, in laying the Subsidies, in the *Census* of the Citizens, the Valuation of every Man's Estate, the Application of the publick Money, and in the Exercise of their Power of inspecting Mens Manners, and branding those with Infamy who lived dishonestly. In short, they swore by all that was most sacred in their Religion, that they would not be influenced by any Motives of Hatred, or Interest. After this, the Senators came to the *Capitol*, to invoke *Jupiter*, to whom they offered a Sacrifice. See what we have said of the Institution and Prerogatives of the *Roman Censors*, p. 513, 526, 527, and 594, of the first Volume; and *p.* 55, 59, 113, and 115. of this Volume.

yet

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXIX. M. CURIUS DENTATUS, CORNELIUS MERENDA, Conſuls.

yet in Subjection. Nevertheleſs, they made ſome Efforts, to ſhake off the Yok They put one of their Citizens, named *Nicon*, at their Head, and forced *Milo*, a his Troops, to retire to the Citadel, and confine themſelves there. And theſe Div ſions, which began to ſpring up in the Boſom of *Tarentum*, made *Curius* negle to lay ſiege to it. He, without doubt, hoped, that *Tarentum* would deſtroy h ſelf with her own Weapons, and would in time be forced to ſurrender her ſelf up the *Romans*. So that the wiſe *Conſul* employed his Forces only againſt the *Sa nites*, and the *Lucani*. And as theſe People had abandoned their Lands and Citi to the Mercy of the Enemy, and retired to their Mountains, *Curius* left them periſh with Hunger and Miſery there, and ſubdued them, without once giving the Battel. If a Year ſo barren in great Exploits, did not furniſh him with Matter f a Triumph, yet it at leaſt procured him the Glory of having preſerved *Rome* fro her moſt dangerous Enemy.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXX. C. FABIUS DORSO, C. CLAUDIUS CANINA, Conſuls.

§. XII. IN the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip*, the *Romans* were a little confident, th *Pyrrhus* would return no more. The new *Conſuls* were 34 *C. Fabius Dorſo*, a *C. Claudius Canina;* who had no Enemies to engage with, but the old Allies *Pyrrhus*. Though the latter were a little ſuſpicious, that the King would not pe form his Promiſes, yet ſome Remains of Hope ſtill kept them ſteady to their o Cauſe. The King's Emiſſaries were continually ſuggeſting to the *Samnites* and *Lucan* that after he had conquered the *Macedonians*, he would return into *Italy*, as he ha done, after reducing the *Carthaginians* and *Mamertini*, in *Sicily*. *Samnium* therefor and *Lucania*, ſtill in Conjunction with the *Bruttii*, took Arms again, and came dow into their Plains, to defend their Towns, and preſerve their Harveſts. They ha nothing more to fear from the invincible *Curius*, and thought themſelves able to cop with *Claudius Canina*, the only *Conſul* of the two, who took the Field. He indee *Faſti Capitol.* deſerved to be preferred to his Collegue *Fabius*. This was the ſecond time he ha been in Office; and he gained the ſame Aſcendant over theſe Enemies of the Repub lick, which the *Romans* had formerly done. He defeated them, once at leaſt, in pitched Battel. But this Victory would not have come to our Knowledge, by th few Records we have of theſe Ages, if the *Faſti Capitolini* had not preſerved th Memory of it. In them we find, that *Claudius Canina* triumphed over the *Samnite Lucani*, and *Bruttii*, in his ſecond *Conſulſhip*, on the Day of the *Quirinalia*, or th Feſtival of *Romulus*, that is, the ſeventeenth Day of *February*.

THESE new Advantages gained by the Republick, made the *Romans* formidable t the moſt diſtant Nations, and even to *Pyrrhus* himſelf, amidſt his Conqueſts in *Ma cedon*. He ordered his Son *Helenus*, whom he had left in *Tarentum*, to return Hom to him; which was a wiſe Precaution: but it plainly ſhewed, that he had no Deſig to viſit *Italy* again. This made the *Tarentini* the more proud, and they watche *Milo* in his Citadel the more narrowly. And *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who perhap was afraid of the Sallies of the ambitious King of *Epirus*, deſiring to enter into League with the *Romans*, and unite himſelf to them, by Treaties, ſent an Embaſſ *Florus. B.* 1. *c.* 18. *Eutropius B.* 2. and *Zonaras*, *B.* 8. *c.* 6. to *Rome*, for that Purpoſe. This was the firſt time any *Egyptians* were ſeen there The *Romans* were exceedingly rejoiced, to ſee Foreigners come ſo far, to ſeek th Friendſhip of a Republick, whoſe Power was yet confined to a narrow Compaſs, an who had ſcarce any thing but her Virtue to recommend her; and they did not ſuffe themſelves to be outdone in Politeneſs. They ſent away four Ambaſſadors to *Egypt* who were choſen with the utmoſt Circumſpection, by a Senate, whoſe chief Poin in view, was to preſerve their Reputation Abroad entire. The Head of the Embaſſ was, that *Fabius Gurges*, who was ſo far from being of an avaritious Temper that he had loſt in his Youth his Reputation, by his Prodigality. His *Con ſulſhips* and *Triumphs* gave him a Weight and Dignity; and the three Aſſoci ates joined with him, were *Curule Ædiles*, whom we ſhall ſee ſoon afterwards pro moted to the *Conſulate*. Two of them were Brothers, of the *Fabian* Family; de

34 Authors differ about the two *Conſuls* for this Year. *Caſſiodorus* and *Velleius*, call the firſt *Conſul*, *Caius Fabius Dorſo Licinus*. The other was *Caius Claudius Canina*, who had been *Conſul* before, in the Year of *Rome* 468. *Eutropius*, ſays *Caius Fabricius Luſcinus* was one of the *Conſuls*, and not *Caius Fabius*. The *Greek Tables*, and thoſe of *Cuſpinian*, give the former the Surname of *Luſcinus*, and the latter, that of *Canina*. And i ſeems to us probable, that the Likeneſs of the two Names *Fabius* and *Fabricius*, as alſo of the two Surnames *Luſcinus* and *Licinus*, may have occaſion ed the Miſtake of the Annaliſts. It is certain both theſe Surnames were uſed in the *Fabian* Family, a may be obſerved in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

ſcende

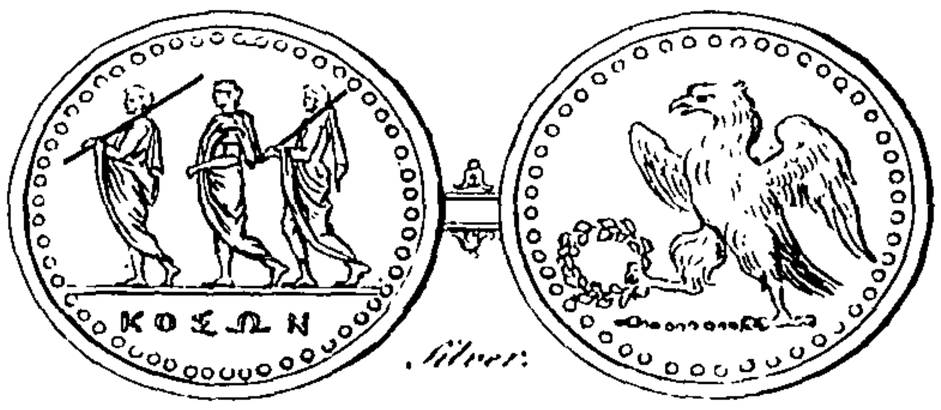
icended from that *Fabius*, who was called *Pictor*, becauſe he [35] painted the Temple of the Goddeſs of *Health*. The fourth Ambaſſador was *Q. Ogulnius*, who, though a *Plebeian*, was of a Family which had enjoyed great Offices. Theſe Deputies ſet out from *Rome*, and arrived in *Egypt*, where *Ptolomy* gave them a Reception equal to their Merit, and worthy of ſo magnificent a Prince. It was cuſtomary for the Kings of *Egypt*, to ſend Crowns of Gold to thoſe whom they invited to their Table: And the *Romans*, who were entertained at *Ptolomy*'s, accepted theſe Crowns, purely out of good Manners, and in order to honour the King with his own Preſents; for as ſoon as the Repaſt was over, they crowned his Statues with them. This Contempt of Riches gained the *Romans* great Honour in *Egypt*. Nevertheleſs, the King would not ſuffer the Ambaſſadors to depart, without new Preſents, both for their Republick, and themſelves. But the ſame Diſintereſtedneſs which they had, to their Honour, ſhewn in *Alexandria*, they likewiſe exerciſed upon their Return to *Rome*. They put all the Preſents *Ptolomy* had given them for themſelves, as well as thoſe for the Republick, into the publick Treaſury. Such was the Virtue of *Roman Citizens* at that time! They were afraid of reaping any Benefit by the Services they did the Republick. They would have Glory to be the only Reward of their civil and military Employments. But nevertheleſs, the Senate and People were ſo well pleaſed with this voluntary giving up of their own Treaſures, that a Decree was paſſed, commanding the *Quæſtors* to reſtore the Ambaſſadors, all the Preſents which the King of *Egypt* had expreſly given to them. So that the Republick was as juſt, as her Subjects generous. At this time ſhe ſent out two *Colonies*, one to [36] *Coſa*, a City ſituated on the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and the other to [37] *Pæſtum*, a delightful Habitation in *Lucania*, which the *Dorians*, who founded it, called *Poſſidonia*. This City was upon the ſame Coaſt as *Coſa*; but at a conſiderable Diſtance from it. The *Romans* ſeem then to have had a View to ſecuring ſome Sea-Ports, as if they had foreſeen the Wars, which they were ſooner or later to maintain with *Carthage*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXX. C. FABIUS DORSO, C. CLAUDIUS CANINA, Conſuls. *Juſtin. B.* 18. *c.* 2.

Val. Max. B. 4. *c.* 3 §. 9. and *Zon. B.* 7. *c.* 6.

§. XIII. INDEED, the *Carthaginians* made the firſt Diſcovery of their Jealouſy of the *Roman* Republick, in the enſuing Year. The *Centuries* had juſt choſen two new *Conſuls*, who had already born that Office, and commanded Armies. Theſe were *L. Papirius*, ſurnamed *Curſor*, the worthy Son of an illuſtrious Father;

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXI. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS, Conſuls.



Silver.

35 *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 35. *c.* 4. that this Painting was preſerved, till the Temple itſelf was burnt down, in the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*.

36 *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *c.* 5. mentions a *Roman Colony*, which was ſent to *Coſa*. *Coſæ Colonia Volcientium ſuccta.* And he places this City in a Canton of *Hetruria*, which he calls the Canton of the *Volcientes*, of whom we have ſpoken already. *Coſa*, according to *Strabo*, *B.* 5. ſtood on an Eminence above *The Port of Hercules*, now *Porto Hercole*, near a Marſh, which had been made by the overflowing of the Sea, and is now called *Stagno d'Orbitello*. Near it was *The Promontory of Argentin*, *Promontorium Argentarium*, or *Mons Argentarius*, now called by the Natives *Monte Argentaro*. The Situation of the ancient City here mentioned, agrees very well with that of *Lancedonia*. *Livy* ſpeaks of the Port of *Coſa*, *B.* 30. But it is uncertain, whether this Port be the ſame with that of *Hercole*, or with that which is on the other ſide of *Monte Argentaro*, and is now called *Porto di San Stephano*. According to *Strabo*, the Sea abounded with *Tunnies*, in this Place. *Goltzius* has given us a Medal, which bears the Name of *Coſa*, or *Coſſa*, as ſome ancient Authors write it: and the Antiquaries conjecture, that the three Men on the Medal repreſent the *Triumviri* of the Colony. But others ſuppoſe that the middle one is the chief Magiſtrate of this *Roman Colony*, who is guarded by two *Apparitores*. The Eagle of *Jupiter*, which holds a Crown of Laurel in one of his Claws, alludes to the Worſhip the Inhabitants paid to that God, in a Temple which they erected to him under the Title of *Jupiter Vicilinus*.

37 See what we have ſaid of *Pæſtum*, *B.* 17. *p.* 194. of this Volume, *Note* 29.

38 In the Epitome of *Livy*, mention is made under this Year of *Rome* 480, of the Puniſhment of a *Veſtal* named *Sextilia*, who was condemned to be buried alive, for having broken her ſolemn Vows; and *Oroſius* ſpeaks of her Sentence, *B.* 4. *c.* 2.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXI. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS, Conſuls.

and *Sp. Carvilius*, ſurnamed [39] *Maximus*. Perhaps theſe two great Men were choſen to oppoſe *Pyrrhus*, whoſe return into *Italy* was ſtill dreaded. The King of *Epirus* was then Maſter of almoſt all *Macedon;* and he owed the greateſt Part of this fine Conqueſt, to the Valour of his Son *Ptolomy*. This young Prince, though but twenty two Years of Age, almoſt equalled his Father; and ſuch Accounts were given of his Bravery, as were very ſurpriſing. It was therefore natural enough, for *Pyrrhus* to leave this young [40] Hero, to complete the Ruin of King *Antigonus*, who had now nothing left in *Macedon*, but a ſmall Number of Sea-Port Towns; and to return himſelf to aſſiſt *Tarentum*, and his Allies in *Italy*. But his Inconſtancy, or rather his Fear of the *Romans*, made him take another Courſe. New Enemies, and new Hopes, drew him into *Peloponneſus*. Which is not near ſo ſurpriſing, as his taking his two Sons, *Ptolomy* and *Helenus* along with him; inſtead of leaving the eldeſt at leaſt in *Macedon*, to be a Check upon *Antigonus*. But theſe Conſiderations would have been out of Character in *Pyrrhus*. He was more bold and enterpriſing, than prudent and cautious in his Meaſures; and by the Greatneſs of the Army he led into *Peloponneſus*, it was evident, his Deſign was to invade it. Nevertheleſs, he diſguiſed his Intentions under the ſpecious Pretence of re-eſtabliſhing on his Throne *Cleonymes* King of *Lacedæmon*, a Prince, who had been oppreſſed by his Relations, and diſhonoured by his Wife. This unfortunate Prince had been driven from his Capital by *Areus*, his ambitious Nephew, and by the Intrigues of *Chalidonis* his Wife. She was in the Bloom of Life, diſliked an old Husband, and indulged her ſelf in a Paſſion for *Acrotatus*, the Son of *Areus*. Under theſe Misfortunes, *Cleonymes* had recourſe for Aſſiſtance to *Pyrrhus*, whoſe many Victories made him thought invincible: and *Pyrrhus* flew, [41] wherever his Ambition and reſtleſs Temper called him. In his Paſſage, he plundered [42] *Laconia*, as if he came with quite other Deſigns, than that of revenging the Injuries done to *Cleonymes;* and at length arrived before *Lacedæmon*, which he had certainly carried by Aſſault, if he had been diligent and expeditious. *Areus* had croſſed the Sea, and was making War in *Crete:* and the *Lacedæmonian* Rebels were left defenceleſs. But *Pyrrhus* gave them time to [43] breathe. They fortified themſelves in their City, and the *Spartan* Women were not inferior to their Huſbands, in Conſtancy and Courage. So far were they from quitting *Lacedæmon* and retiring into the Iſland of *Crete*, as they were deſired [44] to do, that they undertook to finiſh the Entrenchments [45] round the City during the Night; and thereby give their Huſbands time to recover their Strength by Sleep, that they might be the better able to fight the next Day. The only Woman among theſe Heroines, that wanted Courage, was *Chalidonis*. She, ſtung with Remorſe, and dreading to fall into the Hands of an enraged Huſband, ſeized a Lace, with a Reſolution to ſtrangle her

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus, and Juſt. B. 25.

39 This was the ſecond *Conſulſhip* of *Papirius* and *Carvilius*. *Frontinus*, or his Copyiſts, are miſtaken, in giving the latter the Name of *Calviſius*.

40 *Juſtin* ſays, *B.* 25. that *Antigonus* being no longer able to keep the Field againſt *Pyrrhus*, choſe to retire to *Theſſalonica*, with the Remains of his Army, the greateſt part of which were *Gauls*. There, ſays he, this Prince waited for a favourable Opportunity of reconquering his Kingdom. But *Ptolomy*, the Son of the King of *Epirus* was too active to give him time to fortify himſelf there. So that being purſued by the young Conqueror quite to the Place of his Retreat, he quitted all *Macedon* to him, and could find no Place to retreat to in his Misfortunes, but the Foreſts.

41 According to *Plutarch*, the King of *Epirus*'s Army conſiſted of 25000 Foot, 2000 Horſe, and 24 Elephants.

42 In vain, ſays *Plutarch*, did the Ambaſſadors of *Lacedæmon* demand Satisfaction of *Pyrrhus*, for the Hoſtilities his Troops had committed in their Country; he gave them only provoking Anſwers. Upon which one of them, named *Mandricidas*, addreſſed himſelf to the King of *Epirus* in theſe Words. *If you are a God, you won't injure a People who have not offended you. And if you are a Man, we will find out another, who ſhall ſurpaſs you in Valour.*

43 The Cauſe of this Delay was the King of *Epirus*'s fear, that his Soldiers would plunder the City, if they took Poſſeſſion of it in the Night. And therefore, being perſuaded that *Argos* was defenceleſs, he thought he might without any Danger delay the Aſſault till the next Day.

44 *Plutarch* tells us, that one of them, named *Archidamia*, came into the Senate of the *Spartans* with a naked Sword in her Hand; and with a Courage above her Sex, complained of the Affront which had been offered them, by the Opinion ſo generally entertained, that they would ſurvive the taking of *Lacedæmon*. At the ſame time, ſhe declared the fixed Deſign of taking up Arms in Defence of their Country, with a full Reſolution to conquer, or be buried in its Ruins.

45 According to *Plutarch*, the Inhabitants of *Sparta* in general, without Diſtinction of Sexes, threw up a Line parallel to the Enemy's Camp. It was, according to *Phylarchus*, ſix Cubits broad, four deep, and eight hundred Foot long; but not quite ſo much, according to *Hieronymus*, whom *Plutarch* quotes. The two ends of the Line were guarded by Chariots, fixed half the Depth of the Wheel into the Ground, that they might make the better Reſiſtance, and be ſufficiently ſtrong to oppoſe the Force of the Elephants in the Enemy's Army.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXI. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS, Conſuls.

ſelf, in caſe the City was ſtormed. In the mean time, *Pyrrhus* came and attacked it by break of Day; and ſeemed to have met with new *Romans*, in the few *Lacedæmonians* he was come to engage with. The Attack was vigorous, and the Defence [46] obſtinate. The *Lacedæmonian* Women did their Huſbands the Offices of Squires, and ſupplied them with Arms, whilſt they were fighting. Night alone put an end to the Diſpute; and then *Pyrrhus* retired [47] with Loſs. This firſt Advantage much encouraged the *Lacedæmonians*, who ſuſtained the freſh [48] Attack the next Day, with as much Bravery, though not ſo good Succeſs in the beginning, as the Evening before. *Pyrrhus* forced the Barricades, broke through the Enemy, and entered *Lacedæmon*. The City reſounded with the Shouts of theſe generous *Spartans*, and the Onſet was renewed in the Streets and open Places. Then *Pyrrhus*'s Horſe was wounded in the Belly with an Arrow, and riſing, threw the King, who had a dangerous Fall. And before he could raiſe himſelf up, there was a Skirmiſh round him, between the *Epirots*, and the *Lacedæmonians*. The former made it their Buſineſs to ſave their Prince, the latter to kill him, and drive the Enemy without their Walls. And at length the *Lacedæmonians* proved ſtrongeſt. The *Epirots* gave Way, too happy, that they carried *Pyrrhus* alive out of the Gates of the City, which were immediately ſhut; and they continued the Siege.

THE *Lacedæmonians* had indeed now exhauſted their Strength, and leſſened their Numbers, by the brave Efforts they had made; and the Succours which were ſent them from two different Quarters, were therefore very ſeaſonable. *Antigonus* ſent one of his Generals with ſome Troops, from *Corinth;* and they got ſafe into the beſieged City. On the other hand, *Areus* left the Iſland of *Crete*, and came full ſail to *Lacedæmon*, bringing 2000 Men with him, to defend a faithful People, who had ſo conſtantly adhered to him. And when ſtrengthened with theſe Reinforcements, the *Lacedæmonians* were no longer afraid of *Pyrrhus*'s Aſſaults. The Women no longer mixed with the Soldiers; the freſh Troops only, took all the Fatigues of the Siege upon them. They fought with Succeſs, and often forced *Pyrrhus* to retire; nevertheleſs, the King ſeemed obſtinately bent on ſpending the Winter before the Place. But could he have any Dependence on his own Reſolutions? A new Project came into his Head, and drew him from *Lacedæmon* to *Argos*. Two Rivals ſhared the chief Dignities in that City, each of which had his own Faction. Their Names were *Ariſtippus*, and *Ariſtias;* and the former having drawn King *Antigonus* into his Intereſt, this was enough for the latter to call in *Pyrrhus* to his Aſſiſtance. How

46 In this firſt Action, ſays *Plutarch*, young *Ptolomy* ran to the Aſſiſtance of his Father *Pyrrhus*, at the Head of 2000 *Gauls*, and the choiceſt Body of the *Chaonians*. After they had in vain endeavoured to break a Way through the Chariots, theſe new Troops tried to lift up the Wheels, and looſen them by mere Strength of Arm. *Acrotatus* was the firſt who perceived this, and he croſſed the City with three hundred Soldiers; and marching a great way about in hollow Ways, in order to conceal his March, came and fell on the Rear of *Ptolomy*'s Troops, all on a ſudden, and forced them to face about to defend themſelves. In the Diſorder which this ſudden Attack occaſioned, moſt of the Enemy's Troops fell into the Ditch; others, who were under the Chariots, were cut in pieces by the *Lacedæmonians*; and at length, the reſt, after an obſtinate Fight, and the ſpilling a great deal of Blood, ſaved themſelves by flight. The old Men and Women on the other ſide the Trench, who were Witneſſes of *Acrotatus*'s Valour, made the Air ring with their Acclamations. He himſelf, covered with Duſt and Blood, paſſed through the City in Triumph, and returned to his Poſt; whilſt the Men and Women were very earneſt in extolling his Valour, and wiſhing him and his Wife *Chalidonia*, a Poſterity worthy of him.

47 *Pyrrhus* alſo experienced the Courage of the *Spartans*. *Plutarch* boaſts particularly of the prodigious Feats of Valour, performed by one of them named *Phyllius*. This valiant Man, having mowed down the *Epirot* Soldiers, which had endeavoured to force themſelves a Paſſage, being covered all over with Wounds, and ready to expire, reſigned his Poſt to an Officer who fought near him, and went and fell dead in the midſt of his own Men, to avoid leaving his Body to the Mercy of the Enemy.

48 According to *Plutarch*, *Pyrrhus* dreamt the Night before this ſecond Action, that he threw Lightning into *Lacedæmon*, and ſet the City on Fire: and when he awaked, he thought his Dream a ſure Preſage of the Reduction of the City. He communicated it to his Confidents; and *Lyſimachus* was the only one, who judged otherwiſe of it, than the King himſelf did. He was of Opinion, that the Gods informed him by this Viſion, that he ſhould never take it: And he founded his Interpretation upon a Cuſtom, which prevailed among the *Greeks*, to wall up all Places ſtruck with Lightning. They were afterwards conſidered as Places religiouſly ſacred, which no one was permitted to enter. Thus the Pagans drew good or bad Inferences from theſe Notions, which were borrowed from their Ceremonies, and the Worſhip they paid their Gods. They made it an Art to interpret theſe chimerical Viſions; and it ſometimes happened by Accident, that the Interpretation agreed with the Event. But *Pyrrhus*, who made no Uſe of theſe Prepoſſeſſions of Paganiſm, otherwiſe than as they promoted his Deſigns, was not a Man to be alarmed at ſo trifling an Alluſion: and he endeavoured to keep up the Spirits of the Officers, which were neareſt his Perſon. *You ought to look upon the Honour of Fighting with* Pyrrhus, ſaid he to them, *as the beſt of* Auguries.

great

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXI. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS, Conſuls.

great was the Pleaſure of the King of *Epirus*, to have ſuch an Opportunity of changing! He deſpiſed the Forces of *Antigonus;* looked on him as a deprived King, whom he reſolved to force to renounce the Purple; and left *Lacedæmon* to repair to *Argos*. But as *Areus* was not ignorant of *Pyrrhus*'s Departure, he reſolved to perplex him in his March. With that View, he lodged his Soldiers in Ambuſh, in inacceſſible Places; ſuffered the advanced Guard of the *Epirot* Army, commanded by *Pyrrhus*, to paſs by him; and then fell on a ſudden on the Rear; upon which *Ptolomy*, *Pyrrhus*'s eldeſt Son, ran thither to its Aſſiſtance. His Courage carried him into the midſt of the Battel; and there he loſt his Life, fighting to ſave his Father's Army, which was too far advanced, and embarraſſed in the narrow Paſſes. This Loſs affected the King in a very ſenſible manner; he ſuddenly turned about on the Enemy, who were imprudently come down into the Plain; and revenged the Death of his Son, with Streams of *Lacedæmonian* Blood. After his Victory, when his Son's Body was brought to him, he ſaid, *I am not at all ſurprized that* Ptolomy *loſt his Life; my Aſtoniſhment is, that he lived ſo long!* Indeed *Ptolomy* inherited his Father's Courage. They were both brave, even to Raſhneſs: of which we ſhall ſoon have a convincing Proof, in the laſt Expedition *Pyrrhus* undertook.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

Juſtin B. 25.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus.

§. XIV. At length *Pyrrhus* arrived before *Argos;* but *Antigonus* had prevented him, and encamped in an advantagious Situation on ſome Eminences. *Pyrrhus* ſeeing this, immediately ſent to [49] offer him Battel; but the *Argians* underſtood their own Intereſt too well, to ſuffer two foreign Kings to fight at their Gates. They knew the Conqueror would infallibly ſeize *Argos*, and reduce a free City to a State of Slavery: and they therefore entreated the two Kings not to engage. *Antigonus* conſented, and delivered up one of his Sons to the *Argians*, as their Security for the Performance of his Promiſe; and *Pyrrhus* gave them fine Promiſes, but without any Hoſtage. He only drew off his Men to ſome Diſtance from the City, towards the Port of *Argos*, and that not without Deſign. The factious *Ariſtias* [50] had agreed to open one of the City Gates to the *Epirot*, in the Night. The Buſineſs was only how to deceive *Ariſtippus*'s Party, and, without being perceived, to convey *Pyrrhus*'s Men, in the dark, and while their Enemies were aſleep, into the Market-place, which was in the Center of the City. And the King of *Epirus* had *Gauls* in his Service, who executed this part of the Project with wonderful Silence. Then *Helenus*, now the only Son of *Pyrrhus*, was commanded to march at the Head of a Body of *Epirots*, near the Gate, but not to enter it, till farther Orders. As for *Pyrrhus*, he looked upon *Argos* as already taken; and indeed the Stratagem had hitherto ſucceeded. But the Noiſe of the Elephants [51] which were ordered to enter the City after the *Gauls*, diſconcerted all theſe Meaſures, which had been ſo well taken. The Inhabitants of *Argos* being awakened by them, ran to Arms, and thoſe of *Ariſtippus*'s Party, deſired *Antigonus* to enter the City at another Gate. Upon this the King of *Macedon* marched up to the Walls of the City, but would ſuffer none to enter it, but *Alcioneus* his Son, with a Body of Troops. *Areus* joined *Alcioneus* with a Body of *Lacedæmonians;* and it is eaſy to imagine the horrible Conſequences of a Fight in the Night, *Epirots* againſt *Macedonians*, *Argians* againſt *Argians*, and *Lacedæmonians* againſt *Gauls*, all fought in Confuſion. The Streets ran with Blood. At Day-break, *Pyrrhus* ſoon diſcovered what had been the Cauſe of ſo great a Slaughter; he ſaw the *Macedonian* Troops engaged with his own. Then he ſent Orders to his Son *Helenus*,

49 *Plutarch* on this Occaſion, repreſents *Antigonus* as returning a very ſenſible Anſwer to *Pyrrhus*, who had ſent him a Challenge by an Herald. *Tell your Maſter*, ſaid he, *that my way is to fight and conquer, by well-timing every thing. As for him, if he is weary of his Life, he may find other Ways enough to put an end to it.*

50 *Plutarch* in his *Life of Pyrrhus*, tells us, that this Prince's Enterpriſe on *Argos* was preceded by ill boding Prognoſticks. The King of *Epirus*, ſays he, had juſt been offering Sacrifice; after which the Spectators were ſeized with Horror at the ſight of the Heads of ſeveral Oxen, which though ſeparated from their Bodies, thruſt out their Tongues, and licked up their own Blood. At the ſame time, the Prieſteſs of *Apollo Lycius*, ran through the City like one mad, and cried out with terrible Shrieks, that ſhe ſaw all Places covered with the Blood of the Dead and Dying, who fell confuſedly together; and laſtly, that ſhe ſaw an Eagle come and ſtoop upon the Combatants, and immediately diſappear. Theſe ſorts of Prognoſticks ſuited the Taſte of the ancient Hiſtorians. They took Advantage of the Credulity of the People, and the Enthuſiaſm of their Prieſts, to give the Hiſtory of their Heroes a miraculous Air.

51 It unfortunately happened, that the Gate which was delivered up to *Pyrrhus* was not high enough for the Elephants, which had Towers on their Backs as uſual, to paſs under them. So that it was neceſſary firſt to unload theſe Beaſts, in order to enable them to get into the City, and then to put their Towers upon them again. This Diſorder cauſed the Delay, and made the Noiſe, which diſcovered *Pyrrhus*'s Stratagem.

with all Speed, to make a large Breach in the Wall, wait for him without the City, and favour his Retreat, in case he should be hard pressed by the Enemy. But there unfortunately happened to be so much Confusion at the Gate, which *Pyrrhus* had entered, that his Messenger could not get out of the City. An Elephant [52] of an enormous Size stopped up the Passage on one side; and *Helenus* on the other, did his utmost to get through the Gate, to come to his Father's Relief. At that instant *Pyrrhus* was in a part of *Argos*, where he saw two brass Statues in a Groupe by him, which were a Bull and Wolf fighting: and he then remembered, that the Diviners had foretold that he should die, whenever he saw a Wolf fight a Bull. This Reflection therefore startled, but did not discourage him. Nevertheless, he would fain have got out of the City, but his Son's Troops at the Gate were an invincible Obstruction in his Way. *Pyrrhus* in vain cried out, *I am the King;* his Voice was not heard for the clattering of Arms: And the Croud of those who pressed to get in at the Gate was so great, that it was not possible to get through them. They were so thronged under the Gate, that they wounded one another with their Arms. *Pyrrhus* therefore returned to the Fight, and having given his Diadem to one of his Friends, to prevent his being known, entered again into the midst of the Fray; and there received a slight Wound from an *Argian*, who seemed to be one of the meanest of the People. At the sight of his Blood, the King's Courage was enflamed, and he was going up to his Aggressor to stab him, when the Mother of the *Argian*, who saw the Combat from the Roof of an House, affrighted at the imminent Danger of her Son, that Moment caught up a Stone with both her Hands, and threw it down upon *Pyrrhus*. The Hero, [53] wounded by the Hand of a Woman, staggered, fell, and lay senseless. Some of *Antigonus*'s Soldiers crowded round him; but only *Zopyrus* the *Macedonian* knew the King of *Epirus*, and he dragged him into a Porch. There *Pyrrhus* recovered his Senses a little, found himself surrounded by Enemies, and saw *Zopyrus* ready to cut off his Head. Then some unaccountable Fit of martial Ardour, inspired the wounded Hero with Fury; his Eyes sparkled with Rage; *Zopyrus* was terrified at the sight of him; his Arm failed him for a Moment, and he could not murder the King. At least he struck him very faintly; but at last, with several Strokes cut his Throat. Thus perished a Prince, whose Valour had equalled that of *Alexander*, had it been as well conducted. His Head was [54] first brought to Prince *Alcioneus*, who carried it to his Father, and threw it down at his Feet. But *Antigonus*, who thought his Son the Author of this cruel Action, threatened him with his Cane, and drove him out of his Presence. This good King lamented the Death of his most formidable Enemy, made a pompous Funeral for him, and sent back *Helenus*, the Son of the deceased King, to succeed his Father in the Throne of *Epirus*. This Digression seems necessary, so far as it discovers the Character of the

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXI.
L. Papyrius Cursor, Sp Carvilius, Consuls.



52 The horrible Confusion that *Plutarch* describes, was partly occasioned by another Elephant, who had lost his Master in the Croud. This Beast, sensible of his Loss, ran with Fury through the Croud, who hindered one another, and shut up all the Avenues. He turned about upon those who retired, killed and beat down all he met with in his Way, till he saw the Person he sought for. Then, finding him dead, he took him up with his Trunk, and carried him out of the City, tumbling down, and treading under Foot all he met.

53 *Pausanias* says, *B.* 1. that the *Argians* said, *Pyrrhus* directed this Stone, which was thrown at *Pyrrhus*, and the Poet *Leuceas* took Advantage of this fabulous Tradition, to do Honour thereby to the City of *Argos*; and mentions it in his History.

54 We have yet an ancient Medal of *Pyrrhus* on which his Name is inscribed. On the Reverse which is shewn above, we see a winged Victory with a Crown in her left Hand. This was a proper Symbol for an Hero, who had signalized himself by a long Series of heroical Actions. The Trophy, the *Victory* holds in her other Hand, represents that, which he consecrated in the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Tarentum*, after the Battel of *Heraclea*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXI.
L. Papirius Cursor, Sp. Carvilius, Conſuls.
Florus B 1. *c.* 18.

moſt formidable Enemy of the *Romans;* and it would probably have been thought a Defect to have omitted it. But to return to the Republick.

§. XV. Before the Report of the Death of *Pyrrhus* had reached *Italy*, the *Conſuls Papyrius* and *Carvilius* were entered into the Territories of the *Samnites*, *Bruttii* and *Lucani*. The former, deſpairing of ever ſeeing their Defender again, ran all Hazards. After the Loſs of *Pyrrhus*, they looked on their Liberty as abſolutely loſt. And indeed, one Hiſtorian ſo far exaggerates the Victory the *Romans* gained over them, as to ſay it was ſo complete, that *Samnium* itſelf was no more. At leaſt it is certain, that after this happy *Conſulſhip*, the *Samnites* long continued ſubmiſſive and peaceable. Thus ended a War, [55] which had coſt the *Romans* ſeventy two Years Labours; but it procured them thirty one Triumphs. It ſeemed as if the *Romans* were to carry on their Conqueſts but ſlowly, till after the entire Reduction of the *Samnites*. Then the *Lucani* and *Bruttii* gave Way in their Turn, and ſubmitted to the Yoke. So that only *Tarentum* remained unpuniſhed for her paſt Outrages, and Imprudence, in bringing Foreigners into *Italy*; and the *Conſuls* inveſted it. *Milo*, with the Remains of the *Epirotæ*, ſtill continued to defend himſelf in the Citadel; and his Quarrels with the *Tarentini* had not obliged him to quit his Poſt; notwithſtanding that he now deſpaired of receiving any Succours from *Epirus*, ſince *Pyrrhus* was dead. So that thoſe who defended the City, and thoſe who defended the Caſtle, were mutually afraid of each other, though they did not come to an open Rupture: and it is ſaid, not without ſome Probability, that the *Tarentini* had ſent an Embaſſy to the *Carthaginians*, and implored their Aſſiſtance. By this means, *Tarentum* was attacked by two Armies at the ſame time, that of the *Carthaginians* by Sea, and that of the *Romans* by Land. The *Carthaginian* Fleet pretended to have no Deſign but againſt the *Epirotæ*, and the Citadel. The *Romans* on the other Hand, attacked the City, taking care at the ſame time to hinder the *Carthaginians* from reducing the Caſtle: and in order to extricate himſelf out of this Difficulty, *Papirius* reſolved to try, if he could corrupt *Milo*. He let him know that if he would ſurrender up his Citadel to the *Romans*, both he and the Garriſon ſhould have their Lives, and be ſafely tranſported to *Epirus*, with all their Baggage and Effects. Upon this, *Milo* did more than was asked of him. He undertook to get the City itſelf delivered up to the *Conſuls*. He aſſembled the *Tarentini*, prevailed on them to depute him to go to the *Roman* Camp, and promiſed them to make ſuch advantageous Terms for them, that they ſhould neither loſe their Lives, nor Goods. And *Milo* kept his Word. Being ſent on a Deputation to the *Conſuls*, he demanded of them, that if he ſurrendered *Tarentum*, none of the Conquered ſhould be put to death: and *Papirius*, without doubt, for fear leſt the *Carthaginians* ſhould prevent him, get a Footing in *Italy*, and fortify themſelves there, promiſed him all he asked. Upon theſe Aſſurances *Milo* returned to *Tarentum*, informed the Beſieged of the favourable Diſpoſitions of the *Romans* towards them, and revived their Confidence, which ſoon degenerated into Security. Then *Milo* opened one of the Gates of the City to the Beſiegers; the *Romans* entered it, without offering Violence to any Perſon, and made themſelves Maſters both of *Tarentum* and its Citadel. Thus the Expectations of the *Carthaginians* were fruſtrated. Their Fleet retired, and left the *Romans* under juſt Suſpicions, that notwithſtanding their ancient Alliances, their Deſign was to rob *Rome* of a Conqueſt, which as it were of Right belonged to her. It were indeed ſaying too much, to affirm with ſome Hiſtorians, that the [56] Wars, which we ſhall ſoon ſee break out, between the two Republicks, had their Riſe from hence. But it muſt be granted, that if this proceeding of the *Carthaginians* did not cauſe an open Rupture, it at leaſt produced a Coldneſs between the two Nations.

Oroſius B. 4. and *Flor. Epitome* 14.

Frontin. Stratag. B. 3. *c.* 3.

Faſti Capitol.

After this glorious Campaign was ended, the *Conſuls* had nothing to do, but to return to *Rome*, and triumph. An Honour which they both [57] enjoyed, perhaps on the ſame Day, and certainly for the ſame Reaſons at leaſt; which is an infallible

[55] This War between the *Romans* and *Samnites* began in the Year of *Rome* 410, when *Marcus Valerius Corvus*, and *Aulus Cornelius Coſſus Arvina*, were *Conſuls*. Now from that Year to this 481ſt Year of *Rome*, are ſeventy two Years.

[56] *Oroſius* ſeems to have been of the ſame Opinion, when he ſays, that the *Roman* Republick gave the *Carthaginians* Notice, that their Attempts againſt *Tarentum* ſhould be looked on as an Infraction of the ancient Treaties.

[57] *The Faſti Capitolini* only mention the Triumph of *Papyrius* and *Carvilius*. The Ancients ſay nothing of it, though they mention the Victories the Republick gained by theſe two Generals.

Proof,

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXI. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, SP. CARVILIUS, Conſuls. *Florus in Epitome* 15.

Proof, that they had not made [58] War ſeparately. The Hiſtorians indeed give *Papyrius* the Glory, of having alone finiſhed the Expedition againſt *Tarentum;* and it is not to be doubted, but that he had the chief part in it; and that his Collegue, out of Reſpect to his Birth and Merit, permitted him to aſſume a Superiority over him. *Pighius* ſays, there is yet remaining a famous [59] Monument of this Victory, on a Medal, which the Conqueror himſelf, or his Son at leaſt, afterwards ſtruck. As for the Fate of the Conquered, the Senate determined it; and their general Rule was, to deprive the conquered Nations of a part of their Lands: And tho' the *Tarentini* were more blameable than any of their Allies, *Rome* puniſhed them, without ſpilling their Blood; ſhe only took from them their Arms and Ships, diſmantled their City, and made it tributary to the Republick. A moderate Puniſhment; but the Senate thought themſelves obliged to perform the *Conſul*'s Promiſe. The Year of *Papyrius* and *Carvilius*'s *Conſulſhip* was concluded with ſome Works relating to Religion, and Polity. *Papyrius* erected a Temple to the [60] God *Conſus*, that is, to *Equeſtrian Neptune*, in Memory of his Victory; and cauſed his Triumph to be painted on it, with his own Picture in a purple Robe. *Curius* [61] *Dentatus* was then *Cenſor*, with

58 Nevertheleſs, *Zonaras* makes the *Conſuls* go upon different Expeditions this Year. He aſcribes the Glory of having ſubdued the *Samnites* wholly to *Spurius Carvilius*; whilſt *Papyrius* was, on his part, bringing *Lucania* and *Bruttium*, under the Dominion of the *Romans*.

59 The Face of the Medal is *A Rome* in an Helmet, on the Top of which is the Beak of a Ship, probably deſigned to point out the great Advantages the Republick drew from ſo famous a Sea-port, as that of *Tarentum*. The Reverſe, is a *Victory* guiding a Chariot drawn by four Horſes, to ſhew the rapid Progreſs of the *Romans* in their Victories over ſo many Nations. The Inſcription is this; L. PAPYRIUS. L. F. SP. N. CURSOR. ROMA. The Scorpion under the Horſe's Feet, perhaps repreſents, as ſome conjecture, the Cunning of *Milo*, who, in the midſt of ſuch imminent Danger, found Means to gain the *Romans*, by delivering up to them both the City and Citadel of *Tarentum*. But others pretend, that it is a ſymbolical Alluſion to the Treachery of the *Carthaginians*. We have already obſerved, that they, under Pretence of aſſiſting the *Tarentini* againſt *Milo*, drew near to *Tarentum*, and had formed a Deſign of making themſelves Maſters of it, to the Detriment of the *Romans*. Beſides, we know the Scorpion is an artful and cunning Animal. *Ariſtophanes*, *Sophocles*, and *Nicander*, all give us this Idea of it. Hence the ancient Proverb, ὑπὸ πάντι λίθῳ σκορπίος ἔνδον, that is, *Scorpions were hid under all the Stones*. But it unfortunately happens, that we cannot find this Medal, which *Pighius* ſaw, in any of the Antiquaries, or in any Cabinet, though we have endeavoured to recover it with all poſſible Care. It is poſſible indeed, that this Author may have ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed on, and that the Medal he ſaw may have been a fictitious one.

60 See what we have ſaid of the God *Conſus*, and the Feſtival conſecrated to him, under the Name of *Conſualia*, *B.* 1. *p.* 7. of the firſt Volume. [*Neptune* was, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, the Brother and Admiral of the Great *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſac*, who reigned in *Egypt*, in the Year before Chriſt 1002, and conquered *Lesbia*, and almoſt all *Africa*; and *Neptune* was called *Equeſtris*, becauſe *Horſes* came originally from *Lybia*. Chron. p. 16, 67.]

61 Though *The Capitoline Tables* are defective in this Particular, *Frontinus* has preſerved the Memory of the two *Cenſors*, *Manius Curius Dentatus*, and *Lucius Papyrius Curſor*. He tells us in his Book *de Aqueductibus*, that in the Year of *Rome* 481, when *Lucius Papyrius*, and *Spurius Carvilius* were Conſuls, the Republick built an Aqueduct from the *Anio*, twenty Miles above *Tibur*, to *Rome*. This Work was finiſhed by the Care and Directions of the Cenſor *Curius*. The Produce of the Spoils this great Man had lately taken from the King of *Epirus*, were ſet apart for that Purpoſe. To which *Frontinus* adds, that forty Years before, *Appius Claudius* had brought Water to *Rome*, by Aqueducts; which Calculation agrees with that of the *Faſti Capitolini*. Indeed this preſent Year 481, was exactly forty Years after the *Cenſorſhip* of *Claudius*. From whence it is manifeſt, that through the Negligence of the Copyiſts, there is an Error crept into the Text of this Writer, with Regard to the Year of the Foundation of *Rome*. Inſtead therefore of the numeral Letters CDLXXXIX, we ought to read CDLXXXI, leaving out the laſt X, which is redundant; and if this Correction be allowed, the Year will be 481, and not 489. The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, as well as *Frontinus*, mentions the Aqueduct built for the Convenience of the City, in *Curius*'s *Cenſorſhip*. *Aquam Anionem de manubiis hoſtium in urbem induxit.* Authors call this Aqueduct *Anio Vetus*, to diſtinguiſh it from another of later Date, which they call *Anio Novus*. We ſhall ſpeak of it hereafter. That which *Curius* made, paſſed through *Tivoli*, and ſupplied that Place with Water, as well as *Rome*; ſo that it was reckoned to be 44287 geometrical Paces long, that is, above fourteen Leagues, from the Place where it begun, to the Gate *Trigemina*, where it ended. This Aqueduct was carried on above Ground, upon Stone-arches, for the Space of 702 geometrical Paces. The Mouth of this long Canal was in a Place called *The Salt-pits*, near the Gate beforementioned. There, was a Reſervoir for collecting the Waters together, in order to their being conveyed into the different Quarters of the City from thence. It is probable, that in the Space of fourteen Leagues there were ſeveral other Openings made at proper Diſtances, for obſerving the Courſe of the Waters, and for the Convenience of mending the Pipes. Nine Years after this, about the Year of *Rome* 490, *Curius* and *Fulvius Flaccus* were ordered to complete this Work, in quality of *Duumviri*. But the former died five Days after his Promotion, according to *Frontinus*. It is eaſy to conceive, that a Work of this Nature could not be completed without immenſe Labour, eſpecially if we conſider the Rocks, or Mountains which were to be bored through, the Eminencies which were to be levelled, and the Ground which was to be raiſed, in order to preſerve a Level above fourteen Leagues together. Yet this is but a faint Sketch of thoſe famous Monuments, which have immortalized the *Roman* Name, and which Poſterity will always admire, even in their Ruins. We find the Name of this Aqueduct, in an old Inſcription, which time has ſpared, and which runs thus;

ANIO VETUS. L. VALERIO SER. OFF. PLUMB. PED. CCIX.

The two Abbreviations SER. OFF. which ſtand for *Servus*, and *Officinator*, ſignify, that a Slave, who was a Plummer, repaired the leaden Pipes of this Aqueduct, for 209 Feet in length. Yet after all, this Water was too muddy to be fit to drink; and ſerved only for the Artificers in their Buſineſs, and for watering of Gardens.

a Nephew

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXII.
C. QUINTIUS CLAUDUS, L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA, Conſuls.

a Nephew of the *Conſul Papyrius;* and they together took a [62] *Cenſus* of the People, which ended with a *Luſtrum*, which ought to be reckoned the four and thirtieth ſince their Inſtitution.

§. XVI. ALL the old Enemies of *Rome* were now ſubdued. Nothing more was ſaid of the *Sabines; Volſci, Campani,* and *Hetrurians.* All theſe Nations, heretofore ſo formidable, together with the other Nations newly conquered, were now but Parts of one and the ſame State, of which that City, which had ſubdued ſo many others, was the Capital. But ſtill the *Romans* had one thing left to do, which was to blot out the Stain and Diſhonour, which a perfidious *Legion* had thrown upon the Republick. And as ſoon therefore as *C.* [64] *Quintius Claudus* was choſen *Conſul* out of the *Patricians*, and *L. Genucius Clepſina*, out of the *Plebeians;* the latter was ordered to take the Field with Speed, and turn his Arms againſt *Rhegium*, in the farthеſt part of *Italy* over againſt *Sicily.* We may remember, That when *Pyrrhus* attempted to make a Deſcent in *Italy*, the Inhabitants of *Rhegium* had had recourſe to the *Romans;* That the latter had raiſed a *Legion* of *Campani* in haſte, which was called the eighth *Legion;* That the Command of this *Legion* was given to one *Decius Jubellius;* and That *Jubellius* and his *Legion* had, to the great Reproach of the *Roman* Probity, expelled, or deſtroyed all the Inhabitants of *Rhegium*, ſeized their City, and erected a new Republick there, independent of *Rome.* Their Precedent for this were the *Mamertini, Campani*, as well as themſelves, who had made themſelves Maſters of *Meſſana*, by the like Treachery. So that the *Mamertini*, and Uſurpers of *Rhegium*, mutually ſupported each other in an equally baſe Uſurpation: and the *Romans* had not been at Leiſure to chaſtiſe theſe Traitors, during their War with *Pyrrhus.* But the Vengeance of *Rome* was only ſuſpended. As ſoon as the Republick was at Liberty to puniſh theſe Villains, whoſe Behaviour brought her into Diſrepute with her Allies, ſhe ordered one of her *Conſuls* to march againſt them. *Jubellius* was not now the chief Commander in *Rhegium;* that baſe *Tribune* had been driven thence, by *Cæſius* his Secretary, who got himſelf raiſed to be the Head of this Company of Profligates. *Cæſius* wanted neither Reſolution nor Courage; he got ſome Succours from *Meſſana*, and having fortified his City, was not afraid to ſtand a Siege

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 7, 8.

62 Though *Frontinus* has not diſtinguiſhed this *Lucius Papyrius*, who was *Curius*'s Collegue in the *Cenſorſhip*, from him who was *Conſul* in the Year 481; it is nevertheleſs paſt doubt, that they were not the ſame Perſon. It was not then cuſtomary in *Rome*, to make the ſame Perſons *Conſuls*, and *Cenſors*. Theſe two Offices had been divided ever ſince the Year 310. It is therefore probable, that this *Cenſor* was the Grandſon of another *Papyrius*, who was five times *Conſul*, and the Son of *Spurius Papyrius Curſor:* and in this Caſe, the *Conſul* for this Year muſt have been his Uncle. Unleſs we ſay with *Sigonius*, that this *Cenſor* was the ſame *Lucius Papyrius*, who had been honoured with five *Conſulſhips*, and ſeveral Triumphs, ſo long ago as the Year 440. The Office of *Cenſor* was then beſtowed on none, but ſuch as were venerable for their Age and Station in the Republick. This laſt Opinion is not abſolutely unwarrantable, ſince there was juſt the Space of forty Years between the fifth *Conſulſhip* of this venerable old Man, and this preſent Year 481.

63 It is plain, that this was the 34th *Luſtrum*, ſince the *Faſti Capitolini* ſay the next was the 35th. It ſeems, as if the *Cenſors* then gave *Quintus Fabius Gurges*, the Title of *Prince of the Senate.* At leaſt, *Pliny* gives us room to gueſs ſo, when he ſays, *B.* 7. *c.* 11. that the *Fabian* Family alone, produced three *Princes of the Senate* ſucceſſively; namely, *Marcus Fabius Ambuſtus*, *Fabius Rullianus* his Son, and *Quintus Maximus Gurges*, the Grandſon of the former, and Son of the latter. The laſt had ſurvived the two others; and it is therefore probable that he was choſen to ſucceed his Father by the *Cenſors*, who cloſed the Year 481 with a *Luſtrum* and *Cenſus*, as uſual. And if *Fabius Gurges* be allowed to have been honoured with this Pre-eminence, it muſt be granted, that he had been *Cenſor*, as well as his Father and Grandfather. We have already obſerved, that generally ſpeaking, the Honour of the higheſt Station in the Senate was only conferred on thoſe who had been *Cenſors.* The Difficulty is, to find out the time when *Fabius Gurges* was *Cenſor:* and to ſupply the Defects of Hiſtory, and *The Capitoline Tables*, which often fail us when we want them; we have therefore had recourſe to Conjecture. It is ſaid, in the *Epitome of Livy*, that after *Pyrrhus*'s firſt Victory, about the Year of *Rome* 473, *Cneius Domitius*, a *Plebeian*, by Extraction, who was then *Cenſor*, made a *Cenſus* of the People, which he concluded with the Ceremony of the 32d *Luſtrum.* The *Romans* then deviated, for the firſt time, from the ancient Cuſtom of conferring this Honour on the *Patrician Cenſor*; though the *Cenſorſhip* had been divided between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, for ſeventy Years. The only remaining Queſtion then is, who was *Domitius*'s Collegue; which I am inclined to believe with *Panvini*, was *Fabius Gurges.* And indeed, unleſs we aſſociate him with *Domitius*, we cannot fix the time of his *Cenſorſhip.*

64 The *Quinctian* Family was originally *Alban.* After the total Deſtruction of the City of *Alba*, *Tullus Hoſtilius* removed the *Quinctii* to *Rome*, and ennobled them; as we are informed by *Dion. Hal.* and particularly by *Livy.* When the latter reckons up the chief Citizens of *Alba*, who ſettled at *Rome*, he mentions the *Quinctii* among them. *Principes Albanorum in Patres, ut ea quoque pars reipublicæ creſceret, legit Tullios, Servilios, Quinctios, Gegenios, Curiatios, Cloelios.* *Cicero* in his *Oration for Cluentius*, mentions a *Quinctian* Family, which was reckoned *Plebeian*; and *Livy* does the ſame, *B.* 24. From this Family deſcended one *Lucius Quinctius*, who was a *Tribune of the People.*

by

by a *Conſular* Army. The Beſiegers attacked like *Romans*; the Beſieged defended themſelves like Men deſperate. The latter had followed *Romulus*'s Example, and opened an *Aſylum* to all the *Banditti* of the Country; and this Reinforcement increaſed their Obſtinacy. The Siege was long; the *Conſular* Army began to want Proviſions; and the Scarcity obliged the *Romans* to begin a Correſpondence with *Hiero*, that generous *Sicilian*, whoſe Name will hereafter become ſo renowned. Year of ROME CCCCLXXXII. C. Quintius Claudus, L. Genucius Clepsina, Conſuls.

The *Conſul* applied himſelf to him for the neceſſary Proviſions he wanted for the Subſiſtence of his Army; and the *Syracuſans* were not backward in ſupplying his Wants. Their Head thereby revenged himſelf, both on the *Mamertini* and their Allies, whom he hated. Nor did *Hiero* only furniſh *Genucius* with Proviſions; he alſo ſent him ſome *Sicilian* Forces. This was the firſt time the *Romans* had any Soldiers from beyond Sea in their Armies. At length *Rhegium* was taken; and then appeared the Equity of the *Romans*, in the different Puniſhments the *Conſul* inflicted on the Conquered. The *Mamertini* were Strangers, come to aſſiſt their Allies; and *Genucius* came to Terms with them, gave them their Lives, and Leave to return Home to their own Country. As for the common Herd of Villains, who all had deſerved Death on other Accounts, the *Conſul* exerciſed his Right, and condemned them to ſuffer different Puniſhments. But the *Legionaries* were moſt guilty. Their Revolt, the Murder of *Rhegians*, and their Rebellion againſt the Republick, deſerved a ſeverer Puniſhment, than the Offences of the *Banditti*. Nevertheleſs, *Genucius* conſidered them as *Roman Citizens*, ſuſpended paſſing Sentence upon them, and referred them to the Senate. They were brought to *Rome* in Chains, and delivered up to the Juſtice of the *Conſcript Fathers*, who condemned them all to be firſt beaten with Rods, and then beheaded, by the *Lictors*. Nothing could be more juſt than this Puniſhment, and yet a *Tribune of the People* oppoſed it. *It belongs* [65] *to the People*, ſaid he, *both by Law, and Cuſtom, to judge, in all capital Caſes*, Roman *Citizens*: And indeed, no Soldier could be enrolled in the *Legions*, who had not a Right of *Citizenſhip*. Nevertheleſs, the Senate oppoſed the Clamours of the *Tribunes of the People*, and put their Decree in Execution. This was a military Cauſe, the Cognizance of which did not belong to the *Comitia*: and the Senate proceeded with Caution. Of this guilty *Legion*, which conſiſted at firſt of at leaſt four thouſand Men, there now [66] remained three hundred to be executed. The reſt had been killed in the ſeveral Attacks made upon the Place. And in order to prevent a Mutiny among the People, the *Conſcript Fathers* took care not to ſpill ſo much Blood all in one Day; but divided the Criminals into ſeveral Companies, and beheaded them in the *Forum Romanum*, at different times, fifty at a time. By this means *Rome* cleared her ſelf of the Suſpicion of having ſent the *Rhegians* Succours, only to ſeize their City. The Vengeance was ſlow, and the Uſurpers enjoyed their Uſurpations ten Years; but the Puniſhmen was at laſt complete, and gave the Nations in *Italy* entire Satisfaction. Thoſe of the *Rhegians* who had eſcaped the Cruelty of the *Campanian Legion*, were aſſembled together, and by a Decree of the Senate, reinſtated in the Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, Liberties, and Laws.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 3.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 7.

§. XVII. A Relation of *Genucius*, of the ſame Name and Surname with him, but whoſe *Prænomen* was *Caius*, whereas the preceding *Conſul*'s was *Lucius*, was raiſed to the *Conſulſhip*, a ſecond time; and with him [67] *Cn. Cornelius Blaſio*, an illuſtrious *Patrician*, of the *Cornelian* Family. The *Romans* had now no War of any Importance Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIII. C. Genucius Clepsina, Cn. Cornelius Blasio, Conſuls.

65 It is very true, that by a Law of *The Twelve Tables*, State-crimes were ordered to be brought before the Tribunal of the People. But in a Caſe relating to the condemning to Death of a Company of rebellious Soldiers, it belonged to the General to determine it without Appeal; unleſs he voluntarily delivered up the Criminals to be tried by the Senate, or *Comitia by Centuries*, out of Reſpect to them. We have often obſerved already, that the Authority of the Generals in the *Roman* Armies was abſolute, with Reſpect to Rewards and Puniſhments.

66 *Livy*, *B.* 28, makes *Scipio* ſay, in an Harangue to his mutinous Soldiers, that four thouſand Men were firſt beaten with Rods, and then put to Death: and *Oroſius* ſays the ſame thing, *B.* 4. *c.* 3. But it is not at all probable, that not one of theſe four thouſand Soldiers, who made a very deſperate Defence, ſhould either loſe his Life in the Siege of *Rhegium*, or die, during the ten Years they continued Maſters of that City.

67 The *Greek Tables* don't mention either of the *Conſuls*, who governed in this Year 483. *Cuſpinian* gives *Cneius Cornelius* the Surname of *Blaſius*. But beſides that we don't find this Surname in the *Cornelian* Family, we have the Teſtimony of the *Faſti Capitolini* to the contrary. They give *Cornelius* the Surname of *Blaſio*, under the Year 488, when he was *Cenſor*, and in which the 35th *Luſtrum* was performed. *Marianus*, inſtead of theſe two *Conſuls*, makes *Lucius Genucius Clepſina*, to have been *Conſul* a ſecond time this Year, and *Cneius Cornelius*

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIII. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA, CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO. Conſuls. *Faſti Capitol.*

ance to maintain; ſuch Terror did their Name ſtrike into all *Italy*, ſince the Defeat of *Pyrrhus!* Only *Umbria*, or rather a part of *Umbria*, was yet in Motion. The Inhabitants of this untractable Canton were called [68] *Sarcinates*. They were for the moſt part, *Gauls;* and the *Gauls* were always brought to ſubmit to the *Roman* Yoke, with the greateſt Difficulty of any People. Hiſtory does not inform us, what was the Cauſe of their taking Arms; it is defective in this, as well as in many other Inſtances; and all we know of this War is the Succeſs of it, which was followed by a Triumph. The War was committed to *Genucius*, preferably to his Collegue; doubtleſs, becauſe he was *Conſul* a ſecond time. His Victory was complete, and he entered *Rome* in a triumphant manner. Beſides this, his ſecond *Conſulſhip* was ſcarce remarkable for any thing, but the Severity of the Winter. The Snow lay forty Days on the Ground, and was of a prodigious Depth, in the *Forum Romanum*. The *Tyber* was frozen, and the Ice of it exceeding thick; the Trees were dried up to the very Roots, and would bear no more Fruit; the Cattel died in the Country for want of Forrage; and the Cold produced a Scarcity of Corn.

Zonaras, and *D. Aug. B. 3. de Civit. Dei, c. 17.*

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIV. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS, C. FABIUS PICTOR, Conſuls.

§. XVIII. THE *Romans* who were uſed to draw Preſages from the moſt natural Events, ranked this with the many other ominous Things, which affrighted them the next Year, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Q.* [69] *Ogulnius*, ſurnamed *Gallus*, and *C. Fabius Pictor;* who were two of the Ambaſſadors which the Republick had ſent into *Egypt* to King *Ptolomy*. Never did more inauſpicious Accidents happen in any one Year, than in theirs; and yet never did *Rome* enjoy greater Proſperity, or greater Affluence. In the City, the Temple of the Goddeſs *Salus* was ſtruck with Lightning, which had pierced into the Inſide of it, and ſhattered its Walls. In the Night, three Wolves came into the middle of *Rome*, and brought with them a dead Carcaſe, which they half devoured; but were hindered from making an end of it, by the Noiſes they heard. It was reported from [70] Abroad, that the Lightning had fallen upon



Silver.

lius Aſina, to have been his Collegue. But the former had been *Conſul* the Year before: and it was contrary to Cuſtom, to continue the ſame Man in that Office for two Years together. And as for the latter, it is evident from the *Faſti Capitolini*, that his firſt *Conſulſhip* ought to be placed ten Years after the preſent Year 483.

68 The *Sarſinates*, or *Saſſinates* inhabited the Territory of *Sarſina*, an ancient City, which retains the ſame Name to this Day. It ſtands on the left ſide of the River *Sapis*, now the *Savio*. The famous Comedian, *Atius Plautus*, was born in this City.

69 *Caſſiodorus* and *Marianus* omit theſe two *Conſuls*, or at leaſt their Copyiſts have left out their Names. But it is nevertheleſs certain, that there ought to be a *Conſulſhip* between the laſt, and that of *Claudius*, which was in the Year 485. This appears from *Velleius*, who ſays, that *Claudius* and *Sempronius* were *Conſuls*, five Years after *Claudius Caninus*, and *Fabius Dorſo*, who governed the Republick in the Year 480; and conſequently *Claudius* and *Sempronius* could not be raiſed to the *Conſular* Authority, till 485. The Buſineſs therefore is, to find out the *Conſuls* for the Year 484. And as *Pliny* has given us the Name of the firſt of them, when he ſays, *B.* 33, that the *Romans* firſt coined Silver, when *Caius Fabius* was *Conſul*, five Years before the firſt *Punick* War; ſo *Zonaras*, and *The Greek Tables* tell us, that his Collegue was *Quintus Ogulnius Gallus*.

70 The Goddeſs of *Health*, called by the *Romans Salus*, by the *Greeks Hygiæa*, is repreſented on Medals, under the Figure of a Woman, ſitting near an Altar, round which a Serpent is twiſted, and offering the Serpent Drink in a Cup. She paſſed for the Daughter of *Æſculapius*, who is ſymbolically repreſented by a Serpent: and the Pagans often prayed to both. In this Senſe *Terence* makes a Perſon ſay, in the third Scene, of the third Act of the *Hecyra*,

Male metuo, ne Philumenæ magis morbus adgraveſcat:
Quod te, Æſculapi, & te, SALUS, *ne quid ſit, hujus oro.*

The Serpent is joined with the Goddeſs, either becauſe, he repreſents *Æſculapius* the God of Phyſick; or becauſe, this Animal ſeems to grow young again every Year, when he ſhifts his Skin, and takes a new one; or becauſe, the Fleſh of a Serpent is of great Uſe in Medicine, in ſeveral Diſtempers. The Temple of the Goddeſs *Salus*, ſtood near the Gate *Collina*, which was for that Reaſon called *Porta Salutaris*, according to *Feſtus*. The *Patera*, which the Goddeſs holds in her Hand, was a Veſſel, uſed in Libations and Sacrifices. Perhaps the Deſign of it was to ſhew, that *Health* is the Gift of Heaven. But ſome Antiquaries think this Cup was deſigned

upon the City of *Formiæ*, between *Cajeta*, and *Minturnæ*, in ſo many Places, that it had thrown down the Walls of it. Laſtly, it was reported as another Prodigy, That in a Plain in *Campania*, near *Cales*, or *Cale*, and Mount *Maſſicus*, the Earth opened all on a ſudden; That ſubterraneous Fires burſt out at the Paſſage; That they continued burning three Days, and three Nights, and conſumed the Harveſt and Trees; and That five Acres of Ground were burnt to a Cinder. And it is ſurprizing, that the *Romans*, who were ſo full of Superſtition, did not ſuſpend all Enterpriſes, in a time diſtinguiſhed by ſuch fatal Preſages. But the [71] *Picentes* were yet to be ſubdued.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIV. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS. C. FABIUS PICTOR, Conſuls

THEY were a conſiderable People, with Regard to the Extent of their Territory; and are ſaid to have been originally *Sabines*. *Sabinia* being overſtocked with Inhabitants, a Swarm of them left it, to ſeek their Fortune elſewhere, and came into the fine Country, that lies between the [72] *Æſis*, and the [73] *Aternus*. There, as they were thinking of ſeizing [74] *Aſculum*, and making it the Capital of their new Territory, a Woodpecker, a Bird much honoured by the *Sabines*, is ſaid to have come and perched upon their Enſigns. Upon this, they took the Bird for *Picus*, that ancient King of the *Aborigines*, who is ſaid to have been the Son of *Saturn*, and was worſhiped as a God by ſeveral Nations in *Italy;* and from this Accident, which they looked on as a Favour from the God, they called the Country where they ſettled after his Name; and themſelves *Picentes*. Add to this, that their Removal was long before the Foundation of *Rome*, and the Tradition of the Woodpecker had its Riſe in the fabulous Ages. Ever ſince the Republick had been enlarged by her Victories, the *Picentes* had had no Quarrels with her; and perhaps, the Ambition of the *Romans* was what alone made them now conſider the *Picentes* as Offenders, without any juſt Cauſe; or, they might make their Liberty their Crime. All the reſt of the *Eaſtern* Parts of *Italy* were now ſubject to the Republick, except the *Picentes* and *Salentini;* who were two trifling Conqueſts for *Rome*. However, the two *Conſuls* were ordered to go together on this double Expedition, and begin with reducing the *Picentes*. But whether the *Roman* Armies then entered *Picenum*, and committed any Hoſtilities there, cannot be aſcertained. We only know, that if the War was begun, under *Ogulnius* and his Collegue, they had not the good Fortune to finiſh it. A new Accident called them elſewhere, and the Preſence of the two *Conſular* Armies was thought neceſſary to extinguiſh a Flame, which, it ſeems, a ſmall Spark had kindled.

Stephanus in Geographia.

Eutrop. B. 2.

§. XIX. ONE *Lollius*, by Birth a *Samnite*, had been delivered up to the *Romans*, by his Countrymen, as an Hoſtage for their Fidelity. He was, without doubt, a Man of Diſtinction in his Nation, then newly ſubdued; and *Lollius* eſcaped from *Rome*, joined a Company of Revolters, ſeized a ſtrong Place in *Samnium*, and committed Robberies in all the Country. The Revolters drew the [75] *Caricini* alſo into their Meaſures, and made their City their Aſylum, and the Magazine, where they depoſited all their Booty. The *Romans* therefore, who knew the Nature of the *Samnites* too well, to give the Revolt time to ripen, and gather Strength, immediately ordered the *Conſuls* to march their Troops againſt them. The Caſtle, from which

Zonar. B. 7. c. 7.

deſigned to repreſent a medicinal Potion. We find the Name of the Goddeſs *Salus*, on many Medals of the Emperors, and Empreſſes, which have different Inſcriptions. SALUS PUBLICA. SALUS REIPUBLICÆ. SALUS AUGUSTI. The Stamp above is the Reverſe of a Medal of the Emperor *Maximinus*.

71 We have already ſpoken of the Country of the *Picentes*, or of *Picenum*. It is at preſent a part of *The Marquiſate of Ancona*, and *The Further Abruzzo*. Some Authors, whom *Feſtus* mentions, will have the *Picentes* to have come originally from *Illyricum*. The ancient Geographers join three other Cantons to *Picenum*; namely, *Ager Palmenſis*, or the Territory of *Aſcoli*, from the River *Tronto*, to the River *Sabinelli*. as *Cluver* conjectures; *Ager Praetutianus*, or the Country round *Teramo*; and *Ager Hadrianus*, or the Country about the City of *Adria*. *Strabo* and *Florus* commend *Picenum*, and the Fruitfulneſs of its Soil.

72 The *Æſis*, now called *Fiumeſino Fiume*, divided *Umbria* from *Picenum*.

73 The River *Aternus* had loſt its old Name, as early as in the Time of *Paul the Deacon*, and was called *Piſcaria*, or *Peſcera*; which it continues to be called to this Day.

74 The City of *Aſculum*, now *Aſcoli*, had the Surname of *Picenum* to diſtinguiſh it from another City of the ſame Name, which the Ancients call *Aſculum Apulum*. *Strabo* ſays, *B.* 5. that *Aſculum Picenum* was the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable Place in the whole Country. He affirms, it was ſurrounded on all ſides by a Chain of Mountains, which made it almoſt inacceſſible. It appears by ſome ancient Inſcriptions, that this City had the Title of a *Roman Colony*; and *Cicero* tells us, in his *Oration for Lucius Sylla*, that, in his time, it was ranked among the *Municipia*.

75 The *Caricini*, as *Zonaras* calls them, or the *Caracini*, according to *Ptolomy*, were a People of *Samnium*, or in Alliance with the *Samnites*. They gave their own Name to a ſtrong Place, which only *Zonaras* mentions, and calls *Caricium Caſtellum*.

Lollius

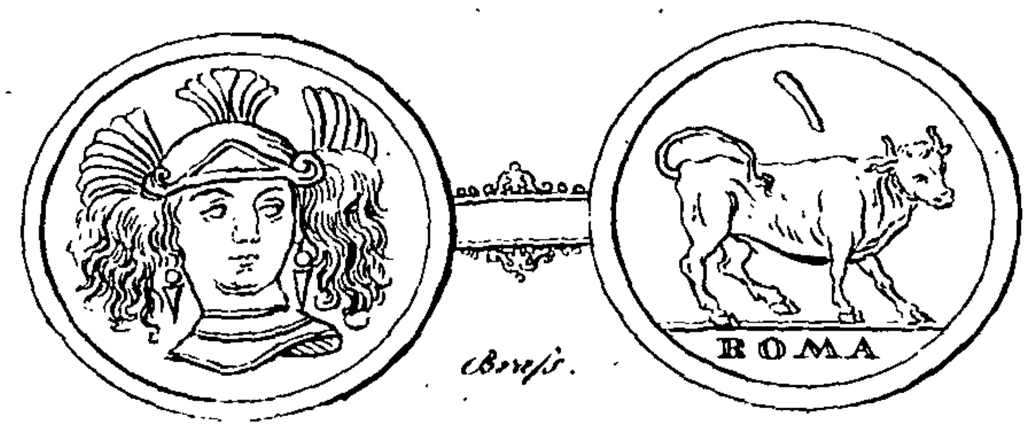
Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIV. Q. Ogulnius Gallus, C. Fabius Pictor, Conſuls.

Lollius made his Incurſions into the Country, did not hold out long againſt the *Roman* Armies: but that was not the Caſe of the City of the *Caricini*. This Place, which I believe was called *Carentum*, ſituated in *Samnium*, near the 76 *Frentam*, made a vigorous Reſiſtance, and the *Romans* had like to have failed in their Attempts upon it. The *Conſuls* laid Siege to it indeed; but made it their chief Buſineſs to procure a Correſpondence with the City. Which being done, they, by the Help of ſome Deſerters, whom they gained, brought their Troops into the City, in a cloudy Night; upon which the Beſieged ran to their Arms in ſurpriſe, and made Head againſt the Enemy. Then a ſharp Action enſued, which by a ſudden Accident, had like to have proved fatal to the Beſiegers. In the Heat of the Diſpute, the Snow fell all on a ſudden, in great Flakes; and the Moon was overcaſt with a Cloud, which increaſed the Darkneſs of the Night. The *Romans*, who neither knew the Way about the City, nor could diſtinguiſh Friends from Enemies, loſt a great many of the *Legionaries*, by the preſent inevitable Diſorder and Confuſion: And they were ready to quit their Enterpriſe, with Danger, when the Cloud diſperſed, and the Moon ſhone out again. But upon this, the valiant *Romans* recovered the Advantages over their Enemies; and the City was taken, and plundered.

THE *Conſuls* would probably have triumphed after this Expedition, if the War they had concluded, had not been deemed a civil War; and for want of a tranſient Triumph, they themſelves ſignalized their Victory, by more laſting Monuments. Which is a part of Hiſtory, that deſerves our Conſideration.

Pliny B. 30. c. 2.

§. XX. TILL the *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Ogulnius Gallus*, and *C. Fabius Pictor*, the *Romans* had never uſed any 77 Money in Commerce, but pieces of Braſs; which from King *Servius Tullius*'s time, were ſtamped with ſcarce any other Figures, but thoſe of three tame Animals, 78 a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar. The Citizens of *Rome* were yet too poor to coin any Silver-Money. But after the Surrendry of *Tarentum*, and the Conqueſt of *Samnium*, the Riches of the Republick were increaſed; and upon the Removal of *Lollius*'s Plunders from the Country of the *Caricini* to *Rome*, there being found a great Quantity of 79 Bars of Silver among his Treaſures, which were of no uſe to the Publick in that Form, the *Conſuls* thought it adviſeable to coin the Silver, and introduce it in Commerce. In order to this, they appointed a Place for



Brass.

76 *Strabo, Geogr. B. 5.* reckons the *Frentani* among the *Samnite* Nations. Their Territory extended Weſtward, to thoſe of the *Peligni*, and *Marrucini*; to the Eaſt and North, it was bounded by the *Adriatick* Sea; and to the South, by the River *Frento*, now the *Fortore*, and *Apulia*. But when the *Romans* became Maſters of this Country, they confined it within narrower Bounds, and made the *Biferno*, formerly called *Tifernus Fluvius*, the Boundary of it. And this Conſideration makes *Pliny* conſiſtent, when he ſometimes makes the Banks of the *Fortore*, and ſometimes thoſe of the *Biferno* to have been the Limits of the Territory of the *Frentani*. Their Country lay in the Eaſtern Parts of *Italy*, and is now a part of *The Hither Abruzzo*, and *Capitanata*.

77 We don't pretend to diſprove the ancient Tradition, which carries up the firſt Coinage of Money to the Ages of *Janus*, and *Saturn*. *Varro* contends for this Opinion; and ſeveral others after him, bring the double Head of *Janus*, which we find on the *Roman As*, in proof of it. But indeed, theſe firſt are ſuch fabulous Ages, that the ſafeſt Way is to adhere to *Pliny*'s Opinion, who ſays *B. 33. c. 3.* that King *Servius Tullius* was the firſt who ſtamped Copper-Money. *Servius Rex primus ſignavit æs. Antea rudi uſos Romæ Timæus tradit.*

78 Perhaps *Servius Tullius* imitated the *Athenians*; who, as *Pollux* affirms, ſtamped the Figure of an Ox on their Money: and for this Reaſon, ſays he, the piece of Money on which it was ſtamped, was called *An Ox*. We have ſome Piece of an ancient Copper-coin remaining to this Day, the Face of which is the Head of *A Rome* adorned with Plumes of Feathers; and the reverſe an Ox with this Inſcription, ROMA. And from hence, according to *Pliny*, Money was called *Pecunia*. *Signata eſt nota pecudum, unde & pecunia appellata.*

79 It is certain, that the *Romans* kept not only Money in their Treaſury, but alſo Ingots of Gold and Silver, which they called *Lateres*, becauſe they were in the Shape of *Bricks*; as we are informed by *Nonnius Marcellus*, in his ſecond Chapter on the Word *Later*, and in his twelfth Chapter; where he quotes *Varro* in proof of it.

melt

melting and coining it, and thought the Temple of *Juno*, on the *Capitol*, the moſt proper for that Purpoſe. The *Romans* had given this Goddeſs the Name of *Moneta*, from the Word *Monere*, becauſe they thought ſhe had given the Republick very wholeſome *Advice*, on ſeveral Occaſions; and particularly, in the late Wars with *Pyrrhus*, when her Statue was conſulted concerning the exhauſting the Treaſures of the Republick, ſhe [80] had anſwered, if we may believe a *Greek* Writer, *That the Revenues of the* Romans *ſhould never fail, as long as they continued to be juſt, as well as brave.* But whatever becomes of this fabulous Story, *Juno* was certainly called *Moneta*, before ſhe gave this laſt Advice; and from the Place, where Silver was firſt coined at *Rome*, it was called in *Latin*, *Moneta*, from whence we have the Word [81] *Money*. This new Coin was made in a much more elegant manner, than thoſe of the ancient *Romans*. Inſtead of being ſtamped with rude Figures of Animals, the Actions

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIV. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS, C. FABIUS PICTOR, Conſuls. *Suidas*, under the Word Μονήτα.

80 *Cicero*, *de Divinitat.* ſays, that *Juno* was called *Moneta*, *a Monendo*, becauſe a little before the taking of *Rome*, this Goddeſs had adviſed the *Romans* to offer a Sow with Pig in Sacrifice, in order to put a Stop to an Earthquake, which then filled the City with Terror. See what we have ſaid on this Subject, *B.* 15. *p.* 130. of this Vol. *Note* 103.

81 The Gold, Silver, and Braſs, or Copper-Medals, which enrich the Cabinets of the Curious, and which are daily dug up, in the ſeveral Countries the *Romans* inhabited, are Pieces of *Roman* Money. There are indeed who think, That ſome of theſe ancient Medals, were like our Counters, or what we now properly call Medals, which are ſtruck with a Deſign to convey to Poſterity the Memory of ſome remarkable Events: and That others, which bear the Names of the *Roman* Cities, Provinces, and *Colonies*, were the Tributes which the Republick demanded of theſe Nations, when ſubdued, or which the People liberally offered her by way of Free-gift. But that this Opinion is abſolutely groundleſs, is evident from theſe Conſiderations.

1. It is certain, that after the firſt Invention of Money, it never once grew out of uſe among the *Greeks*, *Romans*, or any other civilized Nations. And it is as certain, that in all Ages, the Quantity of Money coined, has been infinitely greater, than that of Counters, or Medals, properly ſo called, which were not uſed in Commerce. And how then comes it to paſs, that ſo many of theſe Medals, which ſome Moderns are pleaſed to think like our Counters, ſhould be tranſmitted down to us; and that ſcarce one of thoſe infinite Numbers of Coins, of all ſorts, which were uſed in Trade, ſhould eſcape the Wrecks of time?

2. What unanſwerably proves, that the *Roman* Medals we now have, which were ſtruck in the Time of the Republick, whether they be Gold, Silver, or Braſs, were a part of their current Money, is this, that ſeveral of them have Marks upon them, which ſhew their Value. As for Inſtance, the X. Q. and HS, ſhew the Pieces to be reſpectively worth a *Denarius*, *Quinarius*, or *Seſterce*. The Numberr, o. oo. ooo. oooo. we find on ſome Copper Medals, ſhew them to have weighed one, two, three, or four Ounces, *&c.* And the ſame thing may be ſaid of the *Imperial*, as well as of the *Conſular* Medals. Though we don't find theſe Marks on thoſe which were ſtruck in the Times of the Emperors, yet the Matter, Form, and Stamp of the Metal, fix their Value.

3. Without entering into a particular Account of all the ſolid Proofs which *Patinus*, *Savottus*, and the moſt celebrated Antiquaries have produced againſt thoſe, who think that theſe Medals were not common Money, it is ſufficient to ſhew, that the Defenders of this Opinion, muſt neceſſarily maintain a thing, which is naturally impoſſible; namely, that by one of the ſtrangeſt Miracles that ever was, all the Money ſhould be buried in the Bowels of the Earth, and be abſolutely loſt, whilſt at the ſame time the *Medals*, properly ſo called, are every where to be met with.

4. As to the unreaſonable Pretence urged in favour of the Opinion we oppoſe, that Princes would have thought it a Diſhonour to them, to have had their Images ſtamped on the Money which was uſed by the People, it is a Dream of *Erizzo*'s in his *Diſcorſo ſopra le Medaglie*. It is in vain to pretend, that the Pagans thought the Images of Kings and Emperors ſacred, and holy, or rather ſo many Divinities, and conſequently, that it would have been derogating from the Majeſty of the Sovereign, to expoſe his Image to be treated as the vileſt of the Populace thought fit. What does this prove more, than that the Liberty falſe Coiners took was a ſacrilegious Crime which deſerved Death? Certainly it cannot be doubted, but that the *Darius's* and *Philips's* were common Money; though the former bore the Figure of *Darius*, and the latter of *Philip*. We don't inſiſt on what *Artemidorus* ſays, of the Dream of one *Stratonicus*, who imagining in his Sleep, that he had trod the King under his Feet, found, when he awaked, that he had walked over a piece of Money, on which his Figure was. Nor do we lay any Streſs on the Teſtimony of *Cedrenus* and *Iſidorus*, who ſay, that Money was called *Nummus*, from the Name of King *Numa*, becauſe he ordered his Name and Image to be put upon it. The *Roman* Hiſtorians furniſh us with more deciſive Proofs in favour of our Opinion, than theſe. *Dio* tells us, that *Julius Cæſar*'s Head was ſtamped upon the *Roman* Money, by order of the Senate. *Suetonius* affirms, that in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, the current *Species* had his Head on one ſide, and *A Capricorn* on the other, to ſhew his Authority; becauſe an Aſtrologer had perſuaded him, that this Conſtellation had declared that he ſhould have the Empire. And we have ſome Medals to this Day, which have this Conſtellation on one ſide, and *Auguſtus* on the other. But the holy *Evangeliſts* above all, are unqueſtionable Witneſſes in this Caſe: And they ſay, that the Tribute-money, which the *Jews* paid the *Romans*, bore the Emperor's Image. And laſtly, all the Hiſtorians, of the upper and lower Empire, unanimouſly atteſt the ſame thing, in numberleſs Paſſages of their Hiſtories. *Caſſiodorus*, who looked on this Cuſtom as moſt ancient, and built on the beſt Authority, thought the Inſtitution of it, a Maſterpiece of Prudence and Policy. *O magna inventa prudentum! O laudabilia inſtituta Majorum, ut & imago Principum, ſubjectos videretur paſcere per commercium, quorum conſilia non deſinunt invigilare pro ſalute cunctorum!* *L.* 6. *Ep.* 7. And *Ariſtotle* ſays much the ſame thing, when he obſerves in his *Politicks*, that a Prince, by cauſing his own Image to be engraven on Money, did in ſome Meaſure engage, that it was of due Weight, and proper Allay. To which he adds, that no Means could be found out ſo proper as this to reſtrain the falſe Coiners; becauſe this made the Alteration of the Species a perſonal Inſult on the Sovereign, as it was defacing his Image. Hence the pompous Titles of DIVA MONETA, and MONETA SALUTARIS.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIV. Q. Ogulnius Gallus, C. Fabius Pictor, Consuls.

ons of Heroes were represented on the new Species, in ingenious Symbols. Perhaps the two *Consuls*, who first invented it, had brought from *Egypt*, where they had both been on an Embassy, a Taste for these Hieroglyphicks. They were a sort of Riddles, whose Meaning is not only to be gathered from the Figures themselves, but also from the Inscriptions, which are often written only in initial Letters, and which,



Silver.

RIS. On the Medal of *Diocleſian* above, Money is repreſented under the Figure of a Goddeſs, with this Inſcription, Sacra Moneta. The *Cornucopia* ſhe has in her Hand, ſhews, that the Circulation of Money is the Soul of Commerce, and Plenty. The Balance in her other Hand, points out the juſt Proportion each *Species* bears to the reſt, in order to aſcertain the Value of them; or rather it is a Symbol of that Fidelity, which ought to be ſhewn, both in coining and circulating Money. Thus the Images of the Emperors were held in ſo great Veneration, that almoſt divine Honours were paid them. Agreeably to which, King *Theodoric* ſays, in *Caſſiodorus*; *Omnino monetæ debet integritas quæri, ubi & vultus noſter imprimitur, & generalis utilitas invenitur. Quidnam erit tutum, ſi in noſtra peccetur effigie, & quam ſubjectus venerari debet, manus ſacrilega violare feſtinet*? For this Reaſon, ſome Interpreters underſtand theſe Words of St. *Paul*, *Idolorum Servitus*, of an immoderate Love of Money.

5. It is granted indeed, that the *Medaillons* were not uſed as Money. The Height of the Relievo, and the Largeneſs of the Coin, are ſuch, as would have made it troubleſome to have uſed it. They were ſtruck for publick Monuments, and were given to the People and to Strangers, at the Celebration of Games, at Triumphs, publick Ceremonies, &c. And indeed, moſt of the Reverſes of them are Repreſentations of Games, Triumphs, Buildings, or ſome great Action. Of this ſort of Medal we are to underſtand *Suetonius*, when he ſays of *Auguſtus*, that in the *Saturnalia*, he preſented his Favourites with *Nummos omnis notæ, etiam veteres regios, & peregrinos*.

6. We have already obſerved, That the Money uſed in *Rome*, before *Servius Tullius*'s Time, was nothing but rough Copper; and That this King ſtamped the Figures of Animals upon it, as particularly thoſe of an Ox, a Ram, and a Boar. To which we here add, that it is probable, the *Romans* put no other Stamps upon their Money, till this Year of *Rome* 484; when they began to coin Silver. Then the Head of *A Rome*, or ſome Divinity, took Place of the old Figures. The Reverſes were *Victories*, and Chariots drawn by two or four Horſes. Hence the Names of *Victoriati*, *Bigati*, and *Quadrigati*, which the Ancients give theſe pieces of Money. *Notæ argenti fuere Bigæ, atque Quadrigæ, & inde Bigati, Quadrigatique*; *Plin.* B. 33. *c.* 3. *Tacitus* reckons among the ancient Coins, ſome which had the Stamp of a *Saw* upon them, or rather which were jagged, and were therefore called *Serrati Nummi*. ..... *Pecuniam probant veterem, & diu notam, Serratos Bigatoſque*. Thus the Name of *Nummi Ratiti*, was in the firſt Ages, given to the Coin on which was the Figure of a Ship, or rather of the Prow of a Ship. Soon after this, the Magiſtrates, who had the Care of the Mint, cauſed their own Names and Titles, and the moſt illuſtrious Actions of their Families, to be engraven and repreſented on the Money. So that we find the Magiſtracies, Prieſthoods, and Triumphs of their Anceſtors mentioned on the Medals. The Gold, Silver, and Braſs Coins, became the Records of great Events, and of whatever Ambition and Flattery could invent to eternize the Memory of Princes, and the Gratitude of their Subjects, in times of Slavery.

7. We ought likewiſe to reckon ſome lead Medals among the old Money. I know ſeveral Antiquaries are of a different Opinion. But what Anſwer can they make to thoſe ancient Authors, who expreſly mention this Money! What can they reply to this Paſſage of *Plautus*'s *Trinummus*?

> ——*Ei ne aurum crederem*?
> *Cui, ſi Capitis res ſiet, nummum nunquam credam plumbeum*?

That is, *What! Shall I truſt him with pieces of Gold, whom I would not truſt with Lead-Money*? Nor is *Martial* leſs expreſs in this Matter than *Plautus*. *Centum merebor plumbeos die toto.* 10. 74. And *Plautus* ſpeaking in another Place of a Perſon reduced to great Want, ſays, *That he was not worth more than a piece of Lead-Money in the World. Cui homini hodie peculi nummus non eſt, niſi plumbeus.* It may indeed be pretended, that theſe little Pieces, which the Ancients call *Nummi Plumbei*, were only ſome Copper Medals allayed with Lead. But *Savot* proves, That this Allay was not uſed till the time of *Septimius Severus*: and adds, That in the Trial he made of the oldeſt Medals, he did not find the leaſt Grain of Lead. Whereas, the Writers we have quoted, lived long before the time of *Septimius Severus*.

8. What undeniably proves the Medals we have, not to have been barely Counters, is this; That we find *Counter-marks*, or ſecond Stamps upon them, as if they had been Coins, whoſe Value was encreaſed, or diminiſhed, at Pleaſure. To which we ought to add by the by, that it was not lawful for any Magiſtrate in *Rome*, to cauſe his own Image to be ſtruck on the Money. This Privilege was firſt granted to *Julius Cæſar*, and that by an expreſs Decree

which, to this Day, put the Invention of our Antiquaries to the Rack, to explain them. It is probable, that at this time, the *Conſuls* took upon themſelves the Care of the Mint, and joined two Senators with them, in this Office; but afterwards the Heads of the Republick were eaſed of this Trouble, and ſometimes two, ſometimes three, ſometimes four [82] Perſons were appointed, on purpoſe to direct, and inſpect the Coinage. We are ſaid to have a great many of theſe ſilver Medals yet remaining, which bear the Names of [83] *Ogulnius*, and *C. Fabius;* and notwithſtanding all that is urged to the contrary, they may well be ſuppoſed to have been ſtruck by theſe *Conſuls*, who were the Authors of this Species in *Rome*. By this means, they made

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIV
Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS, C. FABIUS PICTOR, Conſuls.



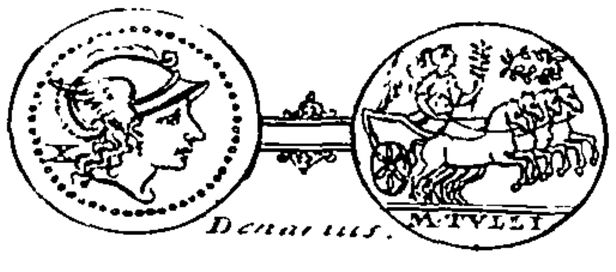
Decree of the Senate; and afterwards, the ſucceeding Emperors enjoyed it, as a Prerogative annexed to the ſupreme Authority. We find indeed, on the *Conſular* Medals, the Heads of ſeveral great Men, who were concerned in the Government of the Republick, in their times, as thoſe of *Scipio*, *Metellus*, *Regulus*, and *Caldus*. But theſe Coins were not ſtruck whilſt they were living. This was done by ſome of their Deſcendants, who were Superviſors of the Mint, and who ſtruck theſe Coins to perpetuate the Names of their Anceſtors, and the Nobility of their Families. The ſame thing is likewiſe to be ſaid of the Medals, which have the Heads of *Romulus*, and the other Kings of *Rome*. *Plutarch* affirms, that *Marcus Brutus* alone, of his own Head, aſſumed to himſelf an Authority of cauſing his own Image to be ſtruck on the pieces of Money, which he diſtributed among his Soldiers, during his War with *Mark Anthony*.

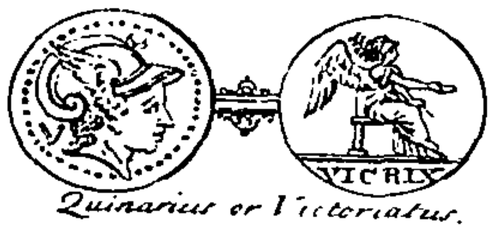
82 The Ancients call thoſe Magiſtrates, *Triumviri*, *Quatuorviri*, and *Quinqueviri Monetales*, *Æris*, *Argenti*, *Auri Flatores:* as *Pomponius* the *Civilian* in particular does, in his ſecond Book, *de Origine Juris*. On the Medals, the Offices of theſe Magiſtrates are expreſſed thus. IIIVIR. A. A. A. F. F. That is, *Triumvir*, *Auro*, *Argento*, *Ære*, *flando*, *feriundo*. And theſe Commiſſioners, who were appointed by the *Conſuls*, or People, to inſpect the Coinage, are ſometimes deſcribed on Medals thus; CUR. X FL; which is explained by theſe *Latin* Words, *Curatores denariorum flandorum*. The Curators of the Mint were ſo called, till the *Triumviri Monetales* were created, which was done in the time of *Pomponius*, before the firſt *Carthaginian* War; or, according to others, a little before *Tully*'s time. In *Julius Cæſar*'s Days, theſe Magiſtrates were called *Quatuor-viri Monetales*, becauſe a fourth was then added to the firſt three.

83 Among the Medals of the *Fabian* Family, there is one in particular, that ſeems to have been one of the firſt that was ſtruck in the Year Silver was firſt coined at *Rome*. The Face of it, is the Head of *Cybele* crowned with Towers, as ſhe is generally repreſented on Medals. The Inſcription of it is this, EX. A. PU. that is, EX ARGENTO PUBLICO, to ſhew that the maſſy Silver, which was lodged in the publick Treaſury, was then coined into Money, to be uſed in Trade. On the reverſe we find the Name of *Caius Fabius*, and *A Victory*, driving a Chariot drawn by two Horſes: which alludes to the *Games of the Circus*, which always concluded with Chariot Races, as *Dion. Hal.* expreſly obſerves. For we are not to imagine, that theſe Chariots, drawn by two, three, and four Horſes, always alluded to Victories, or Triumphs, gained by the *Conſuls*, whoſe Names they bear. The Honours of the great Triumph, were granted only to Conquerors, or thoſe who gained the Republick ſome great Advantages by their Exploits. So that they were obtained by very few, and not allowed to them, without exceeding great Precautions. Whereas, nothing is more common than theſe Chariots on the *Conſular* Medals; the reverſes of them are ſcarce any thing elſe. Beſides, *Florus* ſays, that the Chariots of thoſe who triumphed, were generally drawn by four Horſes; whereas, thoſe we find on the old *Roman* Monies, which were coined in the time of the Republick, are for the moſt part drawn by two, or three. So that the Medals with theſe Stamps upon them, do, generally ſpeaking, allude only to the *Circenſian Games*, with which the Magiſtrates, who took care of the Coinage, entertained the People, in their *Ædileſhips*. But to return to the Medal above, on which we find the Name of *Caius Fabius*; the learned Annaliſt, *Vinandus Pighius* conjectures, that the Republick turned the Preſents of King *Ptolomy* beforementioned, into Silver-coin: and endeavours to prove this Conjecture to be true, by the Symbols on this Medal, According to him, *Alexandria* the Capital of *Egypt* is here repreſented by the Woman crowned with Towers, which was a pretty common Emblem for walled Cities: and he thinks the Bird on the reverſe is an *Ibis*; Birds which breed in *Egypt*, and feed on Serpents. The *Egyptians* often put this Bird among their Hieroglyphicks. But indeed, theſe are only arbitrary Interpretations, upon the accepting or rejecting of which, nothing depends. Others think, that this Bird, is a Bird of Prey, which the *Latins* called *Buteo*; and that the Coiner alluded thereby to a Branch of the *Fabian* Family, which was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by the Surname of *Buteo*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXIV. Q. Ogulnius Gallus, C. Fabius Pictor, Conſuls.

themſelves Amends, for not enjoying the Honours of a Triumph, which could not be granted them. Each of theſe new pieces of Silver was worth *ten Aſſes of Braſs*; and for that Reaſon they were called [84] *Denarii;* and had the numeral Letter X ſtamped upon them, to ſhew their Value. And beſides theſe, there were likewiſe other





84 It is difficult to determine the exact Value and Weight of the *Roman Denarius.* What is moſt certain is, that, according to the unanimous Opinion of all ancient Authors, ten *Aſſes*, or ten Pounds weight of braſs Money, which when reduced to Ounces, by multiplying them by twelve, amount to 120 Ounces, make one *Denarius.* Suppoſing then the Proportion of Silver to Braſs to be as one to twenty ſix, which is as great a Difference as can well be imagined; upon this Suppoſition, the *Denarius* muſt have weighed an Ounce, before the ſeveral Reductions it underwent in the ſeveral Ages of the Republick and Empire. We cannot ſuppoſe the Silver *Denarius*, which was equal to ten Pounds of Braſs, to be leſs worth than that; eſpecially if we conſider, that the Difference between theſe two Metals in Value, is now much leſs than what we have ſuppoſed. *Varro de Ling. Lat. B.* 4. gives us an unanſwerable Proof of it. This Author, who was one of the moſt learned *Romans* in his time, and beſt underſtood the Antiquities of his Nation, ſays, there were three ſorts of Silver Money, all leſs in Value than the *Denarius.* One he calls *Libella*, which was the tenth part of the *Denarius.* Another he calls *Sembella*, which was half the Value of the former, that is, a twentieth part of the *Denarius.* And laſtly, he mentions another piece of Silver, which was yet ſmaller than either of theſe, and gives it the Name of *Teruncius.* This little Coin was worth three Ounces of Copper, that is, one fourth part of an *As*, which was twelve Ounces. *Varro*'s Words are theſe. *Nummi denarii decuma* LIBELLA, *quod libram pondo As valebat, & erat ex argento parva.* SEMBELLA, *quod ſit libellæ dimidium, quod ſemis aſſis.* TERUNCIUS *a tribus unciis, ſembellæ quod valet dimidium, & eſt quarta pars, ſicut quadrans Aſſis.* So that here are three pieces of Silver; one of which was worth an *As*, reckoning it at twelve Ounces of Copper, which was the tenth part of a Silver *Denarius*; another, which was worth but the twentieth part of a *Denarius*, that is, ſix Ounces of Copper; and a third, worth only the fortieth part of a *Denarius*, that is, three Ounces of Copper. If indeed, as ſome Antiquaries pretend, the *Denarius* was abſolutely fixed to a ſeventh, or as others, an eighth part of an Ounce of Silver, without any Variation, we muſt abſolutely reject *Varro*'s Teſtimony. Since we muſt think it impoſſible, that there ever could have been Silver Money uſed in *Rome* ſo very ſmall, as not to exceed a Grain and a half in weight, or thereabouts. And yet ſuch muſt the *Teruncius* have been, if the *Denarius* itſelf was but ſixty three Grains, which is the eighth part of a *Roman* Ounce, containing 504 Grains. Which ſurely has not the leaſt Shadow of Probability. Beſides, this Subdiviſion of the *Denarius* into three different Species, took place only in the Ages long before *Varro*'s time; and he ſpeaks of it in ſuch a manner, as inclines one to believe, That there were no ſuch Species either in his time, or for ſome time before; or at leaſt, That they were no longer uſed in Trade: eſpecially ſince the *Denarius* itſelf had been reduced to the Weight of an *Attick Drachma. Pliny* makes thoſe two exactly equal in Weight. His Words, *B.* 21, *c.* 34. are theſe. *Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus.* Inſomuch, that he often uſes them as ſynonimous Terms. By the Difference of theſe Silver Medals, whether *Conſular*, or *Imperial*, which were all called *Roman Denarii*, it is plain, that this Species underwent many Changes and Reductions after the Year 484, when it was firſt coined. And theſe Variations in the Weight of the *Drachma*, make both the Ancients and Moderns ſometimes ſay, that the Silver *Denarius* was to the *Attick Drachma*, as 4 to 3; and ſometimes, that it was as 8 to 7; which is the Proportion moſt generally allowed, with Regard to the *Conſular* Medals. Moſt agree, that thoſe which are marked with an X, which was peculiar to the *Denarii*, weighed each an *Attick Drachma.* and ½ of a *Drachma.* But *Priſcian* reckons ſix *Denarii* to be equal to the twelfth part of a *Roman* Pound. He ſays, the *Denarius* weighed ninety ſix Grains, and the *Drachma* but ſeventy two. Yet *Celſus*, and moſt Writers ſay, that ſeven *Denarii* were worth eight *Drachmæ*; that is, eight of the latter went to an Ounce, and but ſeven of the former. According to *Livy*, *B.* 34. the *Attick Tetradrachma*, an *Athenian* Coin, which weighed half an Ounce, or four *Drachmæ*, was worth there *Denarii.* And in ſhort, it is demonſtrable, both by the Teſtimony of the moſt judicious Writers, and the Weight of the Medals, That the *Roman Denarii* were of different Weights, at different Times; and That ſometimes one of them was at leaſt an Ounce; at other times, two, three, four, five, ſix, ſeven, and ſeven and an half of them went to an Ounce; till *Nero*'s Reign, who determined they ſhould be the Weight of the *Attick Drachma.* So that among theſe different *Denarii*, there were ſome which weighed as much as the *Greek Drachma*, which was equal to two *Drachmæ.* But notwithſtanding the Augmentations of the Value of the

other pieces of Silver coined, which were called *Quinarii*, and *Seſtertii*, or *Seſterces*. The *Quinarii* were worth *five Aſſes of Braſs* each, and were known, not only by their Weight, but alſo by the Letter V upon them. The *Seſtertii* were worth but two *Aſſes* and a half, and were diſtinguiſhed by the Letters HS. And from this time, theſe *Denarii* of Silver, which are ſtruck with Art, and on the Reverſes of which we find ænigmatical Figures, will be of Service to us, in compiling our Hiſtory; but we ſhall uſe them with Caution. It were dangerous to form an Hiſtory from Figures and Inſcriptions, which are arbitrarily interpreted; and inſtead therefore of making ſuch an uſe of theſe Medals, as thereby to derogate from the Authority of the Hiſtorians; our Buſineſs ſhall be, to make uſe of the Hiſtorians to clear up the Obſcurity of theſe Medals.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIV. Q. Ogulnius Gallus, C. Fabius Pictor, Conſuls.

§. XXI. The


Seſterce.

Denarii, according to the preſent Circumſtances and Wants, they always preſerved their characteriſtick Mark, *viz.* the Letter X, which, on ſome Medals, has a tranſverſal Line running through the middle of it.

What we have ſaid of the Silver *Denarius*, may equally be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the *Quinarius*, and *Seſterce*. The former of theſe was half, the latter a fourth part, of a *Denarius*. The Ancients give the *Quinarius* the Name of *Victoriatus Nummus*, becauſe at firſt the reverſe of it was *A Victory*, in different Attitudes, ſometimes on Foot and wearing a Crown, or carrying a Trophy; ſometimes ſitting in a Chariot, and driving it, to repreſent *The Circenſian Games*; after the manner of the *Greeks*, who made uſe of ſeveral Symbols to repreſent on their Money, the Solemnity of the *Olympick Games*, and other Feſtivals, common to all *Greece*. *Varro*, *de Ling. Lat. B.* 4. ſpeaks of the *Quinarius* thus; *Quam rationem duo ad unum habent, eadem habent viginti ad decem. In nummis ſimilibus, ſic eſt ad unum Victoriatum denarius, ſicut ad alterum Victoriatum alter Denarius.* *The* Denarius, ſays he, *is to the* Victoriatus, *as two to one, or twenty to ten.* This is a deciſive Paſſage againſt thoſe who confound the *Nummus Victoriatus*, with the *Nummus Denarius*. *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 33. *c.* 31. that the *Victoriatus* was a foreign Coin, brought from *Illyricum* to *Rome*, and current among the Merchants: and adds, that by an expreſs Law, of which one *Claudius* was the Author, the Republick ordered *Victoriati* to be coined, of the ſame Stamp, and Weight. *Qui nunc Victoriatus appellatur Lege Clodia percuſſus eſt. Ante enim hic nummus in Illyrico advectus, mercis loco habebatur. Eſt autem ſignatus Victoria, & inde nomen.* There are ſome Medals of this Coin left, on which we find theſe two Letters V and Q.

As to the *Seſterce*, it was firſt worth two *Aſſes* and a half, and then four *Aſſes*, when the Silver *Denarii* were current in Trade, at ſixteen *Aſſes* each. They are therefore miſtaken, who abſolutely fix the Weight of this little piece of Money, at two *Aſſes* and an half, without diſtinguiſhing when it was worth four, in Proportion to the *Denarius*, which was then worth ſixteen. And leſt the Reader ſhould miſtake, when he reads the *Latin* Authors and *Roman* Hiſtorians, who reckon Sums by *Seſterces*, according to the manner of computing, introduced among the *Romans*, after this *Species* was coined, it is proper to obſerve the Difference between *the little* and *the great Seſterce*. The former was expreſſed by the ſubſtantive maſculine *Seſtertius*, and ſtood for no more than its own intrinſick Worth. The latter was expreſſed by the neuter *Seſtertium*, and ſtood for a thouſand little *Seſterces*. So that the *Latin* Words, *Duo Seſtertia*, *Decem Seſtertia*, *Centum Seſtertia*, are as much as to ſay, *Duo Seſtertiûm Millia*, *Decem Millia Seſtertiûm*, *Centum Millia Seſtertiûm*, i. e. two thouſand *Seſterces*, ten thouſand *Seſterces*, a hundred thouſand *Seſterces*. When the numeral Words are uſed adverbially, *the great Seſtertes* were multiplied by hundreds. As for inſtance, theſe *Latin* Expreſſions, *Centies Seſtertium*, *Decies Seſtertium*, are as much as to ſay, *Centies Centena Seſtertia*, *Decies Centena Seſtertia*; that is, *an hundred times an hundred* great Seſterces, *ten times an hundred* Great Seſterces: *i. e.* an hundred times an hundred thouſand *little Seſterces*, or ten *Millions* of *little Seſterces*; and ten times an hundred thouſand *little Seſterces*, or one *Million* of *little Seſterces*. When therefore the *great Seſterces* are to be reduced to *little* ones, the Sum muſt be multiplied by a thouſand; when the numeral Words of the *Great Seſterces* are adverbial, each *Great Seſterce* is to be multiplied by an hundred. It is eaſy to judge of the Form, and Stamps of the *Denarii*, *Quinarii*, and *Seſterces*, by the Figures we here give the Reader of them.

Among the Medals we likewiſe find ſome of thoſe pieces of Money, which we have called in the Language of the Antiquaries, *Numiſmata Serrata*, or *Nummi Serrati*. *Tacitus* makes uſe of the ſame Expreſſion to ſignify a piece of Money, indented or jagged at the Edges. We have ſeveral pieces of this ſort among the *Conſular* Medals, quite down to the time of *Auguſtus*. In the firſt Ages of the Republick, the Magiſtrates, who took care of the Coinage, had been obliged to uſe this Caution againſt falſe Coiners, who counterfeited their

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXV.

P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS, APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.

§. XXI. THE next Year the *Romans* revived their former Design of making War on the *Picentes*, and both begun and finished it. One of the new [85] *Consuls* was *P. Sempronius*, who had by his Wisdom deserved, and acquired the Surname of *Sophus*: and the other was the Son of the famous *Appius Claudius Cæcus*, whose good and bad Qualities had formerly done so much Service, and Mischief, to the Republick. The Surname of this *Appius Claudius*, who was now raised to the *Consulship*, was *Crassus*: whose Father had the same Surname, till his Blindness made him change it into *Cæcus*. Both *Consuls* seem to have entered *Picenum* together at first, and carried on the War jointly. But the new Commotions in *Umbria*, obliged them to separate. *Appius* went to restrain the *Umbri*, who, full of the Spirit of *Gauls*, bore the *Roman* Yoke with great Impatience. [86] *Camerinum* was besieged, and taken by *Appius*, who seems to have been a Man of more Valour than his Father. But he at least, inherited from him, an Artfulness and Cruelty of Mind, of which the Conquered were but too sensible. After he had deceived the *Camerini*, he treated them barbarously, reduced them to Slavery, put the Money they were sold for into the publick Treasury, and made himself Master of their Lands. But the Republick had too much Equity to authorise a Fraud, which turned to her own Profit. She carefully sought out all these unhappy Slaves, and did them more good than the barbarous *Consul* had done them Injury. They were allowed the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*; had a Place assigned them for their Dwellings, in the City of *Rome*, on the Hill *Aventinus;* and had as much Land given them in Property there, as they had lost in *Umbria*. The Money which arose from the Sale of these miserable People, was consecrated to the Decoration of Temples, and to defray the Expences of Sacrifices. It was by these Instances of an exact Justice, that *Rome* gained her self the Affections of all Mankind, and deserved those surprising Successes, which made her Mistress of the World.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 5. §. 1.

As for *Sempronius Sophus*, he also was making War on the *Picentes*, with more Success than Honesty. The two Armies were in sight of each other, and the *Consul* ready to give Battel, when an extraordinary Event suspended the Ardour of the Combatants, for some time. The Ground, which lay between the two Armies, which were ready to enter upon Action, trembled. This Prodigy sunk the Courage of the *Romans:* But their General was a Philosopher, who was not surprized, at a natural Effect. He encouraged his Troops, and represented to them, that the *Picentes* could not but be as much affrighted as they. *The Enemy's Land*, says he, *shews the Fear it is in, of changing its Masters, by these frightful Shocks. Let us address our selves to*

Frontin. Strat. B. 1. c. 12.

their Coin. Their Trick was to melt down the Money, after they had taken some thin Plates of Silver off from it, which Plates they put upon little pieces of Copper, which they struck with great Art, exactly of the same Sizes and Impressions, as the *Denarii*, and *Quinarii*. This false Money was current in the *Triumvirate* of *Augustus*. It is known by its cutting. The Antiquaries call it *Furred Medals*.

And lastly, though the *Romans* did not begin to coin Silver in *Rome*, till the Year 484, yet we are not to infer from thence, that they had none but Copper-money among them, for near five Centuries. The Traffick they were obliged to carry on with Foreigners, and People from beyond Sea, who traded with the *Hetrurians*, must doubtless have brought some Silver-money among them. Both Gold and Silver *Species* were known even in the time of *Romulus*, and used all over the *Roman* Dominions. This *Festus* affirms, and in proof of it, appeals to the publick Registers, and the Books of Accompts of private Persons; or rather to the ancient Archives, which ascertained the Truth of this Fact. *Solebant jam inde a Romulo nummis auri atque argenti signati ultramarinis uti; id quod publicæ & privatæ rationes Commentariorum docent.*

85 It is *Eutropius*, and after him *Cassiodorus* and *Marianus*, who have transmitted down to us the Names and Surnames of these two *Consuls*. The *Greek Tables* give *Appius Claudius* the Surname of *Rufus*, though we find no Traces of it in the *Patrician* Branch of the *Claudian* Family. But not to say any thing of the Testimony of the two Authors just mentioned, it is more natural to believe, that he inherited his Father's Surname, who was called *Crassus*, till he lost his Sight. And *Velleius* indeed tells us, that this *Consul* was the Son of *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *The Blind*, of whom we have often spoken in this Volume.

86 The ancient City of *Camerinum* stood near the *Apennines*, which divide *Umbria* from *Picenum*, in the Place where *Camerino* now stands. *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* call it Καμαρῖνον. *Plutarch* calls its Inhabitants Καμαρῖνοι, in his *Life of Marius*. Yet *Strabo* himself most frequently calls it Καμέρτη: Whence the Name of *Camertes*, which the ancient Writers give the Inhabitants of the Territory of *Camerinum*. The ancient Historians extol this City for its Wealth, and its Lands for their Fruitfulness. *Clusium*, one of the most considerable Cities in *Hetruria*, had been called *Camers*, before the *Pelasgi* possessed themselves of this Country: Which has given room to believe, that the People of the same Canton, when driven out by these New-comers, took Refuge in *Umbria*, and gave their own Name to the Country they inhabited. *Festus*, in his Explanation of the Word *Prorsus*, highly extols the Riches and Beauty of *Camerinum*. *Camerini cives nostri oppidum pulchrum habuere, agrum optimum atque pulcherrimum, rem fortunatissimam.* And he quotes *Cato* on this Occasion.

the

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXV. P. Sempronius Sophus, Appius Claudius Crassus, Consuls. *Florus, B.* 1. *c.* 19. *Orosius B.* 4. *c.* 4.

the Goddess [87] Tellus, *and endeavour to appease her Anger, by our Vows.* Accordingly, the *Consul* made a Vow to build a Temple to that Goddess: And as the Prejudices of Religion scarce ever failed making strong Impressions on the *Romans*, they recovered their Courage, and fell upon the Enemy. The Army of the *Picentes*, to judge of it by the Multitude of the Inhabitants of the Country, must have been numerous; and their Resistance was such, as made it a bloody Battel to their Enemies. The *Romans* conquered indeed; but their Victory cost them dear. The greatest part of their Troops were killed in the Battel. However *Rome*, by the Death of so many brave Men, acquired a perpetual Dominion over a Nation, which was shut in between the *Senones* and the *Samnites*. *Asculum*, its Capital, surrendered to the Conquerors, and the *Picentes* submitted to the Republick, and continued faithful to her ever after. *Sempronius* had indeed alone deserved the Honours of a Triumph; but he nevertheless shared them with *Appius* his Collegue: the Battel having been gained, under the *Auspices* of both. The *Romans* discovered the more Joy on this Occasion; because this new Conquest alone, was able to supply the Armies of the Republick, with 360000 Soldiers for the future. It was these prodigious Numbers of vanquished People, and the incredible Populousness of the Countries then subject to *Rome*, that put her in a Condition, to extend her Conquests beyond the Seas. It is said, [88] that the Victory of *Appius* and *Sophus*, was also signalized by stamping new Medals of Silver; which shews, if it be true, that the Care of the Mint was in the *Consul*'s Hands. After this, the Republick, the better to secure her new Conquests, and keep the *Senones*, *Picentes*, and *Samnites* in Awe, sent out two *Colonies*, one to [89] *Ariminum*, the other to *Beneventum*. The *Sabines* had hitherto had no Privilege, except that of serving in the *Legions*, and not barely as auxiliary Troops. But now a Right of Suffrage in the City was given them, which made them entirely *Roman*.

Fasti Capitol. *Plin. B.* 3. *c.* 13. *Velleius Paterculus, B.* 1.

§. XXII. There now remained but one Nation, from the *Po*, to the furthest part of *Italy*, to the East, which refused to submit to the Republick; and that was the *Salentini*. They were Neighbours to the *Tarentini*, and had imbibed their Hatred to the *Roman* Name. Their Security, in a great measure, depended upon the many Sea-ports, with which their Coast was guarded. The Country of the *Salentini* was, as the Vulgar say, in the Heel of *Italy*; and their chief Cities were *Hydruntum*, *Aletium* [90],

[87] Under the Name of the Goddess *Tellus*, the Pagans worshiped *The Earth*, the common Mother of all Men. Or rather, they by her, meant Nature, which they supposed to be the Soul of the World, an universal Principle, which gives all Beings their Forms, especially Plants, Metals, and Stones, which grow in the Bowels of the Earth. She was said to be the Wife of *Cœlus*, or *Heaven*, either because by the Universe we understand both the celestial and terrestrial Globe; or because the Stars by their Influences promote the Fruitfulness of the Earth. The *Romans* probably borrowed the Worship of this Goddess from the *Greeks*. At least *Pausanias* says, that before the Building of the famous Temple at *Delphi*, the Goddess *Tellus* uttered Oracles from the Bottom of a subterraneous Cave, which emitted a prophetick Vapour. The several Qualities the Pagans ascribed to the Goddess *Tellus*, were equally applicable to *Cybele*, *Vesta*, *Ops* or *Rhea*, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, &c. So that the Mythologists think all these Goddesses differed only in Name, and were all but one, whom the Pagan Superstition, divided into so many, according to the Prejudices of that time, in order to make so many different Objects of religious Worship. They, who are curious to know more of Mythology, may consult *Vossius*'s second Book, *De origine & progressu idololatriæ*, and *Lilio Gyraldi*'s *History of the Gods*, *Syntagm.* 4. *Histor. Deorum.*

[88] We have taken it for granted, that these two Medals are authentick, upon the Authority of *Pighius*. He says, that on one of them, *Sempronius* was represented under the Figure of Wisdom, in Allusion to his Surname of *Sophus*. The Inscription upon it contained his Name, and was this, P. Sempronius Sophus. On the second, was the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet, with these Words, Ap. Claud. Cras. The Reverses of both were a Chariot drawn by two Horses. It is a Misfortune, that these two Medals are lost, if they ever did exist.

89 *Ariminum*, now *Rimino*, or *Rimini*, was one of the most considerable Cities in *Umbria*, a little Way from the *Rubicon*, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea. It took its Name from the River *Ariminus*, which watered its District. This River the Natives now call *Parecchia*. *Ariminum*, says *Festus*, *a nomine fluminis propinqui est dictum*. Besides the *Ariminus*, *Pliny* mentions another River, *B.* 3. *c.* 15. which he calls *Aprusa*, and which, according to him, ran near the same City. *Blondus* thinks the *Aplusa* was the same River with that he calls *Plusa*; but we know no River near *Rimini*, which is now called by this last Name. Unless *Blondus* meant the *Lusa*. And in that case, his Conjecture will but ill agree with *Pliny*'s Declaration, since this last River runs ten thousand geometrical Paces West of *Rimini*. It is therefore more natural to suppose, that the *Aprusa*, *Pliny* speaks of, is the River now called *Ausa*, which runs near *Rimini*.

90 The City of *Aletium* is now known by the Name of *Lezze*, or *Leocia*, in that Canton of *Calabria*, which now makes a part of the Territory of *Otranto*, beyond the *Apennines*. The Copyists of *Strabo* have disfigured the Name of *Aletium*, or *Aletia*, by writing it Σαλαπία, instead of Ἀλητῖα.

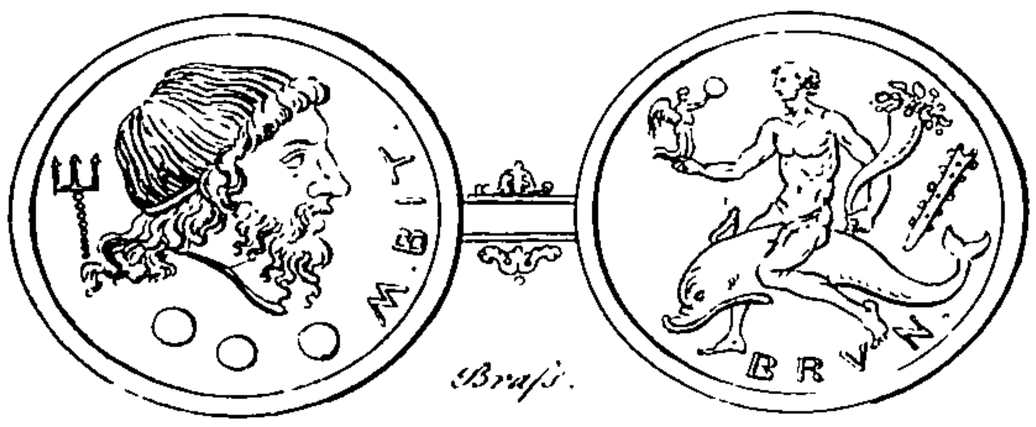
and

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXV. P. Sempronius Sophus, Appius Claudius Crassus, Conſuls.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVI. L. Julius Libo, M. Atilius Regulus, Conſuls.

and *Brunduſium* 91. This laſt Port eſpecially, was what the *Romans* mightily coveted. It was ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that the ſame Wind would often carry you out of Port to *Greece* and *Illyricum*, and bring you into Port from thence. Beſides, *Brunduſium* was deemed a Place of Importance, and the Capital of the Country. For the *Romans*, to make themſelves Maſters of it, was to put themſelves in a Condition to contend with the Nations beyond Sea, and to carry on War in *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *Greece*. As ſoon therefore as the *Centuries* had choſen the new *Conſuls*, the Republick ordered them to make War with the *Salentini*. The Pretence of the *Romans* was, that this Nation had favoured *Pyrrhus*'s Deſcent, and eſpouſed the Cauſe of the *Tarentini*. Pretences invented only by their own Ambition, in order to rob theſe People of their Liberty. The *Conſuls*, whom the Republick charged with this glorious Commiſſion, were 92 *L. Julius Libo*, a *Patrician;* and *M. Atilius Regulus*, a *Plebeian* by Deſcent, but greater by his Virtues, than the moſt illuſtrious *Patricians*. This is the firſt time we ſee that famous *Regulus* advanced to the *Conſulſhip*, whoſe Death was even more glorious than his Life. The two Collegues marched together to finiſh a War, which would ſecure the *Romans* their old Conqueſts, and open them a Way to new ones. But the *Salentini* were brave, and defended their Country with Courage. They ſeemed to have even reduced the *Roman* Armies, to have recourſe to the Gods, to deliver them out of their Danger. At leaſt, it is certain, the *Conſuls* made a Vow to 93 *Pales*, the Goddeſs of Shepherds, to build her a Temple: and the

Florus B. 1. *c.* 2.



Braſs.

91 *Brunduſium*, now *Brindes*, or *Brindiſi*, a maritime City, on the Coaſts of the *Adriatick*, was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Calabria*. The ancient *Greeks* and *Latins* give it the different Names of *Brundiſium*, *Brundetium*, and *Brenda*. It was, according to *Stephens*, called *Brenteſium*, either becauſe it acknowledged *Brentus* the Son of *Hercules* to be its Founder; or becauſe it was of the Shape of a Stag's Head, which in the Language of the old Nations of *Meſſapia* was called Βρέντιον. But others will have it, that it was built by the *Ætolians*, under the Directions of *Diomedes* their Leader. *Strabo* ſays, *B.* 6. that *Brunduſium* was originally a Colony of *Cretans*, who came with *Theſeus* into the ſouthern Parts of *Italy:* And he affirms, that it was at firſt governed by Kings. It maintained a War with the *Lacedæmonians*, whom *Phalanthus* brought into *Great Greece*. He took a part of their Territory from the *Brunduſians*. Yet they ſecured him an honourable Retreat within their Walls, and performed ſtately Obſequies for him after his Death. *Strabo* prefers the Territory of this City, to that of *Tarentum*, as well for the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil, as the Excellency of its Fruits. He boaſts much of the Honey and Wool of *Brindiſi*. It abounds particularly with Olives, which grow there in great Plenty. It had this Advantage over *Tarentum*, that its Port was more convenient, and ſafer from Storms. People generally embarked at *Brunduſium* for *Greece*; tho' this was not the ſhorteſt, it was the ſafeſt Paſſage. *Brunduſium* has the ſame Stamp on one of its Medals, as other maritime Cities have; namely, a *Neptune* with his Trident. The reverſe is the Figure of *Taras*, the Son of *Neptune*, or according to others, of *Phalanthus*, who was ſaved from a Shipwreck by a Dolphin, as we have before obſerved. This Symbol, which we likewiſe find on the ancient Medals of the City of *Tarentum*, either alludes to the different Alliances of the two Nations, and particularly their Union againſt the *Romans*, in favour of *Pyrrhus*; or elſe was intended to perpetuate the Memory of the Origin of a Company of *Tarentini*, who being driven out of their own Country, had followed the Fortunes of *Phalanthus*, and were naturalized in *Brunduſium*. The *Cornucopia* points out the Fruitfulneſs of the Country. The Club, and *The Victory*, allude to *Hercules*, the Hero of theſe Cantons. *Velleius* tells us, that *Brunduſium* had the Title of a *Roman Colony*, from the Year of *Rome* 509.

92 The *Faſti Capitolini* have exactly preſerved the Names of theſe two chief Magiſtrates, under this Year 486, in the Place where they mention the two Triumphs they obtained on the ſame Day. The Copyiſts have therefore altered the Text of *Eutropius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, by putting *L. Junius*, inſtead of *L. Julius*.

93 We have already ſpoken of *Pales*, *B.* 1. *p.* 23. of the firſt Volume. The Pagans invoked her as the tutelary Goddeſs of Shepherds and their Flocks. And agreeably to this Prejudice, *Ovid* offers up this Prayer to her, *Faſti B.* 4.

Pelle procul morbos, valeant homineſque gregeſque,
Et valeant vigiles, provida turba, canes.

The *Romans* annually celebrated a Feſtival to her Honour, on the 21*ſt* of *April*, and called it *Palilia* or *Parilia*, according to ſome Authors quoted by *Dion. Hal.* a *partu quadrupedum*. This Feſtival was attended with odd Ceremonies, the Myſteries of which it is the proper Province of the Mytholo-

giſt

the Reader may have obſerved, that the *Romans* ſcarce ever had recourſe to divine Aſſiſtances, but when their Danger was imminent. But what could ſo weak a Nation do, againſt the Forces of ſo formidable a Republick? *Regulus* and his Collegue conquered, and took *Brunduſium*, but did not diſarm the *Salentini*. They diſputed their Country Inch by Inch with the *Conſuls;* and the Office of the two Conquerors expired, before they could give the finiſhing Stroke to the Liberties of theſe brave Men, who defended them to the laſt Extremity. Nevertheleſs *Libo* and *Regulus* were honoured with a 94 Triumph, eight Days before *The Calends of January;* but they left it to their Succeſſors, to finiſh a Work they had ſo happily begun.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXVI. L. JULIUS LIBO, M. ATILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

giſts to explain. On this Day, the People purified themſelves with a ſort of Perfume, made of Blood taken from an Horſe for that Purpoſe, of the Aſhes of a Calf taken out of a Cow's Belly, and of ſome Bean-ſtalks.

Sanguis equi ſuffimen erit, vitulique favilla,
Tertia res duræ culmen inane fabæ.

This Calf muſt have been one of the thirty which the *Veſtals* took out of an equal Number of Cows with Calf, which the thirty *Curiæ*, ever ſince their Inſtitution by *Numa*, ſacrificed to *The Earth*, or the Goddeſs *Tellus*, during the Solemnity of the *Fordicalia*, or *Fordicidia*. This was the Name which the *Romans* gave this laſt mentioned Solemnity; and which was taken from the ancient Term *Forda*, which was equivalent to *Bos gravida*, or *a Cow with Calf*. FORDICIDIIS BOVES FORDÆ, *id eſt, gravidæ immolabantur, dictæ a fœtu*, ſays *Feſtus*. And this Interpretation agrees with *Varro*'s, *de Ling. Lat. B.* 4. *Fordicidia a Fordis Bubus. Bos* FORDA *quæ fert in ventre. A* FORDIS *cædendis*, *Fordicidia dicta, quod eo die publice immolantur boves prægnantes in Curiis complures.* Theſe Trifles will probably be diſliked by ſome Readers. But in a complete Hiſtory, an Author ought to think himſelf obliged to omit nothing. Beſides, theſe little Cuſtoms were an eſſential part of the *Roman* Religion. And as it is impoſſible to give an exact Account of them, without having recourſe to certain *Latin* Terms, which cannot be rendered into our Language, we are forced to have recourſe to the ancient Authors themſelves, and quote their Words. To return therefore to the *Fordicalia: Varro, B.* 2. *de re ruſtica*, takes the Terms *Horda* and *Hordicidia*, to have the ſame Signification, as *Forda* and *Fordicidia*. His Words are theſe. *Quæ ſterilis eſt Vacca*, Taura *appellata; quæ prægnans*, Horda. *In Faſtis dies* Hordicalia *nominantur, quod tunc* Hordæ *boves immolantur*. In this Senſe *Ovid* ſays, *Faſti, B.* 4.

Forda Ferens bos eſt, fœcundaque dicta ferendo,
Hinc etiam fœtus nomen habere putat.

The Prieſts ſprinkled the People aſſembled with the Blood of the thirty Calves, which anſwered to the Number of the *Curiæ*; and this Form of Expiation *Ovid* deſcribes at length, *Faſti, B.* 4. And beſides theſe Victims, there were ſome others which were kept to be ſacrificed on the *Capitol*, as we learn from *Ovid, Faſti B.* 4.

Pars cadit arce Jovis, ter denas Curia vaccas
Accipit, & largo ſparſa cruore madet.

The *Fordicalia* were celebrated on *The ſeventeenth of the Calends of March*, that is, on the fifteenth Day of *April*, the third Day after the *Ides* of that Month.

Tertia poſt Veneris cum lux ſurrexerit Idus.
Pontifices Fordâ ſacra litate bove.

It was the Buſineſs of the oldeſt of the *Veſtals*, to burn the thirty Calves then ſacrificed: After which, ſhe gathered up the Aſhes, and reſerved them for their proper Uſe, in the Feſtival of *Pales*.

Igne cremat vitulos quæ natu maxima Virgo eſt,
Luce Palis populos purget ut ille cinis.

As ſoon as the Day for the Celebration of the *Palilia* came, the Country People prepared to purify their Sheep-folds and Flocks.

Paſtor oves Saturas ad prima crepuſcula luſtret.

And they made it matter of Religion to uſe Water, Sulphur, and Fumigations of Pine, Laurel, and ſeveral ſorts of Herbs, in this Ceremony. They believed, that theſe Purgations preſerved their Cattle from Diſeaſes, and ſecured them againſt a Mortality. No Victim was ſlain in honour to *Pales*. A bloody Sacrifice would have ill become her, who was the Protectreſs of Cattle. Nothing was offered up to her but Libations of Milk, and Millet boiled in Wine. In the Evening, the People of the Village gathered ſome Hay or Straw together, ſet it on Fire, danced round it, to the Sound of Flutes and Drums, and leaped over it, as it were, by way of Purification. They pretended likewiſe to do this in Memory of the Day which gave Birth to *Rome*; and to revive the Ceremony, whereby the new Colony purified themſelves, by leaping through the Flames. We have already obſerved, *B.* 1. *p.* 23. that the two Feſtivals of the *Palilia*, and the Anniverſary of the Foundation of *Rome*, were blended together into one.

Urbi Feſtus erat dixere Palilia Patres
Hic primus cæpit Mœnibus eſſe dies. Faſt. B. 4.

94 *The Faſti Capitolini*, *Cicero de Finibus*, *B.* 2. the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, and *Eutropius*, have all preſerved the Memory of the Triumph granted to both theſe *Conſuls*. *Marco Attilio Regulo*, ſays the laſt mentioned Author, *Lucio Julio Libone Conſulibus, Salentinis Bellum indictum eſt, captique ſunt cum civitate ſimul Brunduſini, & de his triumphatum eſt*. In an old Copy, quoted by *Pighius*, the Words are, *& de his iterum triumphatum eſt*, to ſhew, that before the two *Conſuls*, another Perſon had triumphed over the *Salentini*. And indeed, the Victory the *Proconſul Lucius Æmilius Barbula* had gained over theſe People, in the Year of *Rome* 473, had procured him the Honours of a Triumph. *Goltzius*, in the *Faſti Conſulares* gives us the Figures of two Medals, as two Monuments of the Triumph, with which both theſe *Conſuls* were honoured. The Face of the firſt Medal, is the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet; and the reverſe of it, is a *Victory* crowning the Conqueror, who is driving a Chariot, drawn by four Horſes. The Inſcription is, M. ATIL. M. F. L. N. REGULUS. On one ſide of the ſecond Medal is a *Diana* with her Quiver; and on the other a *Victory* driving a Chariot drawn by two Horſes, and holding a Branch of Lawrel in her Hand. The Inſcription is, L. JULIUS LIBO. But leſt theſe Medals ſhould be counterfeit, as ſeveral others are, which we find in *Goltzius*'s Collection, we only give this Deſcription of them.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXVII.
NUMERIUS FABIUS, D. JUNIUS PERA, Conſuls.

§. XXIII. A *Patrician*, named [95] *Numerius Fabius*, who derived the Name of *Pictor* from his Branch of his Family, and *D. Junius*, ſurnamed *Pera*, were choſen in the *Campus Martius* to ſucceed them. Though one part of the *Ionian* Family was *Patrician*, yet it is well known from other Circumſtances, and may be inferred from this, that ſome Branches of it were *Plebeian*. So that *Pera* was not choſen out of the Nobility: doubtleſs, the *Romans* would not have ſuffered two *Patricians* to be choſen *Conſuls* together. *Fabius* and *Junius* joined their Forces together, and never fought ſeparately, notwithſtanding that the Republick had two ſorts of Enemies to contend with. The firſt were theſe *Salentini*, who had not been ſubdued in one Campaign; and the others were ſome Remains of the Factious in *Umbria*, who were called *Sarcinates*, or *Saſſinates*. The *Gauls* were too obſtinate to be eaſily reduced, and the *Saſſinates* were a Mixture of *Gauls*, and old *Italians*. The *Conſuls* began their Campaign with the *Saſſinates*, conquered them, and they ſubmitted to the Republick; aud then they marched from thence into the Country of the *Salentini*. Theſe having had time to look about them, had drawn the [96] the *Meſſapians*, or *Japygians*, into their Quarrel; but nevertheleſs, the *Conſuls* completed their Reduction, took the reſt of their Cities, and ranked their Nation among thoſe which were become *Roman*. The Reduction therefore of two Nations in one Campaign, procured each *Conſul* the Honours of two Triumphs; a thing, till then, unheard of in the Republick. Not that the two *Conſuls* twice entered *Rome* in Triumph together, in the ſame Chariot, and Proceſſion; but the four Triumphs were all ſolemnized on different Days. *Junius* entered *Rome* in Triumph, on [97] *The Fifth of the Calends*

Faſti Capitol.

95 It is evident from the *Faſti Capitolini*, that the *Prænomen* of *Fabius* was *Numerius*, and not *Marcus*, as *Caſſiodorus* and *Marianus* call him. Others have confounded the *Prænomen* of *Numerius*, with that of *Cneius*, and have taken the latter for the former.

96 We have often ſpoken of *Meſſapia*, or *Japygia* already, and have ſhewn that it was the native Country, and old Habitation of the Nations, who inhabited this part of South *Italy*, or *Great Greece*.

97 No one is ignorant, that the *Romans* dated their publick Acts and Letters in a very different manner from ours. The *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, were, as it were, three general *Epocha*'s, or fixed Points, from which they reckoned the Days of the Month; as is done to this Day, in the Chancery at *Rome*. And that we may treat the more regularly of this famous Diviſion of Days, it is proper to make the following Remarks.

1. We muſt take it for granted, that in old *Rome*, the civil Year was regulated by the Motions of the Moon, according to *Numa*'s Directions. This Prince followed the Method the *Greeks* then uſed, in dividing time; with this Difference, that inſtead of making the Year to conſiſt of 354 Days, as they did, he made it to conſiſt of 355. Which Addition of a Day was founded in a ſuperſtitious Prejudice, which prevailed among the *Egyptians*. They imagined, that even Numbers were accurſed, and foreboded nothing but Misfortunes. *Numa*, prepoſſeſſed with this ridiculous Opinion, cut off a Day from the ſix Months of *April*, *June*, *Sextilis*, afterwards *Auguſt*, *September*, *November*, and *December*; which reduced them to twenty nine Days each, whereas before they conſiſted of thirty Days each, in *Romulus*'s Calendar. The other Months, which had thirty one Days each before, were not reduced. We have already obſerved, that *Romulus*'s Year conſiſted of only 304 Days; of which 304 *Numa* took away ſix, which reduced them to 298. In order therefore to make his Year of 355 Days, *Numa* added fifty ſeven Days to it, the ſix he had retrenched included: and theſe additional Days were divided into two Parts, one of twenty nine Days for the Month of *January*, and the other of twenty eight Days, for the Month of *February*. And becauſe this laſt Month contained an even Number of Days, it was appointed, for the time for offering Sacrifices to the infernal Gods, to whom even Numbers were thought to belong. Then the Month of *January* was placed in the Winter-ſolſtice, and made the firſt Month of the Year; and *February* the ſecond. So that *March*, which before was firſt, was now third. But it is both needleſs and improper to repeat what we have already ſaid of the Defects of *Numa*'s Calendar, and of the great Care he took, to adjuſt his *Lunar* Year to the *Solar*. The Reader may turn back to our firſt Volume.

2. After this firſt Reformation, the *Romans* reckoned the Twelve-months of their civil Year, by as many Moons. And indeed, twelve *Lunar* Months amount to very near 355 Days, which was *Numa*'s Year; or rather, they make exactly 354 Days, eight Hours, and about forty eight Minutes. The firſt Day of the new Moon, or the *Neomenia*, was the firſt Day of the Month among the *Romans*, as well as among the *Hebrews*. In ancient Times, before *Flavius* had divulged the *Faſti*, with which he was entruſted, and revealed to the People the pretended Myſteries of the *Calendar*, which was lodged in his Hands, one of the inferior *Pontifices*, went up upon the *Tarpeian* Rock, towards the end of the Month, turned towards the Eaſt, and there waited, or pretended to wait, till the Moment the Moon entered her firſt Quarter. As ſoon as he had made his Obſervation, he went to the Houſe of *The King of the Sacrifices*, and gave him Notice of the New-moon. Then they both, after the uſual religious Ceremonies, which were concluded with the Sacrifice of a Victim, aſſembled the People in the *Capitol*, near the Place which the *Roman* Hiſtorians call *Curia Calabra*. Hence came the Name of *The Calends*, which they gave to the firſt Day of the Month. This Term alludes to the Word *Calare*, which ſignifies *to call together*; becauſe, on every New-moon, the Citizens were aſſembled together by the *Pontifex*, for him to inform them, what religious or civil Duties were to be done in the enſuing Month, and when; as what Days were Feſtivals; what *Feriæ*; when Sacrifices were to be offered; what Days were *permitted*; what *not permitted*; when the Fairs, and when the *Comitia*, were held. *Plutarch* in his *Roman Queſtions* derives the Word *Calends* from the Verb *Celare*, becauſe the Moon being then in Conjunction with the Sun

Calends of October; and *Fabius* on *The third of the Nones* of that Month; for having conquered the *Saſſinates*. And *Fabius* enjoyed the ſame Honour again, on *The Calends of February* following; as *Junius* did, on *The Nones of February*; for having ſubdued

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVII. NUMERIUS FABIUS, D. JUNIUS PERA, Conſuls.

Sun, and receiving no Light from that Planet, ſhe ſeemed to *hide* her ſelf. But *Varro* will have it, that the firſt Day of the Month was called *The Calends* from another Cuſtom, of which he gives us this Account. *Primi Dies Menſium dicti Calendæ, ab eo quod, his diebus, Calentur hujus menſis Nonæ a Pontificibus.* One of the *Pontifices* always told the People, how many Days there were between the firſt Day of the Month and the *Nones*. The Cuſtom was for him to pronounce the Word Καλῶ with a loud Voice, five times together, if the *Nones* were the fifth Day of the Month, or ſeven if the ſeventh. And this is agreeable to what *Macrobius* ſays of it: whoſe Account of the Origin of the *Calends* is ſo particular and expreſs, that I think it not improper to give it the Reader in his own Words. *Priſcis temporibus, antequam Faſti a Cneio Flavio Scribâ, invitis Patribus, in omnium notitiam proderentur, Pontifici minori hæc provincia delegabatur, ut novæ Lunæ, primum obſervaret aſpectum, viſamque Regi Sacrificulo nuntiaret. Itaque Sacrificio a Rege, & minore Pontifice celebrato, idem Pontifex Kalatâ, id eſt vocata in Capitolium plebe, juxta Curiam Calabram, quæ Caſæ Romuli proxima eſt, quot numero dies a Kalendis ad Nonas ſupereſſent, pronunciabat: Et quintanas quidem, dicto quinquies verbo* Καλῶ, *ſeptimanas, repetito ſepties verbo, prædicabat; & hunc diem, qui ex his diebus, qui Kalarentur, primus eſſet, placuit Kalendas vocari.* The Form of Words, in which the *Pontifex* publiſhed the *Nones*, is recorded by *Varro*, B. 5. *de Lingua Lat.* It was this; DIES TE QUINQUE KALO, JUNO NOVELLA! when the *Nones* fell on the fifth Day of the Month. And when they fell on the 7th Day of the Month it was this. DIES TE SEPTEM KALO, JUNO NOVELLA! But *Scaliger* in his Book *de Correct. Tempor.* 11. *p.* 174. is of Opinion, that it ought to be read, JUNO JANA, which was the Name the Ancients ſometimes gave the Moon, or *Juno*, which were often taken for one another, eſpecially on this Occaſion. *Varro* calls her by this Name, B. 1. *de re Ruſtica*..... *Nunquam rure audiſti octavo Janam creſcentem, & contra ſeneſcentem?* The Surname of *Novella* was alſo given to *Juno*, whom the *Romans* then confounded with the New-moon. This Cuſtom of publiſhing the *Nones*, was practiſed, in favour of the Country People, who came to *Rome* that Day, to learn of *The King of the Sacrifices*, what Feſtivals there would be in the Month which were to be obſerved; what were the Days which the *Romans* called *Faſti*, *Nefaſti*, *Interciſi*, and *Comitiales* (of which we have already treated in ſeveral Places;) and laſtly, what Days were appointed for the publick *Sports*, and for the Shews. The *Pontifex* invoked *Juno*, addreſſed his Prayers, and offered Sacrifices, to her, in the beginning of the Month, becauſe ſhe was thought to preſide over the *Calends*. *Omnes Calendas*, ſays *Macrobius*, *Saturnal*, B. 1. *Junoni attributas, & Varronis & Pontificalis affirmat auctoritas.* So that this Goddeſs was worſhiped under the Title of *Juno Calendaris* among the *Romans*, as well as among the *Laurentes*, who, in this, adhered to their ancient Traditions. *Quod etiam Laurentes patriis religionibus ſervant*, continues *Macrobius*, *qui & cognomen Deæ, ex cæremoniis addiderunt, Kalendarem Junonem vocantes.* In the ſame Senſe, *Ovid* ſays, that *Juno* claimed the *Calends* as her particular Care,

Vindicat Auſonias Junonis Cura Kalendas. Faſt 1.

For this Reaſon, one of the *Pontifices* conſtantly offered a Sacrifice to *Juno*, at the beginning of every Month, in the Place called *Curia Calabra*; and the Wife of *The King of the Sacrifices*, who was called Queen at *Rome*, ſacrificed a young Sow, or ewe-Lamb, to that Goddeſs.

3. The *Nones* did not immediately follow the *Calends*; but at the Diſtance of four, or ſix Days. So that in the Months of *May*, *October*, *July*, and *March*, which were the only full Months in *Numa*'s Calendar, the *Nones* were the ſeventh Day of the Month; and in the other Months, they were the fifth. That is, in thoſe four Months, which conſiſted of thirty one Days each, you muſt reckon ſix Days from the *Calends* excluſively, in order to find the *Nones*; and in the other eight Months, which all, except *February*, had twenty nine Days, the *Nones* were the fourth Day from the *Calends*, or the fifth Day of the Month. This Difference is ſet down by *Auſonius* in theſe four Lines of his *Eclogue* 2. 1.

At Nonas modo quarta aperit, modo ſexta reſert lux.
Sexta reſert Maii, Octobris, Martiſque recurſus,
Et qui Solſtitio ſua tempora Julius infert;
Cætera pars Menſum quartis eſt prædita Nonis.

And *Julius Cæſar* had Regard to this ancient Diſpoſition, when he reformed the Calendar, and left the *Nones* placed in the ſame manner as before he reformed it. Some have thought that the *Nones* were ſo called, becauſe they were always the *ninth* Day before the *Ides*; or becauſe the New-moon then began to appear. *Nonæ appellatæ*, ſays *Varro*, B. 5. *de Ling. Lat. aut quod ante diem Nonum Eidus ſemper, aut quod ut novus annus Kalendæ Januariæ ab Nono ſole appellatæ, Novus Menſis, Nova Luna Noneis.* And the ſame Author confirms, by the Teſtimony of the ancient Annals, what we have before obſerved, That in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, the Country People were obliged to come to *Rome*, on the *Nones*, to learn of the *Pontifex*, what Days in the current Month, were ſet apart for the Worſhip of the Gods. *Ovid* obſerves, *Faſt.* 1. That the *Nones* were under the immediate Protection of no God, or Goddeſs. *Nonarum tutela Deo caret.* Nevertheleſs, they were held in great Veneration among the *Romans*, from a Perſuaſion, that *Servius Tullius*, whoſe Memory they reverenced, was born on the *Nones*, though they knew not in what Month.

4. The Name of *Ides*, which the *Romans* gave the third Diviſion of every Month, is a Subſtantive, ſay the Etymologiſts, derived from the old *Hetrurian* Verb *Iduare*, which ſignifies *to divide*. And this Etymology agrees pretty well with the *Ides*, which divide the Months almoſt into two equal Parts. In thoſe of *March*, *May*, *July*, and *October*, they were the 15th Day: in the other eight Months, the 13th. The ſame Order was therefore followed in them, as in the *Nones*, ſo as always to leave eight Days between them, *viz.* from the 7th to the 15th, and from the 5th to the 13th. Some have thought, that the *Latin* Term *Idus*, was derived from the *Greek* Word Εἶδος, which ſignifies *Beauty*, *Perfection*; and that it was to be underſtood in this Senſe. On the Day of the *Ides*, which was the 13th or 15th of the *Lunar* Month, the Moon either was at full, or entered upon the full Quarter, and conſequently ſhewed her ſelf in all her *Beauty*. But be that as it will, the *Ides* were conſecrated to *Jupiter*. On that Day, his Prieſts offered up to him a white Sheep, according to *Ovid*, *Faſti* 1.

Idibus alba Jovi grandior agna cadit.

And the Ancients therefore called this Victim *Ovis Idulis*. The High-prieſt of *Jupiter*, or the *Flamen Dialis*, uſually reſerved the Skin of this Victim for himſelf, to make him a ſtately Bonnet, which no Body

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVII. Numerius Febius, D. Junius Pera, Conſuls.

ſubdued the *Salentini*, and *Meſſapians*. So that *Rome*, after theſe two 98 Victories, was delivered from all her Enemies, and become Miſtreſs of all the different Nations, which inhabited *Italy*, from the furtheſt part of *Hetruria* to the *Ionian* Sea, one Way; and from the *Tuſcan* Sea, croſs the *Apennines*, to the *Adriatick*, the other Way. *Rome* was ſituated almoſt in the middle of all her Conqueſts, which ſhe had extended from *The Lower* to 99 *The Upper Sea*: And had ſhe made no farther Progreſs, ſhe was now become conſiderable enough, to make Poſterity deſirous of knowing her Story. But all theſe Nations did not enjoy the ſame Privileges under the Dominion of the Republick, though they were all united in Subjection to her, and all obeyed the *Roman* Senate and People. Some Nations were entirely ſubject to *Rome*, and had no Laws but what they received from thence. Others retained their old Cuſtoms, and ancient Forms of Government, but in Subjection to the Republick, with Reſpect to War or Peace. Some were tributary, others barely Allies; who were obliged to furniſh the *Roman* Army with Troops, and ſerve at their own Expence. Some had the Privileges of *Citizenſhip* at *Rome*, and their Soldiers were incorporated in the

Body had a Right to wear but himſelf. This was the *Albo-Galerus* ſpoken of before, *B.* 2. *p.* 59. of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 15. This Sacrifice was agreeable to the Ideas the Pagans had formed of *Jupiter*; it is well known, that they thought him the Father and Author of Light. This Opinion gave Riſe to the Epithets of *Lucetius* and *Dieſpiter*, which are often given him. Now becauſe the *Ides* were a Day, on which not only the Sun ſhone all Day, but the Moon all Night, ſo as to diſpel the uſual Darkneſs of it; therefore the *Ides* were thought to belong of Right to *Jupiter*.

5. Several have taken Pains to diſcover the Reaſons, upon which this Diviſion of the Month, into the three different Epocha's, of *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, was founded; and have imagined, that it was built upon the three ſenſible Alterations that are moſt viſible in the Moon. 1. When that part of her Diſc which is oppoſite to us, receives no Light at all from the Sun. 2. When ſhe begins to appear as a Creſcent. And 3. When ſhe is at full. On theſe different Aſpects [at leaſt as they fancy] *Romulus* formed his Calendar, and divided his *Lunar* Month into three Parts, anſwering to theſe three *Phaſes*. As to the Difference between the *Nones*, ſome of which he placed on the ſeventh, others on the fifth Day, he might perhaps obſerve, that the Moon continued longer hid, by the Rays of the Sun, in the Months of *March*, *May*, *July*, and *October*, than in the Months of *April*, *June*, *Auguſt*, *September*, *November*, and *December*. *Romulus*, who was no great Aſtronomer, probably took theſe Variations in the Face of the Moon, for regular Motions, and propoſed them to his People as a fixed Rule for all Times. And what we ſay of the Difference between the *Nones*, may be equally applied to that between the *Ides*, or the full Moon. This is the moſt probable Account of that Matter. Nor do we think it neceſſary to guard the Reader in a particular manner againſt the ridiculous Dream of *Iſaac Tzetſes*, which he affirms to be Matter of Fact. Among the many childiſh Fables, he has inſerted in the Body of his Hiſtory, that which he vents, concerning the Origin of the *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, is one of the moſt remarkable. The City of *Rome*, ſays he, was laid waſte by a Famine, in the Empire of *Antoninus*; but was very happily relieved by three Men, whom he calls *Kalendus*, *Idus*, and *Nonus*. During this general Want, the firſt undertook to ſupply the City with Proviſions for eighteen Days, the ſecond for eight, and the third for four. And to perpetuate the Memory of this Benefaction, it was decreed, that their Names ſhould be tranſmitted to Poſterity, by calling the Days of the Month after them. Hence, ſays he, come the Terms *Calends*, *Ides*, and *Nones*. And it is ſurpriſing, that the Patriarch *Balzamon*, who is otherwiſe a judicious Writer, ſhould be ſo little acquainted with the *Roman* Antiquities, as to adopt this Dream in his Works.

6. For the ſake of thoſe who don't underſtand the Nature of the Dates uſed by the *Romans*, it is proper to obſerve, that the four or ſix Days, which came between the *Calends*, or the firſt Day, and the *Nones*, took their Names from the latter. So that inſtead of ſaying, The ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth Day of *January*, the *Romans* called thoſe Days, *The fourth of the Nones*, *The third of the Nones*, *The Eve of the Nones*, and laſtly, *The Nones of January*. And in like manner, the ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of *January*, were in the Language of old *Rome*, *The eighth*, *ſeventh*, *ſixth*, *fifth*, *fourth*, and *third of the Ides of January*, *The Day before the Ides*, and *the Ides of January*. The Days of every Month which followed the *Ides*, took their Names from the *Calends* of the next Month. Thus the fourteeenth, fifteenth, *&c.* of *January*, were *The nineteenth*, *twentieth*, &c. *of the Calends of February*; and ſo on, reckoning backwards, till you come to the laſt Day of the current Month, which was called, *The Eve of the Calends of the following Month*. In the Month, which had thirty one Days, and whoſe *Nones* were on the ſeventh, and *Ides* on the fifteenth Day, The ſecond Day of the Month was *The ſixth of the Nones*, the eighth was *The eighth of the Ides*, the ninth, *The ſeventh of the Ides*, and ſo on to the fifteenth, which was *The Ides*. After this, the ſixteenth Day of the Month changed its Name, and was called by the Name of the Month following; as for inſtance, the ſixteenth of *March*, was *The ſeventeenth of the Calends of April*; the ſeventeenth of *March*, was *The ſixteenth of the Calends of April*, and ſo on to the thirty firſt, which was *The Eve of the Calends of* April.

98 This double Triumph of the two *Conſuls* is expreſly mentioned in the *Faſti Capitolini*. And we may believe *Goltzius*, the Memory of this Triumph was perpetuated by two Medals, which bear the Names of *N. Fabius*, and *D. Junius*. But we have not given them here, becauſe that would have been to have declared them authentick, and to have determined, that they only belonged to theſe two triumphant Victors, excluſive of all others of the *Junian*, and *Fabian* Families, which had the ſame *Prænomina*, as theſe two *Conſuls*.

99 We have ſpoken of *The Lower*, or *South*, and of the *Upper*, or *North*, *Italian* Sea, in ſeveral Places already. By the firſt was meant the *Tyrrhenian* Sea; by the ſecond the *Adriatick*. And we have already ſaid more than enough, to ſhew the Limits of theſe two Seas. The former is now known by the Name of *The Tuſcan Sea*, the latter by that of *The Gulph of Venice*.

Legions. Others had likewiſe a Right of Suffrage in the *Campus Martius*, and in the Elections made by the *Centuries.* Theſe different Degrees of Honour, Privileges, and Liberty, were founded in the different Terms, granted by the Conquerors to the Vanquiſhed by Treaty, upon their Surrendry: And theſe Honours and Privileges of the conquered Cities and Nations, were afterwards increaſed, according to their Fidelity, and the Services they did the Republick. Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVII. NUMERIUS FABIUS, D. JUNIUS PERA, Conſuls.

§. XXIV. THIS unexpected Increaſe of the Power of the *Romans*, ſince the Defeat of *Pyrrhus*, had made *Rome* reſpected and honoured in the Countries beyond Sea. Free Cities, and whole Nations, came from the other ſide the Seas, without Delay, to procure Alliances, with ſo powerful a Senate and People. 100 *Apollonia* was the firſt City in *Macedon*, which ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to deſire her Protection. The taking of *Brunduſium*, which was ſeparated from *Apollonia* only by a ſhort Cut of the Sea, was, probably, what gave the *Apolloniates* the Alarm. However, it is certain, the Senate received the Ambaſſadors with Honour, without enquiring into the Motives of their Embaſſy. But ſome of the young Senators, elated with the Proſperity of *Rome*, deſpiſed the Ambaſſadors of a City, which was neither very rich, nor very conſiderable, and whoſe Fear alone made them have Recourſe to the Republick. In ſome popular Commotion, in which the *Apolloniates* were got among the Croud in *Rome*, two young *Patricians* not only reviled them, but added Blows to their Reproaches. Theſe *Patricians*, it is ſaid, were then *Ædiles*, and their Office required them to behave themſelves with more Gravity, and leſs Paſſion. But be that as it will, they were both proſecuted, though they were Men of great Diſtinction in the Republick, on other Accounts, beſides their Offices. One was of the *Fabian* Family, his Name was *Q. Fabius*; the other was *Cn. Apronius*, of a *Plebeian* Family indeed, but one that was diſtinguiſhed by the Offices it had enjoyed. The Sentence paſſed upon them was, That they ſhould be put into the Hands of the *Apolloniates*, carried into *Macedon*, and there puniſhed at the Pleaſure of the People, whom they had offended, in the Perſons of their Ambaſſadors. But before the Offenders ſet out, *Rome* is ſaid to have obliged them to abdicate the *Ædileſhip*; and when they were delivered up into the Hands of the Ambaſſadors, who were to carry them into their own Country, the Republick took a very wiſe Precaution. Leſt the Ambaſſadors ſhould be inſulted on the Road, by the Friends or Relations of *Fabius* and *Apronius*, *Rome* gave them a Guard, commanded by a *Quæſtor*. In this manner they were conducted to *Brunduſium*, where they embarked for *Apollonia*.

Florus in Epit. Livii 15.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 6. §. 5.

NOTHING gained the *Romans* more Honour among Foreigners, than ſo very equitable, and moderate a Conduct, at a time when they were in the height of their Proſperity. And I am willing to believe, that Virtue had a greater Share in it, than Policy; though after all, it muſt be granted, that *Rome* paved the Way for the Conqueſt of the World, by theſe exemplary Acts of Juſtice. The Senate had ſhewn the *Apolloniates* all the Regard ſhe could expect from it; and *Apollonia* in her Turn, wiſely ſhewed her Deference for the *Romans*. *Fabius* and *Apronius* were firſt graciouſly and hoſpitably received, and then ſent back to *Rome*: And this memorable Event gave Riſe to a Law, which laſted as long as the Republick itſelf. It enacted, that any Citizen, who inſulted an Ambaſſador, ſhould be delivered up into the Hands of the injured Nation.

Dig. Parag. de Legatis.

§. XXV. THE Conſequence of the Peace at *Rome* was Inaction. The *Romans* had neither Matter for new Conqueſts, nor Pretences to attempt them. The *Po* was a Barrier, which defended the *Ligures* and *Inſubres*, from their Attacks. Beſides, it was no eaſy Matter to enter a Country, which was full of *Gauls* quite to the *Alpes*. The Iſlands near *Italy* were indeed afraid of the *Roman* Power; but the Republick was not provided either with Ships, or Sea Forces enough, to carry on a War beyond the Continent. However, *Rome* choſe for one of her *Conſuls*, a Man famous for ſeveral Victories; which was the celebrated *Fabius Gurges*, who had wiped out the Remembrance of his youthful Errors, by his Valour and good Conduct. He was then *Prince of the Senate*, and this was the third time he was promoted to the Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVIII. Q. FABIUS GURGES, L. MAMILIUS VITULUS, Conſuls.

100 There were ſeveral Cities called *Apollonia*; that here ſpoken of ſtood on the weſtern Coaſt of *Macedon*, ſixty *Stadia* from the Sea, according to *Strabo*; but only fifty, according to *Scylax*. The former tells us, it was built by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Corinth*, and *Corcyra*. The neighbouring Country about this City was watered by the River *Aöus*, as *Strabo* calls it; which is the ſame that *Mela* calls *Æas*, and that now bears the Name of *Polina*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXVIII

Q. Fabius Gurges, L. Mamilius Vitulus, Conſuls.

Dignity of *Conſul*. His Collegue [101] was *L. Mamilius*, ſurnamed [102] *Vitulus*. Their Adminiſtration may very well be ſuppoſed to have been confined to Works of Peace: And indeed, after all theſe vaſt Conqueſts, the Affair that moſt nearly concerned the Republick, in point of Intereſt, was to regulate the new Revenues, which ſhe would receive from the ſubdued Provinces. Theſe Revenues aroſe, from the Tributes each Nation was to pay; from the Rents of certain arable and paſture Lands, which the Republick reſerved to her ſelf, as her Demeſns, whenever ſhe diſtributed any conquered Lands among the Citizens; from the Tenth of the Produce of all Lands, which were dependent upon her; and laſtly, from the Imports ſhe laid upon all the Merchandize imported to any part of her Dominions. The four *Quæſtors*, already appointed to receive and pay the publick Monies, were ſcarce ſufficient for that Purpoſe, even before theſe Conqueſts. The two firſt had been created, almoſt in the very Birth of the Republick, by the *Conſul* [103] *Valerius Poplicola*, who eaſed himſelf of the Care of the *Finances*: and afterwards, in the Year of *Rome* 333, *Sempronius Atratinus*, who was then *Military Tribune*, and exerciſed *Conſular* Authority, added two more *Quæſtors* to the former, but aſſigned them quite different Provinces. The latter [104] attended the *Conſular* Armies; had the Care of the military Cheſt, paid the Troops, and ſold the Spoils and Priſoners taken from the Enemy. The former always reſided in *Rome*; had the Management of the publick Treaſure, which was kept in the Temple of *Saturn*, ſupplied the *Military Quæſtors* with Money; received foreign Ambaſſadors; and entertained them, at the publick Expence. Both the *Military Quæſtors*, and thoſe *of Rome* were accountable, and therefore had no Marks of Diſtinction annexed to their great Offices. They had neither *Curule Chairs*, nor *Lictors*, nor *Apparitores*; nor had they a Power of refuſing to appear before the *Prætor*, when ſummoned, by any of the meaneſt of the *Citizens*. All the Privileges they had, were only a Power of aſſembling the *Comitia*; mounting *The Tribune*; ſpeaking to the People from thence; and when in Armies, of haranguing the Soldiers. And to the time of *Fabius Gurges*'s laſt *Conſulſhip*, *Rome* had no more than four *Quæſtors*, two for the City, and to take Care of the publick Treaſure, and two for the Armies. But now, the great Increaſe of the Republick, cauſed the Number of the *Quæſtors*

Cornel. Tacit. Ann. B. 11.



Silver.

101 *Caſſiodorus* has omitted theſe two *Conſuls*, *Quintus Fabius Gurges*, and *Lucius Mamilius Vitulus*; and yet it is evident from the *Faſti Capitolini*, that we ought to place a *Conſular* Year, between that which precedes, and that which follows this. *Zonaras*, or his Copyiſts, have miſtaken the Name of *Fabius*'s Collegue, and call him *Æmilius*, and not *Mamilius*. But beſides that the Surname of *Vitulus* can only belong in this Place to the *Conſul Mamilius*; it is not probable, that the People ſhould have choſen to promote two *Patricians* to the *Conſulſhip* together, contrary to the received Cuſtom. It is well known, and we have already obſerved it, that the *Fabian* and *Æmilian* Families, were Families of Diſtinction among the *Patricians*. It is therefore more likely, that *Fabius*'s Collegue's Name was *Mamilius*; the *Mamilian* Family being *Plebeian*.

102 The *Mamilii*, tho' reduced to the State of *Plebeians* boaſted of being deſcended from *Telegonus*, by one of his Daughters named *Mamilia*, whoſe Name they preſerved in their Family. It was a received Tradition at *Rome*, that *Telegonus*, the Founder of *Tuſculum*, was the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*. So that the *Mamilii* carried up the Origin of their Family to this *Grecian* Hero. And in order to eterniſe, in ſome meaſure, the Memory of this pretended Deſcent, one *Mamilius Limetanus*, ordered a Medal to be ſtruck with his own Name, and with an *Ulyſſes* on the reverſe of it. He is repreſented, as *Homer* deſcribes him, upon his returning into his Iſland, as entering into his Palace in the Habit of a Traveller; and he is known, after twenty Years Abſence, by his Dog, who runs to meet him. The Bonnet he has on, which is like a *Pileus*, is plainly taken from *Nicomachus*, who firſt made Statues of *Ulyſſes*, in this Dreſs, as we are told by *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *c.* 10.

103 See *B.* 5. *p.* 206. of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 39, 40. *B.* 7. *p.* 293. of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 59. *B.* 8. *p.* 333. of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 6. *B.* 11. *p.* 505. of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 11. *p.* 543 of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 79; and *p.* 544. of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 81.

104 For this Reaſon, the Ancients often give the *Military Quæſtors* the Name of *Conſular Quæſtors*.

to be increaſed. Four new ones were created, who were called *Provincial Quæſtors*. They had each his different *Province*; and in order to ſettle the Reſidence of the *Provincial Quæſtor*, *Rome* divided all thoſe Parts of *Italy*, which was then ſubject to her, into four large *Provinces*, or *Diſtricts*. The *Intendants* of *France*, are indeed, in Office, very like the *Quæſtors* of old *Rome*; except in this, that the latter were general-Receivers, in their Provinces. The Seat, or chief Office of the firſt *Province*, was at [105] *Oſtia*, a maritime City near *Rome*. This *Quæſtorſhip* reached, in all Probability, from the Head of the *Tyber*, and the River *Arnus*, to the Mouth of the *Liris*; and comprehended *Hetruria*, *Latium*, the Country of the *Sabines*, *Umbria*, and in ſhort, all the Coaſts of the *Tuſcan* Sea, and all the Lands between that Sea, and the *Apennines*. The Seat of the ſecond *Province* was at *Cale*, in the delightful Country of the *Campani*; and it reached from the *Liris* to *The Gulph of Tarentum*. This *Province* contained *Campania*, *Samnium*, *Lucania*, the Country of the *Bruttii*, and *Oenotria*; and within it were the rich Cities on the Coaſt of the *Hetrurian* Sea: ſo that the *Romans* received very large Revenues from thence, in the Produce of the Lands, and in the Tolls, which were appropriated to the publick Treaſury. The third *Province* reached from the *Apennines*, to the Shore of the *Adriatick* Sea, and was called *The Gallic Quæſtorſhip*. It contained the Countries formerly conquered by the *Gauls*, eſpecially the *Senones*, from the River *Rubicon*, to the *Æſis*. The Republick had got Poſſeſſion of moſt of their Lands, and it was neceſſary, that ſome Perſon ſhould be appointed to have the Government of this *Province*. But notwithſtanding its Name, it contained alſo *Picenum*, the Country of the *Frentani*, and all the other Countries, as far as *Apulia*. And laſtly, the fourth *Quæſtorſhip*, of which we have not ſo diſtinct an Account as of the other three, could only comprehend *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and the Territories of the *Salentini*, *Meſſapians*, and *Tarentini*. A fine *Province*, if we conſider the great Number of its Sea-ports, in which Merchandizes were imported into *Italy*, from *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. For theſe four *Provinces*, *Rome* created four new *Quæſtors*: and it was then ſettled, That all the eight *Quæſtors* ſhould, for the future, be choſen in [106] *Comitia by Tribes*. After their Elections, which were renewed every Year, were over, the eight *Quæſtors* drew Lots [107], in the Preſence of the People, to know, which ſhould have the *Roman*, which the *Military*, and which the *Provincial* [108] *Quæſtorſhips*. The four *Provincial* ones, were ſought for by the moſt ambitious, before *Rome* had extended her Conqueſts beyond *Italy*; but when ſhe had brought the Eaſt and Weſt into Subjection to her, and great Kingdoms were become ſo many *Provinces* under her Dominion, the four *Italian* ones were thought little worth the Care of the *Provincial Quæſtors*, who were multiplied in Proportion as the Republick enlarged her Conqueſts. The *Proconſuls*, and *Proprætors*, that is, the Governors of theſe vaſt Regions, had each his *Quæſtor*, or Superintendant of the *Finances*, for his Government: and then the

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVIII
Q. FABIUS GURGES, L. MAMILIUS VITULUS, Conſuls.
Cicero. in Orat. pro Seſtio.
Cor. Tacit. Annal. B. 4.
Cicero, in Orat. contra Rullum.
Dio. Tacit. and *Suetonius.*

105 *Tully*, in his *Oration againſt Vatinius*, ſpeaks of the *Quæſtorſhip* of *Oſtia*, as of one of the four *Provinces*, to which the Republick ſent *Quæſtors* to take care of the Finances.

106 Nevertheleſs in extraordinary Caſes, and great Criſes, the Senate named the *Quæſtor*, who was to attend the *Conſul*, or *Prætor*. Thus *Lælius* was ſent into *Africa* in quality of *Quæſtor*, by *Scipio*'s Command.

107 That the *Quæſtors* had only thoſe Provinces, which fell to them by Lot, appears from *Tully*'s third Epiſtle to his Brother *Quintus*, *B.* 2. *You have a Quæſtorſhip*, ſays he to him, *which was not your own Choice, but fell to you by Lot. Quæſtorem habes, non tuo judicio delectum, ſed eum quem ſors dedit.*

108 The *Quæſtors*, generally ſpeaking, had their Secretaries and Clerks, whom they paid; and whoſe Buſineſs it was, to keep the Books of Accompts; and to ſet down in writing, what they received, and what they paid, for the uſe of the Publick, during their Adminiſtration. But in order to increaſe the State of the *Roman* People, the *Provincial Quæſtors* never appeared in their *Provinces*, but with thoſe Marks of Diſtinction, which were uſed by great Magiſtrates. They had a Right to wear the *Prætexta*, or Robe bordered with Purple. They were guarded by *Lictors*, armed with *Faſces*; a Privilege never granted to the *Quæſtors of Rome*, who were called *Quæſtores Urbani*, or *Quæſtores Ærarii*. For this we have *Tully*'s Authority, in his third *Oration againſt Verres*. *The two* Sicilian Quæſtors, ſays he, *came before me with their Faſces.* In his *Oration for Plancius*, he acknowledges it as a Favour in him, that, though he was then *Quæſtor*, he came to receive him at *Dyrrachium*. *In order to do me Honour*, ſays *Cicero*, *he ſent away his* Lictors, *and ſtripped himſelf of the Marks of his Dignity.* It is probable from ſeveral Paſſages of the Hiſtorians, eſpecially of *Tully* in his Book *de Divinatione*, and of *Suetonius* in his *Life of Julius Cæſar*, that the *Provincial Quæſtors* had ſome Juriſdiction of their own, or at leaſt, that they adminiſtered Juſtice in the Name of the *Prætor*, or *Proconſul*, who was inveſted with the ſupreme Authority. They were particularly concerned in all Caſes relating to Proviſions, and no Contract for Corn could be made without them. Though the *Quæſtorſhip* was confined to one Year; yet the *Roman People* ſometimes prolonged it, beyond the time appointed by Law; of which we ſhall meet with ſeveral Inſtances, in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

Prætorſhips

Year of RIO ME CCCCLXXXVIII

Q. Fabius Gurges, L. Mamilius Vitulus, Conſuls.

Cicero in Vatin.

Prætorſhips and *Quæſtorſhips* of theſe large and diſtant *Provinces*, were moſt greedily ſought for by thoſe *Romans*, who were qualified to ſtand Candidates for them. They were there far out of the Senate's ſight, and in rich Governments, where they could raiſe more Money, and were more honoured and reſpected. For this Reaſon, when the *Quæſtors* drew Lots in the Preſence of the *Roman Tribes*, for the *Quæſtorſhips*, the Man, to whom any of the *Italian* ones fell, became the Jeſt of the People. *He goes to the* 109 *Waters*, ſaid the People; meaning that the *Quæſtor*, who had ſucceeded ill in drawing Lots, was going to enjoy his Repoſe near *Rome*; much as thoſe *Romans* did, who went to *Baiæ* or *Puteoli*, for the Waters. But leſt we ſhould confound Times, let us return to our Hiſtory.

§. XXVI. We have often obſerved, that it was a common thing for the *Romans*, to be afflicted with domeſtick Misfortunes, whenever they were not engaged in War; and this was the Caſe at preſent. During this Interval of Tranquillity, *Rome* was viſited with a Plague; and, according to one Hiſtorian, who indeed often exaggerates, no Contagion ever made a greater Havock, both in the City and Country. Whether it begun in the preceding Year, or in the laſt *Conſulſhip* of *Fabius Gurges*, is uncertain; but we are aſſured, it laſted above two Years. In theſe general Deſolations, the Books of the *Sybils* were the uſual Refuge; and as they were made to ſay, whatever thoſe who conſulted them pleaſed; it was now believed, that they diſcovered the preſent epidemical Diſtemper to proceed from the Anger of the Gods. The next Queſtion therefore was, what Crimes had drawn down their Wrath upon *Rome*; and though ancient prophane Authors have boaſted ſo much of the Continence of the *Veſtals*, the *Romans* ſcarce ever failed of finding at leaſt one Criminal among them, upon whoſe Head they might make the publick Curſe fall. This was grown a common thing; and in the preſent Caſe, *Capparonia* was the unhappy Victim, who was to fall a Sacrifice to the Prepoſſeſſions of the People. Her ſacrilegious Intrigues were proved upon her; the young *Romans*, who were her Accomplices in her Guilt, were diſcovered; and the *Pontifices* inflicted due Puniſhment upon them. The *Veſtal* was condemned to be buried alive, without the Gate *Collina*, and her Lovers, as well as the Slaves, who had been Aſſiſtant in debauching a conſecrated Virgin, were whiped to death, or perhaps beheaded, by the *Lictors*. But *Capparonia* preferred immediate Death to the Horrors of a ſubterraneous Dungeon, in which ſhe was to end her Days, with Famine and Deſpair: She ſtrangled her ſelf with a Lace. However, *Rome* performed the ſame mournful Ceremonies over her Corpſe, as uſed to be performed at the Funerals of *Veſtal* Virgins, which were buried alive: and the Plague at length ceaſing, there is no doubt, but this was imputed to the Puniſhment inflicted on *Capparonia*. Then the time came for a *Cenſus* and *Luſtrum*, which was the thirty fifth ſince their Inſtitution; and in this Enumeration of the People, leſs Enquiry was made after the Number of thoſe whom the Plague had ſwept away, than after thoſe who were ſtill living, and fit to bear Arms. But notwithſtanding the prodigious Multitude of *Romans*, which the Diſtemper carried off, there were yet reckoned to be in the Republick, two hundred ninety two thouſand two hundred and twenty four Men, fit to ſerve in the *Legions*. At firſt ſight indeed, neither the War nor the Plague may ſeem to have made any great Ravages in *Rome*, becauſe the Number of the Citizens appears by this laſt *Cenſus* to be greater than ever. But in order to ſet our ſelves right in this Matter, we muſt remember, that the Republick had lately given all the Nation of the *Sabines*, a Right of *Citizenſhip*, and they doubtleſs were all included in this laſt Enumeration, which made the *Romans* the leſs ſenſible, how much their Forces were diminiſhed. With this *Luſtrum* ended the Magiſtracy of the two *Cenſors*, who had now been five Years in their Office; and were both Men of great Probity. The one was named *Cn. Cornelius Blaſio*, the other *C. Marcius Rutilus*; and the latter eſpecially, deſerved particular Regard, both for his Family, and his Wiſdom. He was deſcended from near Relation of *Numa Pompilius*, and from King *Ancus Marcius*, in a right Line and he had both the Prudence and Moderation of theſe his Progenitors. In regard to theſe good Qualities, the People had choſen him *Cenſor* at firſt; and being now aſſembled *by Centuries*, they inſiſted, that he ſhould be continued in that Office

Oroſius B. 4. c. 5.

Faſti Capitol.

Livii Epitome, and *Eutrop. B. 2.*

109 Some will have it, that this Proverb alludes to the Office of the *Italian Quæſtors*, who were often obliged to go to the Sea Ports, to collect the Impoſts the Republick had laid on, exported Goods

This was a new Mark of Diſtinction; but *Marcius*'s Merit was ſuperior to his Employment. He himſelf was the only Perſon, who complained of the Honours the People did him. His Zeal for the ſtrict Obſervation of the Laws, had more Influence upon him, than the new Diſtinction which was given him; and he therefore aſſembled the *Tribes*, and made uſe of all his Eloquence, to reproach them with violating the old Laws in his Behalf. *Your Fathers*, ſaid he, *wiſely ordained, that the* Cenſorſhip *ſhould never be twice enjoyed by the ſame Perſons. They foreſaw the ill Conſequences of continuing the ſame Men in the Exerciſe of ſo very great a Power. To the* Cenſors *belong the Choice of the Senators, the Regulation of the Manners of the People, and the Inſpection even of the Judges of the Republick. Their Approbation paves the Way to Honours, and if they ſet Marks of Infamy on any, they thereby exclude them from the higheſt Dignities. What Miſchief may a wicked Man do in ſuch an Office, in ten Years time, if he is governed by his Paſſions? Is not continuing Men therefore in ſuch a Poſt, running the Hazard, of ſuffering Virtue to languiſh in Oblivion, and of impowering Vice to triumph with Impunity? A Change is at leaſt ſome Relief to the Oppreſſed, and reſtrains the Extravagancies of the Vicious, who are protected. Let this Change then, which the Laws have ſo prudently commanded, take Place in my Caſe. Give thoſe whom I have made wretched ſome Relief; and put it into another's Power to treat the Offenders whom I have ſpared, with Severity.* But this Diſcourſe only did honour to *Marcius*, and ſhewed him to be the more worthy of the Diſtinction the People had ſhewn him. He was continued in the *Cenſorſhip*, in ſpight of himſelf, and from thence, he and his Family ever after him, took the Surname of *Cenſorinus*. However, his Harangue had one laſting Effect for the future. A Law was made upon it, or rather the old Regulation was confirmed, which forbad any Perſon ever to exerciſe the Office of *Cenſor* twice.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVIII
Q. FABIUS GURGES, L. MANILIUS VITULUS, Conſuls.
Val. Max. B. 4. c. 1. §. 3.

Plut. Life of Coriolanus.

§. XXVII. IN the mean time, *Fabius* and his Collegue were taſting the Sweets of Peace at *Rome*, when there ſuddenly ſprang up a War, even in the Bowels of the Republick; which I would not ſcruple to call a civil War, if the new Enemies of *Rome* had been of free Condition. *Volſinium* was a great and ancient City of *Hetruria*, and one of the Capitals of the twelve *Lucumonies*, which divided the *Hetrurians* into that Number of Cantons. This City, as well as the reſt of *Hetruria*, was now under the Dominion of the *Romans*, and enjoyed the Terms which they had granted by Treaties to the *Hetrurian* Nation. *Volſinium* ſtill preſerved her Laws, and ancient Government: And the Tranquillity which the *Volſinienſes* enjoyed by their Alliance with *Rome*, made them remiſs in their Behaviour; and the neglect of the Laws cauſed their Ruin. They, no longer conſidering themſelves as an independent People, deſpiſed the publick Offices, and ſuffered their *Freed-men* to uſurp them. The *Citizens* of free Condition gave themſelves up wholly to their Pleaſures, and emancipated great Numbers of Slaves, who ſerved them in their Diverſions. By this means the Number of theſe diſſolute Men, who had neither Manners nor Education, and were but newly releaſed from their Chains, ſoon came to be as great as that of the ancient *Citizens:* And then it was with them, as it uſually is with thoſe, who are raiſed out of the Duſt to great Dignities. They were no ſooner made conſiderable in the little Republick, but they became the Tyrants of it. They made it their whole Buſineſs to humble their old Maſters. They took away their Wives from them by force, and contracted ſcandalous and unſuitable Marriages with them, which they were forced to comply with to ſave their Lives. The Senate of *Volſinium*, which was filled with theſe Scoundrels, not only inſulted the Husbands who demanded their Wives back, and the Fathers who demanded their Daughters; but carried their Licentiouſneſs ſo far, as to make a Law, that no Free-woman ſhould be reſtored to her Husband, till ſhe had ſubmitted to the Paſſion of a *Freed-man*. And to all theſe Brutalities, they added the Baniſhments and Proſcriptions of the moſt venerable *Citizens*. Till at length thoſe of the ancient *Volſinienſes*, who had any Remains of Honour left, ſought Means to redreſs theſe Grievances; and deſpairing of being able to put an end to them themſelves, they reſolved to ſend a Deputation to the Senate of *Rome*, and implore its Aſſiſtance. The Deputies ſet out privately, and when they came to *Rome*, made a great Secret of their Negotiation. They did not deliver their Petition in publick, but in private. There was no Day appointed for their Appearance as uſual; nor did the Senate receive their Petition, in the Place where they generally met to give Audiences. The *Conſcript Fathers* aſſembled without any Noiſe

Florus B. 1. c. 21. and Auth. de Vir. Illuſt.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVIII
Q. FABIUS GURGES, L. MAMILIUS VITULUS, Conſuls.

in a private Houſe, which ſerved inſtead of a Temple, where they did theſe People Juſtice. The *Conſul Fabius* was ordered to march towards *Volſinium* with ſome Troops, in order to deliver thoſe unfortunate Allies from the Oppreſſion they ſuffered, by the Tyranny of their Slaves. But though this Decree was thought to have been paſſed very ſecretly, and the *Romans* hoped to have ſurprized the guilty *Freed-men*, before they had made any Preparations againſt it; the Event was otherwiſe. There was a *Samnite* in the Houſe, where the Senate met, who had been hoſpitably received there, was confined to his Bed by ſome Diſtemper, and was not ſeen; and he having heard the Debates of the Senators, and been a Witneſs to the Decree they paſſed, betrayed the Secrets of the Republick. The Deputies of *Volſinium* were therefore much ſurprized to find themſelves cited before the Senate of the *Freed-men*, as ſoon as they were returned, and required to give an Account of their Stay, and Negotiation at *Rome*. And being convicted of having acted contrary to the Intereſts of their old Slaves, both they, and the moſt honourable *Citizens* in the City, were, by theſe Tyrants, condemned to die. In the mean time *Fabius Gurges* advanced towards *Volſinium*, rather with Thoughts of puniſhing the Guilty, than any Expectation of an Enemy, which was able to reſiſt him: And it is probable, that *Gurges* carried with him only an Handful of Voluntiers, raiſed in haſte, and not a *Conſular* Army, which conſiſted of at leaſt two *Legions*. So that he was ſurprized to find the *Freed-men* upon their Guard, and in a Condition to make Head againſt him. They even ventured to face him in the Field, and give a *Conſul* Battel. The Succeſs indeed was anſwerable to the Valour of the *Romans*; and their General only paid dear for his obſtinate Purſuit of the Fugitives quite to the City. He entered into it with the Crowd of Enemies which he drove before him; but an unknown Perſon reached him with a Dart, and gave him a mortal Wound. Thus fell a great Man, who had been honoured with *Conſulſhips*, Triumphs, Embaſſies; and who, contrary to the Expectation of the Great *Fabius* his Father, did not degenerate from the noble Virtues of his Anceſtors. But the *Romans* could have wiſhed, that he had had the Conſolation of having received his Death, from an illuſtrious Hand. As ſoon as the *Conſul* was carried out of the Battel, the *Freed-men* made a Sally upon the *Romans*; but with what Succeſs we are not told. The Hiſtorians only inform us, that one *Decius Mus*, probably Lieutenant General in *Fabius*'s Army, inveſted *Volſinium*, and begun to beſiege it in Form; but that it was not taken, till after the Arrival of *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the *Conſuls* for the next Year. He took upon him the Command of the *Roman* Army, forced the *Volſinienſes* to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and put the *Freed-men*, who had uſurped the Magiſtracies of the City, to death. The ancient *Citizens*, and the Slaves, who had not been concerned in the Revolt, were tranſplanted to another Place, after he had razed their City: And this Conduct of *Flaccus* was ſo agreable to the Republick, that ſhe granted him the Honours of a Triumph. He entered *Rome* in State, on *The Calends of February*, in the Year ſucceeding this, which was the Year of his *Conſulſhip*. We have anticipated this latter part of the Story, to avoid blending it with the great Events we are now going to relate; as judging it an Affair of too little Importance, to deſerve to be related with the *Punick* Wars.

Zonaras, B. 8. c. 7.

THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XXIII.

§. I. THE *Romans* were a People wholly given to War. They boaſted of being deſcended from *Mars* himſelf, and either through Habit, or Prejudice, were grown inſatiably fond of Battels and Victories. The Temple of [1] *Janus*, which their ſecond King had ſo wiſely erected, to temper their Eagerneſs to run to their Arms on all Occaſions, had not been ſhut ſince his Time, and the

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVIII
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS, Conſul.

1 The ancient Mythologiſts have given us the Hiſtory of ſeveral Divinities, under the Name of *Janus*. According to the Author of the Book of *The Origin of the Romans*, this pretended God landed in *Italy*, made Conqueſts, and erected himſelf a little Kingdom there. Afterwards, he received *Saturn*, and not only offered him Protection in his Dominions, but ſhared his Government with him. So that *Janus* came into *Italy* before *Saturn*. For this Reaſon, the former always had the Preference before the latter, in all the Sacrifices the Pagans offered them. *Fabius Pictor* ſays, that the *Hetrurians* learnt all their Ceremonies relating to divine Worſhip, from *Janus*. He taught them to conſecrate the *Pomoerium*, (or the Line, which was drawn round Cities, both without and within the Walls) and to build Altars in honour to the Gods. He taught them to join Oblations of Corn, and Libations of Wine, with their Victims. And in Gratitude to him, they thought it their Duty to invoke him before all other Gods, in all their religious Acts.

Aurelius Victor relates the Birth of *Janus* from fabulous Memoirs. *Creüſa*, the Daughter of *Erechtheus* King of *Athens*, captivated *Apollo* with her Beauty; and he had a Son by her, who was ſent to *Delphi*, to be educated in a manner ſuitable to his Birth. Afterwards *Creüſa* was married to one *Xipheus*; who fearing leſt he ſhould have no Children, went to *Delphi*, to entreat the Favour of the God to his Wife, that ſhe might be fruitful. The Oracle anſwered, that he had nothing to do, but to adopt the firſt Child he met; which happened to be *Janus*. Accordingly he was adopted, before he was known to be *Creüſa*'s Son; and when he came to Man's Eſtate, he went into *Italy*, and there founded a City, which from his Name was called *Janiculum*. Some time after, *Saturn* being driven out of *Arcadia* by *Jupiter*, took Refuge in *Latium*, where he found *Janus* very ready to aſſiſt him, and a faithful Friend. Being united to each other by the Ties of a moſt tender Friendſhip, they jointly governed the People of the Country. And according to *Draco*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, *Janus* gave his Name to a Mountain, and River, in *Italy*. He firſt invented, ſays that Author, the Uſe of Crowns, and the Art of building Barks and Ships; and from hence it is, ſays he, that many Cities in *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, ſtamped their Money with the ſame Symbols, and the double Head of *Janus*.

According to *Macrobius*, this ancient King eſtabliſhed a certain Ceremonial to be uſed in the Worſhip of the Gods, and in Sacrifices. And as he was deemed the firſt Lawgiver, as to religious Matters, he was himſelf worſhiped as a God, after his Death, and the People accuſtomed themſelves to pay their Homages firſt to him, in all religious Ceremonies. There was no Feſtival, or Sacrifice, which did not put them firſt in mind of him, whom they thought the Inſtitutor, or the Reſtorer, of them. And this popular Opinion gave Riſe to the Cuſtom, which was introduced among the Pagans, of beginning their Forms of Prayer, with invoking the God *Janus*.

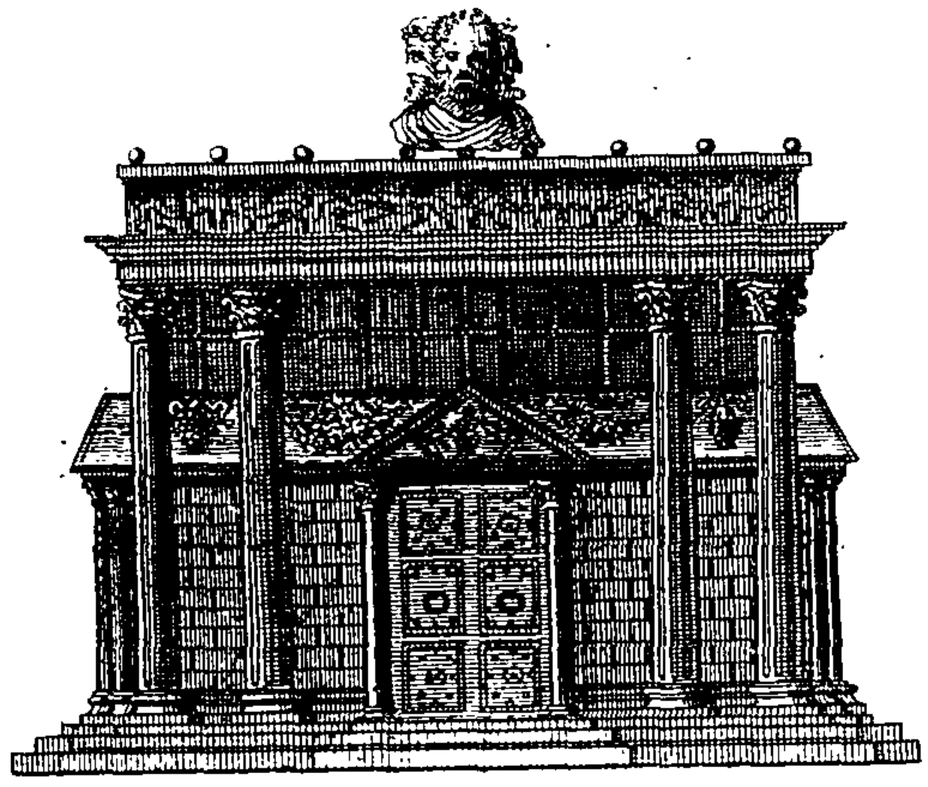
Some Authors, whom *Macrobius* mentions, underſtood that *Apollo* and *Diana* were meant by *Janus*; and they have found out ſeveral Offices, which were equally aſcribed to all three. For inſtance, *Apollo* was called by the *Greeks* Θυραῖος and Ἀγύιευς, that is, the Superintendent of Gates, and Streets; and agreably to this Idea of him, the *Greeks* erected Altars to him, near the Entrances into their Houſes. It is well known, that *Diana* was honoured, as the Protectreſs of Ways, and Avenues, under the Names of *Trivia*, and *Jana*. And the ſame Functions are expreſſed in the Word *Janus*, which anſwers to the *Greek* Word, Θυραῖος; and are repreſented in his Statues, by putting a Key in one of his Hands, and a Rod in the other, to ſhew that he was the Inſpector of Roads, and Gates.

Others think *Janus* was the ſame as the Sun; and obſerved, that they exactly agreed in all Particulars. The Sun, ſaid they, is under the Name of *Janus*, repreſented as the Keeper of the two Gates of Heaven, the Eaſt, and Weſt. Nor was it without Reaſon, that he was invoked in Sacrifices, ſince it is, by his means, that the Prayers of the People, and the Odours of the Victims, aſcend up to the Thrones of the celeſtial Gods. The Motion of the Sun in the Ecliptick, is the Meaſure of the Aſtronomical Year, which contains a little more than 365 Days. And in ſeveral Statues of *Janus*, his Fingers were ſo placed, as to expreſs the Number 365, according to *Macrobius*; or according to *Pliny*, 355, which was the Number of Days in *Numa*'s Year.

Cicero, from an Opinion that *Janus* ſignified the Heavens, gives this God the Name of EANUS, *ab eundo*,

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXVIII. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS, Conſul.

the firſt Years of his Succeſſor's Reign. One War produced another; and Conqueſts were the only Teſt of the Merit of the Great Men in the Republick. Nay, it even ſeems to have been neceſſary for them to have been continually at War. Whenever they had any ſhort Intervals of Tranquillity, a Plague, or ſome inteſtine Seditions or Revolutions in the State, kept them in Motion and Exerciſe; and it was therefore neceſſary to find Employment Abroad for their martial Inclination, which was infuſed into



eundo, becauſe the Heavens are always moving round upon their Axis, without any Interruption. And the *Phœnicians*, who had the ſame Notions of this God, emblematically repreſented him, by a Snake, twiſted round in a circular Form, with his Tail in his Mouth. They thereby alluded to the Circle the Firmament deſcribes in its Courſe, and the conſtant Regularity of the Univerſe; which is ſupported, and, if I may ſo ſpeak, nouriſhed and kept alive, by this conſtant, and always equal Motion. And upon this Suppoſition, the four Faces of *Janus*, ought to be underſtood to ſignify, the four cardinal Points of the World, Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South.

In the old Verſes, which the *Salii* ſung in honour to *Janus*, he is called the God of Gods. And in this Senſe, ſome Authors, mentioned by *Feſtus*, thought him to be the common Father of Mankind, and Author of all created Beings. Nor is *Ovid* far from this Opinion, when he imagines that *Janus* was the Chaos, or that confuſed Matter, and ſhapeleſs Maſs of Elements, which God ſeparated and reduced to Order, to make the World out of them. The Poet repreſents the God as ſaying, *Faſt. B.* 1. that he was buried, in that confuſed Heap of Subſtances, and did not aſſume the Form of a God, till after all the Parts of the World had been ranged in their natural Order:

Tunc ego, qui fueram globus, & ſine imagine Moles,
In faciem redii, dignaque membra Deo.

Macrobius gives us the Panegyrick which *Meſſala* had made on *Janus*; and which begins thus. *Qui cuncta fingit, eademque regit, aquæ terræque vim, ac naturam gravem, atque pronam, in profundum dilabentem, ignis atque animæ levem, immenſum in ſublime fugientem copulavit, circumdato cœlo; quæ vis cœli maxima, duas vis diſpares colligavit.* i. e. *The firſt Principle and Governor of Nature united the Earth and the Water, which by their Weight naturally ſink downwards, with the Fire and Spirit, whoſe Activity naturally carries them up above terreſtrial Things. He has ſhut up theſe contrary Beings within the vaſt Expanſe of the celeſtial Sphere; and the Heavens, by a wonderful Power, keep theſe very different Qualities united.* Upon this Opinion was founded the Attribute of *Conſivius*, with which the *Romans* honoured *Janus*. This Epithet derived from the Word *Conſero*, was properly applied to a Deity, whom they confounded with the Author of Nature. Upon the ſame Principle, they often raiſed him above other Gods, paid their firſt Homages to him, and worſhiped him as the ſovereign Arbiter of Times, the four Seaſons, and the twelve Months of the Year. As ſuch, twelve Altars were erected to him in *Rome*; and the Temple, which *Romulus* built to his Honour, is ſaid to have had twelve Gates. *Arnobius*, in his *Review of the falſe Gods of the Heathen*, undertakes to prove theſe Variations, againſt the Polytheiſm of the *Romans*; and to ſhew the little Agreement there was between the ancient Mythologiſts, as to the Origin and Properties of *Janus*. *Incipiamus ab Jano patre, quem quidam ex vobis Mundum, Annum alii, Solem etiam providere nonnulli.* L. 3.

Janus ſhared with *Juno* the Inſpection of all the *Calends*, and particularly thoſe of *January*; and from this Office he was called *Junonius*. The Epithets of *Quirinus*, *Patulcius*, and *Cluſivius*, are ſo many *Latin* Terms, which expreſs the Cuſtom formerly received among the *Romans*, of ſhutting the Temple of *Janus*, in time of Peace, and opening it in time of War. *Macrobius* founds this Cuſtom on a fabulous Story, which Superſtition, and the Credulity of the People, made to paſs for true. The Fact, as he relates it, is this. When the *Sabines* came Sword in Hand, to demand their Daughters, whom the *Romans* had carried away; the latter made haſte to ſhut the Gate, which was at the Foot of Mount *Viminalis*, and to drive away the Enemy from thence, who were trying their utmoſt to make themſelves Maſters of it. But it was in vain for them to ſhut it, it opened of itſelf three times.

into them at their very Birth. In Times of Peace, theſe reſtleſs Men, rent in pieces the Bowels of their own Country; and the Harangues of *The Tribunes of the People*, animated them as much to war, as the Trumpet of the *Conſuls*. However, this Fire muſt now, in all Probability, expire, or abate at leaſt, ſince the Republick was become ſo conſiderable, as to be at Leiſure, to apply her ſelf wholly to the enriching her Subjects by Commerce, or cultivating their Minds by Letters. The *Romans* had hitherto known ſcarce any other Art, but an Eloquence, acquired rather by an happy Turn of Imagination, and a continual Habit of ſpeaking in publick, than by Reflections, and Rules. Indeed, there often ſprung up Philoſophers among them, whoſe natural Probity ſurpaſſed the ſtudied Virtue of the *Grecian* Sages. An happy Education, and a kind of natural Inſtinct to Uprightneſs, not corrupted by a Love of Pleaſure, ſupplied the want of Ethicks, and written Maxims. But the *Roman* Virtue was then attended with an inexpreſſible kind of ſavage Moroſeneſs, and a certain Impoliteneſs, which diſtinguiſhed it from the Virtue of the *Greeks* and *Aſiaticks*. The inceſſant Uſe of Arms, and a Life ſpent in the Labours and Fatigues of Camps, and Campaigns, helped much to guard them againſt Vice; but as little to poliſh their Manners, and inſpire them with ſuch a kind of Virtue, as is amiable, and engaging. The Love of their Country, was the Spring of all their Actions; and this ſingle Paſſion, rouſed, or calmed all the reſt; which will now appear in the War [2], they at laſt determined to enter into with the *Carthaginians*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXVIII
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS, Conſuls.

THE

times. So that the *Romans* choſe only to place a Guard there, and to diſpute the Entrance into it, with a great Body of *Sabines*, who attacked it. During theſe Tranſactions, a Report was ſpread, that *Romulus*'s Troops were defeated by *Tatius*, in a Battel fought on another ſide: and upon this the *Roman* Soldiers took the Alarm, and abandoned the Gate *Janualis*, ſo called, in Memory of the pretended Prodigy. Then the *Sabines*, in their Turn, endeavoured to break through this Gate, but they were ſcarce got up to it, when a Torrent of boiling Water, which ran with Impetuoſity from the Temple of *Janus*, drowned one part of the Aſſailants, and ſtifled the other. And from that time, ſays *Varro*, *B.* 4. *de Ling. Lat.* the Place, where theſe hot Waters burſt out with ſuch Violence, was called the *Lautolæ*. *Lautolæ, a lavando, quod ibi ad Janum geminum, aquæ calidæ fuerint.* In Conſequence of this Event, as incredible as it is, it was decreed, that the Temple of this God ſhould be left open in time of War only, as it were to give him a free Paſſage, whenever the City ſtood in need of his Aſſiſtance. Such Stories as theſe plainly ſhew the extravagant Whimſies, and yet more clearly, the Blindneſs and Uncertainty, of Paganiſm.

Thoſe, who are willing to diſcover Myſteries in all the Fictions of the fabulous Ages, believe, that by old *Janus* was meant *Noah*. He was ſo called, ſay they, from the *Hebrew* Word *Jajin*, which ſignifies Wine, becauſe this Patriarch had firſt planted Vines. *Janus*'s two Faces, according to them, ſignified his having ſeen the old World before the Deluge, and the new, which was peopled by thoſe few Perſons who eſcaped it. The Ship, of whom they make him the Inventor, was the Figure of the Ark, in which he and his Family were ſaved from periſhing in the Flood. And laſtly, theſe ſay, he was made to preſide over the beginning, and end of all things, becauſe he had been the end of the old World, and the beginning of the new.

We have ſeveral Heads of *Janus* preſerved on ancient Monuments, ſome with two Faces, and ſome with four, after the Model of the Statue of this God, which was found at *Falerii*, a City of *Hetruria*, after it had been conquered by the *Romans*. Beſides, the Interpretation already given of theſe two Faces, out of *Macrobius*, ſome think they ſignified *Janus*, and his Collegue *Saturn*. Others, that they were a Symbol of the Union of *Romulus* and *Tatius*, by the Interpoſition of this God, as Mediator. Thus the *Romans* thought *Janus* preſided over Treaties of Peace, and Alliances. The four Heads, ſet Poll to Poll, are taken by ſome, for the Heads of the four moſt ancient Kings of *Italy*, *Janus*, *Saturn*, *Faunus*, and *Picus*. But others, in the room of the two latter, put *Romulus*, and *Numa Pompilius*.

In moſt of the Quarters of *Rome*, Temples were erected, either with two Fronts, in honour to *Janus Bifrons*; or with four, in honour to *Janus Quadrifrons*. Such was the Temple, of which we here give the Plan, after *Nardini*. Theſe Edifices bore the Name of *Janus*, as appears by an Inſcription, on one of *Nero*'s Medals, which runs thus: PACE. P. R. TERRA MARIQUE JANUS CLAUSIT. Some of theſe Temples had twelve Gates, others two, others four, according to the different Myſteries to which they were deſigned to allude.

Among the Offerings made to *Janus*, ſome ancient Authors, and particularly *Feſtus*, mention a ſort of Cake, which he calls *Janualis*. *Ovid* charges this God with the ſame infamous Actions, with which the other fabulous Divinities are reproached. As innocent as one of the moſt celebrated Fathers of the Church makes him, he was not inſenſible to the Charms of the Nymph *Crana*.

Viderat hanc Janus, viſæque cupidine captus.

This Declaration of *Ovid* is not very reconcilable with what St. *Auſtin* ſays in his Book, *Of the City of God*. *De Jano non mihi facile quidquam occurrit, quod ad probrum pertineat, & forte talis fuit, ut innocentius vixerit, & a facinoribus & flagitiis remotius.* Nor muſt we forget, that the Appellation of *Janus Quadrivius*, was alſo given to the God, who preſided over croſs-ways. And ſometimes this Term was uſed to ſignify an arched Building, in the Form of a Croſs, in which four Streets centered. It was a Place at *Rome*, where the Merchants expoſed their Merchandize to ſale, in ſhelter from the Weather. [Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes the *Janus* of the *Latins* to have been *Oenotrus*, the Son of *Lycaon*, the Founder of *Lycoſura* in *Arcadia*. And according to him, this *Oenotrus* led the firſt Colony of *Greeks* into *Italy*, in the Year before Chriſt 1028. *Chron. p.* 15.]

2 The Hiſtorians are not entirely agreed, what Year the firſt *Carthaginian* War began. *Livy*, *Hiſt. B.* 31. reckons 488 Years from the Foundation of *Rome*, to the *Conſulſhip* of *Appius Claudius*,

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX.

APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.

THE Republick had juſt promoted *App.* 3 *Claudius*, (who before his Office expired, took the Surname of *Caudex*) and *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, to the *Conſulſhip*: One of whom muſt neceſſarily be ſent againſt the *Freedmen* of *Volſinium*, to put an end to an Affair, which could be of no long Duration; and this fell to *Fulvius Flaccus*'s Lot. The next Buſineſs was, to know how to employ his Collegue *Claudius*, and on what Expedition to ſend him. All the Nations in *Italy*, quite to the Banks of the *Po*, were ſubdued; and the *Gauls*, which were ſpread from that River to the *Alpes*, were too low to raiſe the Envy, or exerciſe the Valour, of the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians* were the only Objects of their Fears and Jealouſy. Theſe were daily extending their Dominions; and their Conqueſts had brought them to be too near Neighbours to the Countries ſubject to the *Roman* Republick. The *Romans* being Conquerors themſelves, they envied the *Carthaginians* the rapid Progreſs of their Arms; and plainly foreſaw, that when *Carthage* had once gained her Point upon *Sicily*, ſhe would not be long out of *Italy*, which was divided from it, only by a very narrow Streight. This was no chimerical Apprehenſion; and the more the *Romans* reflected on the low Beginnings of the *Carthaginians*, and the vaſt Progreſs they had made, the more Reaſon they found to be alarmed at it. *Carthage* had been founded about 65 Years 4, before the Foundation of *Rome*, by a *Phœnician* Woman, whoſe true Name was, according to ſome, *Dido*; according to others, *Eliſſa*. This Princeſs ſurpaſſed all

dius, who firſt led a *Roman* Army into *Sicily*, againſt the *Carthaginians*. In ſome Editions indeed we read CDLXXVIII inſtead of CDLXXXIX Years; but it is a Miſtake of the Copyiſts or Printers. And *Solinus* agrees with *Livy*, when he places the beginning of the firſt *Punick* War, in the Year of *Rome* 489. And the Teſtimonies of theſe two Authors, when joined with that of the *Faſti Capitolini*, amount to a deciſive Proof in favour of this Date. *Gellius*, in the end of his ſeventeenth Book, adds a Year more. *Oroſius* takes ſix Years out of the eighty eight. And *Dion. Hal.* and *Polybius* differ ſome Years. The former ſays, he had carried on his Hiſtory to the 128th *Olympiad*, in which the firſt *Carthaginian* War began. The latter ſays, he begins his, with the firſt Voyage the *Romans* made into *Sicily*, in the 129th *Olympiad*, with which *Timæus* had ended his Hiſtory.

3 The *Faſti Capitolini* have preſerved entire the *Prænomina*, Names, and Surnames, of theſe two *Conſuls*, and of thoſe who ſucceeded them, to the laſt War with *Carthage*. Which will be of great Uſe to us, in ſupplying the Omiſſions, and correcting the Texts, of the Hiſtorians. *Oroſius* does not diſtinguiſh the *Conſuls* for this Year 489, by their Surnames; and he gives *Marcus Fulvius* the *Prænomen* of *Quintus*, contrary to the *Conſular Annals*.

4 None can now be ignorant, that *Dido* lived above two hundred Years after *Æneas*. All agree, that *Virgil*'s long Epiſode, concerning the Flight of *Dido*, and the Arrival of the *Trojans* at *Carthage*, is a mere Fiction. Perhaps the Poet thought it neceſſary to overlook the Anachroniſm, if he was aware of it, that he might not rob his Poem, of the Embelliſhments which *Dido* gives it. *Virgil* had nothing more in view, in bringing Times ſo diſtant together, but to magnify the Glory of *Rome*, and the Merit of his Hero. And this Licence was, in ſome Meaſure, neceſſary, in order to adorn his Poem. He makes the mutual Hatred, the two rival Nations bore to each other, to ariſe from hence. And that Book of the *Æneid*, wherein *Dido* bears the chiefeſt part, would not have been ſo intereſting to *Romans*, if the ſame Adventures had been told, as happening at the Court of any other Queen, or in any other Country, than in *Africa*. Beſides, it is probable, that in *Virgil*'s time, the *Romans* were not acquainted with the Chronology of the Kings of *Tyre*. At leaſt, moſt of them ſeem not to have known the Date of the Foundation of *Carthage*, and conſequently of *Dido*'s Flight and Reign. It is certain indeed, that none of the *Criticks*, who were cotemporary with *Virgil*, or who lived after him till *Macrobius*'s time, have reproached him with having been guilty of any Anachronism. It was never diſcovered till ſince *Joſephus*, upon the Credit of the *Tyrian Annals*, cleared up the Obſcurities and Confuſion of the Succeſſion of the Kings of *Tyre*. *Appian* himſelf, after all his Enquiries concerning the building of *Carthage*, is either wholly ſilent, or at leaſt ſpeaks very ambiguouſly, of *Dido*'s Arrival in *Africa*. But he ſpeaks with more Confidence of the Origin of that City, which, he ſays, was firſt founded by the *Phœnicians*, fifty Years before the *Trojan* War. When he comes to *Dido*, he only ſays, that ſhe built *Byrſa*; and then relates the Artifice that Queen uſed, to obtain a Settlement on the Coaſts of *Africa*. As for the Age in which ſhe lived, this Point of Chronology ſeems to have been a Myſtery to him. Neither does *Varro*, *Dion. Hal.* or any of thoſe many Authors, who have ſearched into the Origin of Nations, give himſelf the Trouble to determine the exact time, when *Carthage* was founded. *Tully* indeed has given us ſome Footſteps of it, in a Fragment of his *de Republica*. But if the Fragment be genuine, the Inference drawn from it, is at leaſt as uncertain, as its Expreſſions are obſcure. *Velleius Paterculus*, is the moſt clear of any in this Particular, when he places *Dido*'s Flight into *Africa*, ſixty five Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. But his Words plainly enough ſhew, what Uncertainty the *Romans* were in, as to the Age in which *Dido* lived. *Ante annos quinque & ſexaginta, quam Urbs Roma conderetur, ab Eliſſa Tyria, quam quidem Dido auctumant, Carthago conditur.* *Juſtin*, the Abridger of *Trogus Pompeius*, reckons ſeventy two Years from the Foundation of *Carthage*, to the building of *Rome* by *Romulus*. But be that as it will, it is now no longer doubted, that there was a great Diſtance of Time, between the taking of *Troy*, and *Dido*'s landing on the Coaſts of *Africa*. The Chronologiſts, who carry the former of theſe Events fartheſt back, place it ſixty Years before the Reign of *Saul*. And if from this Number we take eight Years, which, according to *Virgil*'s Account, paſſed between the ſacking of that Capital of *Phrygia*, and *Æneas*'s Arrival at *Carthage*, this will reduce it to fifty two Years before *Saul*. To which, if we add the forty Years of *Saul*'s Reign, and the forty others of *David*'s, this will bring up the

all the Women of her Country, both in Beauty, and Courage; and her Father [5] *Belus* had married her to *Sichæus*, whom ſome call *Acerbas*, and others *Sicharbas*. He, as High-prieſt of *Hercules*, was the ſecond Man in the Kingdom, and was immenſely rich. *Belus* died, and left his Son *Pygmalion*, and his Daughter *Dido*, Heirs to his Kingdom of *Tyre:* and then *Pygmalion* took Umbrage at *Acerbas*. The People had ſettled *Pygmalion* on the Throne; but as the Rights of his Siſter were now conveyed to a wealthy Huſband, he was fearful of the Loſs of his Crown, which at beſt is but an uncertain Poſſeſſion. This made him purſue the Meaſures his Ambition and Covetouſneſs dictated; and he firſt killed *Acerbas* with his own Hands, and then went to ſeize his Treaſures, which his Brother-in-law, had had the Precaution to bury in the Ground. *Dido* was greatly afflicted at the Loſs of an Huſband ſhe tenderly loved, but diſſembled her Grief. As if ſhe could no longer bear *Acerbas*'s Houſe, where every thing put her in mind of her Huſband, ſhe deſired the King to allot her an Apartment in his Palace. But this was only an Artifice to conceal her Flight. She had already hired ſome Veſſels which were in the Port, and had brought a good Number of the *Tyrian* Senators into her Meaſures. Under Pretence therefore of removing her Goods to her Brother's Palace, ſhe ſent them on board her Ships, and with them her Huſband's Treaſures. Then ſhe ſet ſail with her Followers, put in to refreſh in the Iſland of *Cyprus*; and there embarked a conſiderable Number of young Women, who were devoted to the Worſhip of *Venus*, to be a Recruit for the Colony, which ſhe intended to ſettle, on the firſt convenient Place to which Fate ſhould carry her. At length, ſhe landed on a Peninſula, on the Coaſt of *Africa*, where Nature her ſelf had made a very convenient Port. But *Dido* was not the firſt *Tyrian* who had founded a *Colony* on this Coaſt. A Swarm of *Tyrians* had ſettled here before her time, and built [6] *Utica*, about fifty Miles from the Place where ſhe landed. The *Lybians*, the old Inhabitants of the Country, were then Maſters of it; and it being neceſſary that the Queen ſhould buy the Ground, on which ſhe intended to ſettle, of them; Fable tells us, that ſhe deceived the Barbarians, bought only as much Ground as ſhe could cover with an Ox-hide, and then cut the Hide into ſo ſmall Thongs, that ſhe encompaſſed a conſiderable Space with them. And there ſhe built a Citadel called *Byrſa* in the *Phœnician* Language, which approaches very near to the *Hebrew*, and which was always preſerved in the new *Colony*. After this, the mild Government of the virtuous Queen drew great Numbers of People to *Byrſa*; inſomuch, that the Citadel was too little to contain them. It therefore be-

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX. App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls. *Solinus*, and *Juſtin*, B. 18.

Juſtin and *Strabo*.

the Sum to a hundred and thirty two Years. And upon the Suppoſition of the Truth of this Calculation, recourſe was had to *Joſephus* to confirm it. This Hiſtorian brings in proof of it, a Paſſage of *Menander of Epheſus*, (one of the Authors of the *Tyrian* Chronology) where this Writer runs over the whole Series of the Kings of *Tyre*, according to the Order of Time. He there ſpeaks of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, the Succeſſor of *Abibalus*; which was the ſame *Hiram*, who entered into ſo ſtrict a Friendſhip with *Solomon*, and ſupplied him with all the Cedar he wanted for the building of his Temple at *Jeruſalem*. *Hiram* had ten Succeſſors, the laſt of which was *Pygmalion*; and from the ſeventh Year of *Pygmalion* up to the Death of *Hiram*, was, according to *Menander*, 103 Years. To which, if we add the abovementioned 132 Years, which paſſed between the taking of *Troy*, and the time *Virgil* makes *Æneas* land at *Carthage*, this will bring up the Sum to 235 Years; which is the Anachroniſm ſeveral charge the Poet with. We need not mention *Cedrenus*, and ſome other Hiſtorians, who bring *Æneas* and *Dido* under the ſame Roof. This Anachroniſm is allowable in a Poet, but unpardonable in an Hiſtorian, who ought to adhere ſtrictly to Chronology. For farther Satisfaction in this particular, we refer the Reader to our Diſſertation, concerning the Foundation of *Carthage*, in the fourth Book of the *Æneid*, and B. 15. of this Hiſtory, *p.* 124. of this Volume, Note 94. [*Dido*, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, left *Tyre*, and ſailed into *Africa*, in the ſeventh Year of the Reign of her Brother *Pygmalion* King of *Tyre*, which Sir *Iſaac* makes to coincide with the fifth or ſixth Year of the Reign of *Jehoram* King of *Judah*. *Chron. p.* 108. And ſhe founded, or renewed *Carthage* according to him, in the Year before Chriſt 883, twenty one Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, and 256 Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. *Ibid. p.* 32. For Sir *Iſaac* brings down the Founding of *Rome*, to the 38th *Olympiad*, or about the Year before Chriſt 627, (which is 125 Years lower than it is generally placed) by allowing the ſeven Kings of *Rome* to have reigned but 119 Years; whereas, they are generally ſuppoſed to have reigned 244 Years. *Ibid. p.* 38, 128—130.]

5. It is *Virgil*, who gives the Father of *Pygmalion*, *Dido*, and *Anna*, the Name of *Belus*. *Joſephus*, in his Enumeration of the Kings of *Tyre*, in his *Firſt Book againſt Apion*, calls him, upon the Credit of the ancient Monuments, *Maligenus*. *Theophilus of Antioch* gives him the Name of *Matten*. And it is therefore natural enough to ſuppoſe, that *Virgil*, who knew nothing of the *Phœnician* Hiſtory, had recourſe to *The Grecian Tables*, in order to find out *Dido*'s Father. He took the ſame Liberty in this, as in bringing her and *Æneas* together. Unleſs we ſay of the Kings of *Tyre*, as well as of thoſe of *Aſſyria*, that the Hiſtorians give the ſame Princes different Names.

6 The City of *Utica* is now only a little Town called *Biſerte*, ten or twelve Leagues from *Tunis*. It was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Africa*. Nay, it even became the Capital of *Africa*, after the Deſtruction of *Carthage*.

came

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXX
App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

came neceſſary to add a City to the Fortreſs; which accordingly *Dido* ſaw done in her Life-time, and ſhe always remembring her old native Country, built there a Temple in honour of *Hercules Tyrius*, and in Imitation of that at *Tyre*. The Inhabitants of *Utica* were pleaſed to ſee a *Colony* planted in their Neighbourhood, by their own Countrymen, encouraged the Queen, and aſſiſted her in her Undertaking. In the mean time, ſhe made a Compoſition with the *Lybians*, and engaged to pay them an annual Acknowledgment for the Ground they granted her. The *Africans* had Hopes that the new *Colony*, who underſtood the Art of 7 Navigation, and were famous for their Trade, would enrich all the Coaſt. The Queen, who had already named the Citadel, called the City *Carthades*, in the *Punick* Language, which ſignified *The New City*; and the *Greeks* called it *Carchedon*, and the *Romans*, *Carthago*.

DIDO was buſy in embelliſhing her City, and ſettling a good Polity in it, when a *Mauritanian* King fell in Love with her, and interrupted her in the Purſuit of an Enterpriſe which was above her Sex. *Hiarbas* was the Name of the *African* King, and he threatened the riſing *Colony* with a cruel War, in caſe the Queen refuſed to accept of him for an Huſband. Ten of the wiſeſt Senators of *Carthage* were intimidated by the Threatnings of the Barbarians, and uſed their Endeavours to perſuade *Dido* to preſerve her People, by a Compliance, which would free her City from great Misfortunes. But as they knew her inviolable Affection for her firſt Huſband, and her utter Averſion to a ſecond Marriage, they made uſe of a Stratagem, to gain her Conſent. *A foreign King*, ſaid they to her, *demands, with Threatnings, a ſmall Number of your* Tyrians, *to go and teach his Subjects the polite Arts and Manners of the* Phœnicians. *But which of your Subjects will ſacrifice the Happineſs he enjoys in* Carthage? And *Dido*, with all her good Senſe, not perceiving the Deſign of this Diſcourſe of the Senators, replied; *Alas! Can any Man refuſe to ſerve his Country, which he ought to do at the Expence of his Life? Your Deciſion turns upon your ſelf, Great Queen!* replied one of them, *what hinders you from ſacrificing former Inclinations to the Preſervation of the City, which you have founded? Dido* was embaraſſed at this Reply; deſired three Months time to determine; and then reſolved to deſcend into the Infernal Regions to her former Huſband. But ſhe made it her whole Buſineſs to conceal her Deſign. She employed her ſelf wholly in offering Sacrifices, to appeaſe, as ſhe pretended, the *Manes* of her dear *Acerbas*; and at laſt built a funeral Pile, on which ſhe ſacrificed her ſelf with her own Hands. Thus fell *Dido*, a generous Victim to conjugal Fidelity; and as long as *Carthage* ſubſiſted, the *Carthaginians* worſhiped her as a Goddeſs, and paid the ſame Honours to the Foundreſs of their City, as the *Romans* afterwards paid to *Romulus*, the Founder of *Rome*.

Juſtin.

7 A *Colony* of *Phœnicians* muſt have underſtood that Art. It is well known, that the *Phœnicians* excelled all other Nations in the Knowledge of Sea-affairs, and made themſelves famous by the Extent of their Trade. Some Hiſtorians have even made them the Inventors of the Art of Navigation, of Trade, and of Aſtronomy, the Knowledge of which is neceſſary to Sailors; though this Honour is more juſtly due to the *Egyptians*. *Juſtin* obſerves, *B.* 18. that it was Trade, which procured *Dido* a free Permiſſion to ſettle on the Coaſts of *Africa*. She was favourably received, ſays he, by the People of the Country; all the neighbouring Cantons, brought the Proviſions their reſpective Countries afforded, to the new *Colony*, and this Concourſe ſoon produced the great and famous City of *Carthage*. And as Commerce gave Birth to it, it likewiſe increaſed it to ſuch a Degree, as to make that City formidable to all the neighbouring Nations, in a very little time. *Carthage* indeed, had the Advantage over *Tyre*, by its Situation. It ſtood at almoſt an equal Diſtance from the Eaſtern and Weſtern Boundaries of the *Mediterranean*, and in a Country, which abundantly ſupplied it, with all ſorts of Corn neceſſary for its Support. And it is not therefore to be wondered at, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould, according to *Polybius*, acquire a more perfect Knowledge of maritime Affairs, than any other Nation. *Pliny* indeed ſeems to ſay, *B.* 7. *c.* 56. that they were the firſt People who traded by Sea. But that is not his meaning. He does indeed aſcribe the firſt Invention of Commerce and Navigation to the People he calls *Poeni*; but it is plain, that he by this People meant the *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Carthaginians* deſcended. We have a Proof of this, in *Dionyſius the Geographer*, who acknowledges the People of *Phœnicia* to have been the firſt Traders in the World. The Name of *Pœnus* is often uſed by ancient Authors for that of *Phœnix*; and *Tully* uſes it in this Senſe, in his 4th *Book*, *de Finibus*, where he calls the *Phœnicians*, *Pœnuli*. And in this Senſe we are to underſtand the *Uterque Pœnus* of *Horace*, in the ſecond Ode of his ſecond Book. Whether he meant the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*; or not only the Inhabitants of *Carthage*, but thoſe of *Cadix* too, whom *Cicero* calls *Poeni*, in his *Oration for Balbus*; it is certain, the *Latins* might very properly call the People of *Cadix*, *Poeni*, they having been a *Phœnician Colony*. [See Dean *Prideaux*'s Account of the *Tyrian* Trade, particularly that part of it which related to the *Eaſt-Indies*, with the Riſe and Removal of it to other Nations, down to this very Time. *Connex. B.* 1. under the Year 740.]

§. II. AFTER the Death of *Dido*, the *Carthaginians* threw off the monarchical Government. Doubtleſs, they could find no Body in their new *Colony*, who was ſo much ſuperior to the reſt in Birth and Merit, as to deſerve the diſtinguiſhing Honours of a Crown. They therefore changed their Government into a Republick, wherein the ſupreme Authority was divided between the Senate and the People. Not that the Title of King was abſolutely aboliſhed in *Carthage*; this Title was beſtowed by Election, on the *Citizen*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf moſt by his good Qualities. But he was in reality only the Shadow of a King, whoſe Power was limited at the Diſcretion of the People, and Senate. Hence it is, that the *Romans* often call theſe Heads of the *Carthaginians* only *Prætors*, or *Dictators*, in Alluſion to the Officers in their own Republick. Theſe Kings of *Carthage* preſided in the Senate, commanded the Troops in the Field, and were born Arbitrators of all Differences that ſhould ariſe between the Senate and People. On the other hand, the People had a Right of diſannulling the Decrees of the King and Senate, when they thought them prejudicial to the Publick. The Senate of *Carthage* was exceeding numerous, but the Determination of all publick Affairs was lodged in the Hands of thirty of the Oldeſt Senators, who made a kind of ſupreme Council. One of theſe was *Cenſor*, and had the Care of inſpecting the Manners of the *Citizens*; ſo that in this Particular, as well as many others, the *Carthaginian* Republick reſembled that of *Rome*. But there were ſome Cuſtoms among the *Carthaginians*, ſtrangely barbarous and brutal. In Times of publick Calamities, and eſpecially in the time of a Plague, they offered up human Sacrifices to [8] *Belus*; which were generally young Children, whoſe Throats

Year of ROME CCCCLXXIX. A. P. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.

Ariſtot. Polit. B. 2. c. 11.

Livy B. 30. Juſtin B. 18.

8 Who this *Belus* was, to whom the *Carthaginians* paid ſo barbarous a Worſhip, Authors are not agreed. Some take him for the *Belus* of *Aſſyria*, whom moſt believe to have been the ſame with *Nimrod*. And he is the Perſon to whom *Pliny* aſcribes the Invention of Aſtronomy. This *Belus* is ſaid to have been the firſt Conqueror, and to have founded the Kingdom of *Babylon*. *Dionyſius the Geographer* ſays, that after his Death, *Semiramis* dedicated a Temple to him. In proceſs of time, the *Aſſyrians* gave him the Title of *The God of War*; ſome Mythologiſts will have him to have been the ſame Perſon, whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* worſhiped, under the Name of *Mars*; and *Diodorus Siculus* ſeems to authoriſe this Conjecture in his fifth Book. Thoſe, ſays he, who endeavour to reconcile Fable with Hiſtory, think, that the People of the moſt diſtant Ages, gave the Name of *Mars*, to him who invented offenſive and defenſive Arms, and firſt taught Soldiers Diſcipline, and how to attack and defend themſelves in order of Battel. This *Mars*, of whom the Hiſtorian ſpeaks, pretty much reſembles *Nimrod*. We know the Holy Scriptures repreſent him as the firſt Warrior. Nor is *Higynus* far from this Opinion, when he ſays, that the *Latin* Word *Bellum*, which ſignifies War, was taken from *Belus*. *Suidas*, and the Author of *The Chronicon of Alexandria*, declare themſelves of that Opinion. They ſay, That the firſt Pillar the *Aſſyrians* erected, was conſecrated to *Mars*; That the People decreed him divine Honours; and That they always worſhiped him under the Name of *Baal*; a Name given by the *Perſians* to *Mars* the God of War. *St. Jerom*, on *The 23d Chapter of Ezekiel*, is of Opinion, that the Idol of *Baal*, or *Bel*, was intended to repreſent the ancient *Belus* of the *Aſſyrians*. *Idolum Baal, ſive Bel, & ut apertius dicam, Beli Aſſyriorum religio, eſt conſecrata a Nino Beli filio, in honorem Patris.* And this holy Father, in his Explanation of *The ſecond Chapter of Hoſea*, ſays, That *Belus* was the ſame Perſon as *Baal*, whom the *Sidonians*, and *Phœnicians*, and conſequently the *Carthaginians*, their Allies, worſhiped as a God. *Hunc* BELUM, *Sidonii & Phœnices appellant Babal.* But others have thought, that the Name and Attributes given to the *Belus* of the *Aſſyrians*, are very applicable to the Sun. *Hel*, ſay they, in the Language of the *Aſſyrians*, and *Hal*, in the *Punick* Language, has the ſame Signification as ἥλιος, *The Sun*, in the *Greek*; and from thence came the Names of *Bel*, and *Baal*. And this Agreement between the Sun and *Belus* in Name, makes *Pliny* ſay, *B.* 37. *c.* 10. that a precious Stone, on which a Sun was engraven, was called *Belus's Eye. Beli oculus albicans pupillam pingit nigram e medio, aureo fulgore lucentem. Hæc propter ſuam ſpeciem Sacratiſſimo Aſſyriorum Deo dicatur.* The *Medes* and *Perſians* paid the ſame Worſhip to this Pagan Deity, whom they thought to be the ſame with the Sun, and to be the ſupreme Arbiter of Nature. *Herodian* tells us, that the Emperor *Aurelian* conſecrated a Temple to the Sun, in which he placed the Statue of *Bel*. And if we credit the Conjecture of ſome Writers, the ſame Things that the *Greeks* and *Romans* aſcribed to *Cœlus*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, &c. the ſame the Eaſtern Nations reported of their God *Belus*, who was as it were the Origin and Forerunner of the fabulous Gods. Hence the different Names the Mythologiſts gave him. So that *Belus* was ſometimes called *Jupiter*, and oftner *Saturn*, by the *Phœnicians*. And the beſt Way to reconcile theſe different Opinions, is to ſay, that the Name of *Belus*, or *Bel*, or *Baal*, was common to all the Gods of the Eaſt. And indeed, the Term *Belus* was a Title of Honour, which the Orientals gave only to ſuperior Beings, and ſovereign Princes. There were therefore ſeveral *Belus's* among the *Aſſyrians*, and *Phœnicians*. Even the *Indians* had their *Bel*, who, according to *Cicero*, *B.* 3. *de Natur. Deor.* was their *Hercules. Quintus in India* HERCULES *qui Belus dicitur.* This is ſo true, that the Scriptures comprehend all the Heathen Gods, under the Name of *Baalim*, in the plural. So that by this general Expreſſion, the People of *Chaldea*, and *Phœnicia*, meant *Jupiter*, the Sun, the Maſter of Heaven, (that is, in the *Phœnician* Language, *Baalſamen*) *Saturn*, &c. and it was to the laſt of theſe, that the *Carthaginians* ſacrificed human Victims, and ſometimes their own Children. The *Phœnicians*, ſays *Euſebius*, in his Panegyrick on *Conſtantine*, annually ſacrifice thoſe of their Children, whom they love beſt, to *Saturn*. And *Ennius* tells us, that the ſame Barbarity was practiſed by the *Carthaginians. Poeni ſunt ſoliti ſuos ſacrificare puellos.*

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX.

APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Consuls.

Throats were cut on the Altars. The four chief Divinities which were worshiped at *Carthage*, were 9 *Juno*, 10 *Hercules*, 11 *Æsculapius*, and *Apollo* 12.

They made it a cruel Law among them, says *Justin*, *B.* 18. to offer human Sacrifice; and to kill whatever was most dear to them, at the Feet of the Altars, in times of publick Calamity. A Father, who was bound in Duty to engage the Gods to interpose in the Preservation of his Son, led him to the Priest himself, and made it a Duty of Religion, to become unnatural and cruel to him. The People, says *Plutarch*, saw the most flourishing part of their Youth, bleeding under the Sacrificer's Knife, without Pity or Concern. *Diodorus Siculus* says, *B.* 20. That the *Carthaginians* imputed the Defeat of their Army by *Agathocles*, to the Fraud, which they charged themselves with having committed, in substituting other Children in the room of those, which ought to have been sacrificed to *Saturn*. And they persuaded themselves, says *Lactantius*, *B.* 1. *c.* 21. and *Plutarch*, in his Treatise *Of Superstition*, That they could no otherwise appease the Wrath of their God, than by sacrificing to him two hundred Boys of the best born. And the latter adds, that three hundred others voluntarily offered to die, to expiate the Crime, of which *Carthage* thought her self guilty. This bloody Ceremony was always performed, with Flutes, and other Instruments of Musick playing, which drowned the Cries of the Children, whose Throats were cutting. The Mothers, who assisted at this tragical Transaction, gloried in appearing insensible, and stifling the most tender Yearnings of a Mother's Affection. If a Sigh escaped them, or a Tear dropped from their Eyes, this was thought an Impiety, and was punished by the Magistrates with a pecuniary Fine. The Emperor *Tiberius* used all possible Means to abolish this horrible Custom. He gave Orders, that the Priests, who embrewed their Hands in the Blood of these unhappy Victims, should be hanged on the Trees of the Avenue to the Temple of *Saturn*. But nevertheless, all the Precautions of this Prince could not hinder these Madmen, from exercising this execrable Office, in secret at least; and they continued it till *Tertullian*'s time, as he himself says, in his *Apology for the Christian Religion*. St. *Austin* tells us, in his *Harmony of the four Evangelists*, that the *Carthaginians* had so great a Reverence for their God, that they durst not repeat his Name. They only called him, *The Old Man*: and this Veneration was carried so far, that a Place in *Carthage*, called *Saturn*'s *Street*, was most commonly called, *The Old Man's Street*. *Senem potius quam Saturnum dicentes, tam timida superstitione, ut etiam pœne vico suo nomen mutaverint*, Vicum Senis *crebrius, quam* Vicum Saturni *appellantes*. [The *Belus*, who was the God of the *Assyrians*, was, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, the *Pul* of the Scriptures, whom he makes to have founded the *Assyrian* Empire, about the Year before Christ 790, that is, according to him, a hundred and sixty three Years before the building of *Rome*. He contends, That this Prince founded or repaired *Babylon*; and That *Nabonassar*, who succeeded him in *Babylon*, in the Year before Christ 749, erected there the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* to his Father, *Chron. p.* 34, 35.—268.—280. But the *Belus*, who is said by *Diodorus* to have led a *Colony* of *Egyptians* to *Babylon*, and instituted Priests there called *Chaldeans*, was, according to Sir *Isaac*, *Sesac* King of *Egypt*, who was slain in the Year before Christ 956, and was afterwards deified and worshiped under different Names, in different Countries. *Ibid. p.* 23, 24. The *Saturn* of the *Latins* was, according to the same Author, *Asterius* King of *Crete*, who was driven out of his Kingdom by his Son *Minos*, in the Year before Christ 1015, when *Solomon*'s Temple was building, *p.* 16.]

9 *Carthage*, says *Virgil*, *Æneid* 1. was the favourite City of the Goddess *Juno*. She was, according to St. *Austin*, honoured there with a particular Worship, under the Name of *Astarte*. *Juno autem sine dubitatione ab illis* [Poenis] *Astarte vocatur*. And because she was the tutelary Goddess of this City, therefore some ancient Authors have given it the Epithet of *Junonia*. [Sir *Isaac Newton* makes *Juno* to have been *Danae*, the Daughter of *Eurydice*, the Daughter of *Lacedæmon* the Founder of *Sparta*. Her Mother *Eurydice* erected a Temple, and instituted sacred Rites and Sacrifices to her, under the Title of *Juno Argiva*, about the time the Temple of *Solomon* was built, that is, about the Year before Christ 1015. *Chron.* 134, 138.]

10 Every Nation had its *Hercules*. The *Hercules* of the *Tyrians*, says *Tully*, passed for the Son of *Jupiter* and *Asteria*, the Sister of *Latona*; and Fable gives him a Daughter called *Carthago*, whom *Tully* mentions, *de Nat. Deor. B.* 3. *Quartus* Hercules *Jovis est, & Asteriæ Latonæ sororis, quem Tyrii maxime colunt, cujus Carthaginem filiam ferunt*. We have already observed, *p.* 2. of this *Vol. Note* 4. that the Inventions of the Pagans seem to have been exhausted in Fictions, in order to multiply their *Hercules's*. To which we shall here add, that the *Carthaginians* every Year fitted out a Ship very pompously, and sent her away loaded with Presents for *The Hercules of Tyre*; as *Justin* assures us. The *Phœnicians* ascribed the Honour and Success of their first Voyages into the West, to their *Hercules*. [The *Hercules* of the *Egyptians*, who set up the Pillars, called *Hercules*'s Pillars, near the *Streights of Gibraltar*, was, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, *Sesac*, or *Sesostris* King of *Egypt*, who reigned after his Father *Ammon*; and who, in his Father *Ammon*'s Reign, invaded *Africa* and *Spain*, and set up Pillars in all his Conquests, particularly at the Mouth of the *Mediterranean*, about the Year before Christ 1008. *Chronol. p.* 17. The *Hercules* of the *Greeks*, was one of the *Argonauts*, who went on their Expedition, about the Year before Christ 937: And this *Hercules* was deified, about the Year before Christ 927. *Ibid. p.* 26, 27. The *Tyrian Hercules*, to whom *Carthage* paid Tenths, which she sent to *Tyre* every Year, was the chief Leader of some *Phœnicians*, or *Tyrians*, who, presently after the *Trojan* War, which ended about the Year before Christ 904, went beyond *The Pillars of Hercules*, and first founded *Carthage* in *Africa*, and built *Carteia* in *Spain*, and *Gades* in the Island of that Name, without *The Streights*. He was called *Hercules* from his Labours and Success; the *Carteia* which he built was called *Heraclea*. He was also called *Malcartus*, from his having built this City of *Carteia*, which was at first called *Malcarteia*. After his Death a Temple was built to him in the Island *Gades*, and was adorned with the Sculptures of the Labours of *Hercules*, and of his *Hydra*, and of the Horses, to whom he threw *Diomedes* King of the *Bistones* in *Thrace*. Ibid. p. 111, 112, 113.]

11 The *Carthaginians* were exceeding fond of the Worship of *Æsculapius*, upon the Credit of a Tradition among them, that this God was born of a Woman of their Country. *Strabo* and *Appian* say, that the Inhabitants of *Carthage* built a Temple to him, in the Citadel of *Byrsa*. *Æsculapius* was, according to Sir *Isaac Newton*, one of the *Argonauts*, who went on their Expedition, about the Year before Christ 937. He was deified about the Year before Christ 927, that is, three hundred Years before the Founding of *Rome*. See *Chron. p.* 26, 27.]

12 Most of the Divinities of *Greece* were worshiped at *Carthage*, among the rest the Goddess

Urania.

THE *Dictators* by Degrees extended the Frontiers of this State, which was at first confined to the City of *Carthage* alone; and how far they carried their Conquests in *Africa*, is uncertain. We only know, That they freed themselves from paying the *Lybians* the annual Tribute they demanded of them for the Ground on which *Carthage* stood: and we shall see elsewhere, that a part of the Coast round [13] the City, was brought into Subjection to it. But by [14] Sea, this Republick made a more considerable Progress. And indeed, the Art to which the *Carthaginians* applied themselves most, was that of Navigation. They came originally from *Tyre*, which was always famous for its Trade by Sea; and the *Colony* imitated her [15] Mother-City. The greatest Men in *Carthage* were the greatest Merchants. From whence it came to pass, that together with a Love of Trade, all the Vices of Traders were also introduced into the Republick; such as Unfaithfulness in Treaties, Cunning, and Deceit. As much as the *Citizens* of *Rome* neglected enriching their Families, and preferred the Interest of the Publick to their own; so much did the *Carthaginians* prefer their own Advantage, to the Glory and Prosperity of their Country. And indeed, if rightly understood, it was this which chiefly made them sink at last under

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX. APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Consuls.

Cicero against Rullus.

Urania, whom some take to be *The Moon*, others *Venus*. St. *Austin* speaking of this City, *upon Psal.* 98. calls it *Regnum Veneris*. *Cybele* was also worshiped there; this holy Father, *B.* 7. *Of the City of God*, exclaims against the Effeminacy and Debauchery of the Ministers dedicated to her Worship. *They broke through all the Bounds of Modesty*, says he, *passed through the very Streets of* Carthage, *with their Hair oiled, their Faces whited, and an effeminate Gate; and were not ashamed even to ask Alms of them they met, to support them in their Licentiousness.* [*Cybele* was, says Sir *Isaac Newton*, *Europa* the Wife of *Asterius* King of *Crete*, the *Saturn* of *The Latins*, and the Mother of *Minos* King of *Crete*, the *Cretan Jupiter*, who expelled his Father *Asterius*, and reigned in his room about the Year before Christ 1015. *Europa* was called *Rhea* and *Magna Mater*, and from the Places where she was worshiped, *Cybele*, *Berecynthia*, *Pessinuntia*, *Dindymene*, *Mygdonia*, and *Idæa Phrygia*, p. 16, 148, 152. She was worshiped in the Form of a Woman sitting in a Chariot, drawn by Lions, with a Drum in her Hand, and a *Corona turrita* on her Head, like *Astarte* and *Isis*, p. 151. The Mysteries of *Rhea*, were instituted in *Phrygia*, in the City *Cybele*, about the Year before Christ 1007. *p.* 17. *Cybele*, the Wife of *Jasius* a *Samothracian*, (whose Sister had married *Cadmus*, one of those who fled from *Zidon* and *David*, into *Asia Minor*, *Crete*, *Greece*, and *Lybia*) and her Daughter *Corybus*, and *Dardanus* her Husband, *Jasius*'s Brother, went into *Phrygia*, and carried thither the Mysteries of *The Mother of the Gods*; and *Cybele* called the Goddess after her own Name, and *Corybas* called her Priests *Corybantes*, p. 157, 158.] Among the Gods of the *Carthaginians*, they themselves also reckoned, *Anna Perenna*, the Sister of *Dido*, and *The Abaddires*; of whom St. *Austin* tells us nothing more, than that their Priests were called *Encaddires*. *Apollo* had, according to *Appian*, a magnificent Temple in *Carthage*, the Roof of which was covered with Plates of Gold, and a stately Statue, which the *Romans* carried to *Rome*, after the last *Punick* War. It was placed over against *The Great Circus*.

[13] The *Carthaginians* not only subdued all this vast Coast, which reached to *Syria* on one side, and to *Hercules*'s *Pillars* on the other, for the Space of a thousand *French* Leagues at the least; but also gave Law to all the maritime Countries, lying South of *The Streights of Gibraltar*, where *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* founded a great many Cities, and *Colonies*. Not to mention the vast Island, which the Author of the Book *Of Wonders* (ascribed to *Aristotle*) and *Diodorus Siculus*, say, had been discovered and inhabited by the People of *Carthage*. By the Description these two Authors give of it, there is room to conjecture, that it was *America*. Tho' at the same time it is very difficult to conceive it possible for them then to cross such vast Seas, without the Use of the Compass. But *Diodorus* indeed says, that the Persons to whom *Carthage* was indebted for the Discovery of this Island, were thrown upon it by a Tempest, probably an East-Wind, which almost always blows in the Torrid Zone, and which carried the *Carthaginian* Ships to the *West-Indies*. And it is reported, that the Senate of *Carthage* made a Decree, forbidding any private Persons to settle there, for fear the People, charmed with the Pleasantness and Fruitfulness of so fine a Country, should desert their native Country, to go and inherit a Place, of which Travellers told so many wonderful Things. The Republick of *Carthage* carefully concealed the Knowledge of this new Country from other Nations; and as is pretended, would not suffer the *Tyrians* to go to it, but reserved the Possession of this Island to themselves, as a Place of Retreat, in case of Need. It is pity we cannot recover the Relations, the two *Carthaginian* Captains, *Hanno* and *Himilco*, gave of their Voyages. Posterity would have drawn great Light from thence, in relation to the vast Extent of the Conquests and Commerce of the *Carthaginians*. The former had written Memoirs of his Voyages in the Ocean, from *Hercules*'s *Pillars*, along the western Coasts of *Africa*: The latter of his Cruisings along the western Coasts of *Europe*. But their Writings are unfortunately lost. For the *Periplus*, which now goes under the Name of the former, is deemed Supposititious, and thought to be the Work of a later Writer.

[14] The *Carthaginians* had shared the Empire of the Seas with the *Tyrians*, till the first *Carthaginian* War. *Carthage* was at that time Mistress of a part of *Africa*, and *Spain*; and of *Sardinia*, and the adjoining Islands. Afterwards, she extended her Dominions so far, as to have three hundred Cities subject to her, on the Continent of *Africa*.

[15] The *Carthaginians* had inherited a great Knowledge of Trade, and a great Skill in the Art of making all sorts of Carpenters and Joiners Work, from the *Tyrians*. Every one knows, that *Solomon* had not only all the Cedar he wanted, but the most able Workmen too, for the building of his Temple at *Jerusalem*, from *Tyre*. And the *Carthaginian* Wainscot was no less esteemed at *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* were also most remarkable for that Way of dressing of Leather, which is preserved in *Africa*, to this Day: from whence we have that fine *Morocco* Leather which is so useful to us, on many Occasions. And to these means of enriching themselves, the *Carthaginians* added an excellent Oeconomy, and great Frugality, in their Way of Living. They fed so coarsely, that the *Romans* called them *Pap-eaters*, by Way of Derision.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXIX.

App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

the Arms of a Republick, which was leſs powerful than their own. The Art of Navigation, and the Multitude of Merchant-ſhips, which always were in the Ports of *Carthage*, made her formidable to all the neighbouring Iſlands: and *Sicily* ſeems to have been the firſt Place, upon which the *Carthaginians* made a Deſcent. *Maleus* [16], one of the *Dictators*, took ſome Cities there, conquered a part of that fine Iſland; and then made an Attempt upon *Sardinia*. But he was not equally ſucceſsful there, the General loſt the greateſt part of his Troops, and was baniſhed for it. So little Regard was ſhewn to theſe ſort of Kings in *Carthage*! *Mago*, who ſucceeded *Maleus*, taught the *Carthaginians* military Exerciſe, ſettled a good Diſcipline among the Troops; but was as unfortunate as his Predeceſſor. He was worſted in *Sicily*; and out of Shame for it, and for fear of being condemned by the Senate to ſuffer a painful Death, he killed himſelf. And then his Countrymen could only revenge themſelves on his Body, which they did by affixing it to a Croſs. *Mago* [17] had two Sons, *Aſdrubal* and *Hamilcar*; who inherited their Father's Bravery, and were Heirs to his *Dictatorſhip*. *Aſdrubal* ſailed to *Sardinia*, ſignalized himſelf by his Exploits there; and was killed in Battel. He was a great Commander; had held the *Dictatorſhip* eleven Years; received all military Honours; enjoyed four Triumphs; and *Carthage* ſincerely lamented his Death. And indeed, the Enemies of *Carthage* ſeemed to revive, when *Aſdrubal* was gone. This great Man, juſt as he was ready to expire, of the mortal Wound he had received in the Engagement, tranſmitted the Command to his Brother, who did not long ſurvive him. He was killed in *Sicily*, and left three Sons, *Himilco*, *Hanno*, and *Giſco*. *Aſdrubal* alſo had three Sons, *Hannibal*, *Aſdrubal*, and *Sappho*; who were all *Dictators* in their Turns, and made *Carthage* a very flouriſhing State by their Conqueſts, on the Continent of *Africk*. But the conſtant Succeſſion of ſo many Perſons in one Family to the greateſt Dignity, raiſed the Jealouſy of the Publick. Their Glory and their Services were made their Crimes. In order to moderate an Authority, which is generally ſuſpected in free Cities, the *Carthaginians* erected a Council of an hundred Judges, whoſe Buſineſs it ſhould be to inſpect the Behaviour of the *Dictators*, and judge of all Complaints that ſhould be brought againſt them, for Miſconduct. After this Precaution, which was thought neceſſary, the Republick entruſted *Himilco* with the Command of the Troops, which his Father *Hamilcar* had commanded in *Sicily*; and he greatly ſignalized himſelf by his Valour and Conduct, both by Sea, and Land. He won Battels, and many Cities in *Sicily* ſurrendered to the Conqueror. But a Plague put a Stop to his Victories, and raged ſo violently, that it carried off almoſt all his Army. Upon this *Himilco* was no longer Maſter of himſelf; he returned to *Carthage*; ſhut himſelf up in his Houſe; would not ſuffer ſo much as his own Children to come into his Preſence, and ſtabbed himſelf. And this he might do, out of Grief, for having ſurvived his Soldiers; or fear of being condemned by the hundred Judges; or Deſpair, at ſeeing the Affairs of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* utterly ruined. How-

Plut. Life of *Timoleon*.

Juſt. B. 19.

16 This was the ſame *Maleus* who beſieged *Carthage*, in order to revenge himſelf on it, for having baniſhed him; and he took it by Aſſault. But being content with his Victory, he drew no Advantage from it, more than the cruel Pleaſure of ſeeing thoſe who had declared againſt him, expire in Torment. *Juſtin* mentions one inhuman Act of this *Carthaginian* Captain, which has made his Name odious. Whilſt he was attacking *Carthage*, his own Son *Carthalo* was ordered by the Senate to conduct to *Tyre*, the Ship, which, according to Cuſtom, was to carry thither the Tenth of the Spoils, his Father had brought away from *Sicily*. The *Carthaginians* ſent ſuch an Offering as this to the *Hercules* of their Metropolis every Year; as has been already obſerved. *Carthalo*, who was obliged to paſs through his Father's Camp, refuſed to ſee, or confer with him, under Pretence that he was indiſpenſably obliged by the Duties of the ſacred Office, with which he was entruſted, not to ſtop: and therefore poſtponed the private Conference *Maleus* had deſired to have with him, till after his return from *Tyre*. *Maleus* thought this Refuſal of his Son was treating him with Contempt, and was enraged at it; nevertheleſs, he durſt not, out of Reſpect to Religion, offer any Violence to his Son, on his Journey. After his return to *Tyre*, *Carthalo* repaired to *Maleus*'s Tent, as he had promiſed: and this cruel Father, after reproaching his Son, in the moſt bitter manner, had the Inhumanity to crucify him, in the prieſtly Habit, which he had worn at *Tyre*. Soon after, *Maleus* being accuſed for attempting to make himſelf a Tyrant over his Country, was juſtly puniſhed with Death for his Treaſon, and the Murder of his Son.

17 *Mago*, at the Requeſt of *Icetas*, the General of the People of *Leontini*, went into *Sicily* with an Army of ſixty thouſand Men, and a Fleet of a hundred and fifty Sail. The latter was beſieging *Syracuſe*; but had a formidable Enemy to contend with, which was *Timoleon of Corinth*, who came to the Relief of the *Syracuſans*. This great Man was not ſurprized at *Mago*'s Arrival. He conducted himſelf with ſo much Prudence and Valour that he forced the *Carthaginian* General to return aboard his Fleet, weigh Anchor, and ſail back to *Africa*.

ever, his Brother *Hanno*, being choſen *Dictator*, raiſed new Levies, and returned into *Sicily*. And there the Jealouſy of a Competitor had like to have proved fatal to him. He went to declare War with *Dionyſius the Tyrant*; but a *Carthaginian*, named [18] *Suniates*, betrayed his Secrets. This Traitor kept a Correſpondence with *Dionyſius*, to whom he wrote in *Greek*. But his Letters were intercepted, and this occaſioned the Order the *Carthaginians* made, forbidding any one to learn the *Greek* Language. It is probable, that *Hanno* made ſome Conqueſts in *Sicily*. At leaſt he thought himſelf powerful enough in his Republick to be able to uſurp a Tyranny over it. With this view, when he gave a great Entertainment to all the Senators of *Carthage*, at the Marriage of his Daughter, he ordered the Wine they were to drink to be poiſoned. However, the Treaſon was diſcovered, and the Diſcovery of it diſſembled. Nevertheleſs, the Traitor, who dreaded the Revenge of the Publick, took up Arms againſt his Country, raiſed the Slaves, and joined the *Lybians*. Being Maſter of a Fort, he ſuſtained a Siege in it; but it was taken by Storm, and he ſuffered the Puniſhment he deſerved. The Bones of his Arms and Legs were broken, his Eyes put out, and he whipped to death. And to complete the Ignominy, his Body was fixed up to a Croſs: and the Hatred of the Publick reached even to his Children, and his Relations. Thus ended a Race, whoſe Valour had raiſed, and whoſe Ambition had deſtroyed, them.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX. App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

In the mean time, *Alexander the Great* drew near *Carthage*. He was already Maſter of *Egypt*, and had given his Name to the City of *Alexandria*. *Carthage* had therefore Reaſon to fear, that the Conqueror of *Aſia* would enter farther into *Africa*, and think the Coaſt of *Lybia* worth ſubduing. And in order to divert the Storm, the *Carthaginians* had recourſe to Artifice, which was their uſual Refuge, and in this Caſe, their only Remedy. They ſuborned one of their *Citizens*, whoſe Name was *Hamilcar*, (for the ſame Names often return in the Hiſtory of *Carthage*, and create Confuſion in it) who took the Surname of *Rhodon*, was an expert, inſinuating, brave Man, and went over to *Alexander*, as a Deſerter from his native City. This Man, by the Means of *Parmenio*, procured Acceſs to the Prince, and became his Confident, only the more effectually to abuſe his Friendſhip. He, by Letters, written on Boards covered with Wax, gave his Countrymen, whatever Intelligence was neceſſary for their Safety; and by his Addreſs, found Means to turn the Arms of *Alexander* againſt other Countries, and keep them from his own. Theſe were ſuch Services as his Country could never enough acknowledge; but the *Carthaginians* were as ungrateful as ſuſpicious. *Hamilcar* had too great Abilities not to be ſuſpected by them. He returned into his own Country, after the Deceaſe of *Alexander*, and all the Reward he received from his Countrymen, was Death. A remarkable Inſtance of Ingratitude, Diſtruſt, and Cruelty! As long as *Alexander* lived, the *Carthaginians* did not abandon their Deſign upon *Sicily*. They kept their Footing there, in the Reign of *Agathocles*. One of their *Dictators*, who was alſo named *Hamilcar*, firſt came to the Aſſiſtance of this King, who was driven out of his Dominions; and he made *Agathocles* ſwear upon the Altars, that he would do the *Carthaginians* as much Service in extending their Dominions in *Sicily*, as they ſhould do him, in bringing him back to *Syracuſe*, from whence he had been baniſhed. *Agathocles* promiſed every thing, and did nothing. As ſoon as he was reinſtated in his own Country, he did not ſpare the *Carthaginians* his Benefactors. *Hamilcar* was therefore blamed at *Carthage* for his Conduct. It was imputed to him as a Crime, that he had aſſiſted a perfidious Man. The Senate had already paſſed Sentence of Death upon him, but kept it very ſecret; and as ſoon as *Hamilcar* knew it, he ſtabbed himſelf with his own Sword. His Son *Giſco* was placed at the Head of the Troops, in the room of his Father; and this brave *Dictator* fought ſeveral Battels with *Agathocles*, and always defeated him. At length he laid Siege to *Syracuſe* itſelf; and then *Agathocles* went upon an Enterpriſe, which ſeems to have been purely the Effect of Deſpair. He marched out of *Syracuſe*, though it was beſieged; left Proviſions for the Garriſon which was to defend it; took with him only a ſmall Number of Soldiers; gave all the Slaves he could find Liberty, and Arms; and embarking in ſome Ships, he had made ready in

[18] This *Carthaginian* was a very powerful Man, ſays *Juſtin*, and a Man of great Diſtinction at *Carthage*. His Hatred to *Hanno*, made him ſerve *Dionyſius the Tyrant*, to the Prejudice of his Country. But his Treaſon was diſcovered and puniſhed with Death.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXIX. App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

the Port, ſet ſail, without diſcovering his Deſign. It was thought, that he was going to ravage the Coaſts of *Italy*; but he landed on the Coaſts of *Africa*. The Cities which were ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, were then, properly ſpeaking, nothing more than great Towns ſituated in the midſt of Plains, without any Walls, or Fortifications. *Agathocles* therefore took them, plundered them, and filled the whole Country with Slaughter. Nay, he laid Siege to *Carthage* itſelf. *Ophella*, one of *Alexander's* Captains joined him, with a Deſign to conquer *Africa*: but *Agathocles* found Means to get rid of him, by an Aſſaſſination, and retained his Troops in his Service. With this Reinforcement, he beat the *Carthaginians*, within ſight of their Capital; and *Bomilcar* was ready to deliver up the City to him, when the Traitor was diſcovered, and crucified. Nevertheleſs, he was a *Dictator*; but the *Carthaginians* were profuſe of the Blood of their Governors. *Agathocles* had nothing more to do, but to force *Carthage* to ſurrender; for *Utica*, the ſecond City of the *Carthaginians*, had juſt ſubmitted to him. But notwithſtanding all this, his Uneaſineſs about the Siege of *Syracuſe* carried him back into *Sicily*. Upon his Arrival, all the Cities, which had ſtood neuter, or had ſurrendered themſelves up to the Foreigners, followed the Standards of a General, who was grown famous for his Conqueſts in *Africa*; and he cleared *Sicily* of the *Carthaginians*, who had long been making War there, and always with ſome Advantage. So that *Agathocles* might have been ſatisfied with having delivered his Country from a troubleſome Enemy; but he unfortunately returned into *Africa*. There, being overcome by thoſe very *Carthaginians*, whom he had ſo often vanquiſhed, he, after the Loſs of one Battel (a ſtrange Effect of Dejection) embarked in the Night; returned to *Syracuſe*; left his Son, and his Army, to the Mercy of the Enemy; and they being reduced to deſpair, by being deſerted by their General, ſurrendered to the *Carthaginians*.

Then *Carthage* made her Advantage of the Flight of *Agathocles*, and the ſurrendry of his Troops. She recovered her Affairs in *Sicily*; and by a Treaty of Peace, obliged the King of *Syracuſe* to reſtore her all the Cities which ſhe had formerly poſſeſſed. Nor was this all. As ſoon as ſhe was informed of the Death of *Agathocles*, ſhe diſpatched away Ships and Troops to complete the Conqueſt of *Sicily*: and it was then that *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Sicilians*, abandoned the War he had begun with *Rome*. But the ſame Levity which brought him from *Italy*, carried him back thither, after he had driven the *Carthaginians* to the extreme Parts of *Sicily*; andhis Departure recovered them from their Dejection. Then, the firſt Wars they had to maintain were with King *Hiero* [19], who ſucceeded *Agathocles*, and who had a Sovereign Power in *Syracuſe*.

Thus

19 The Hiſtory of the Reign of *Hiero* is ſo interwoven with the following Events, that we think it neceſſary to give it the Reader in this Place. He was deſcended, by the Father's ſide, from *Gelo*, who governed *Syracuſe* with abſolute Authority, but by the Mother's ſide his Extraction was much meaner. His Mother was a Slave, with whom *Hierocles*, or *Hieroclytus*, as *Juſtin* calls him, fell in Love. But he thought it beneath him to take any care of the Education of a Son, who was the Fruit of an unlawful Converſation with a Woman of mean Extraction; and therefore he expoſed him, and left him to the Mercy of any one that would pick him up. The Child is ſaid to have been fed ſome Days by a Swarm of Bees, which laid their Honey in his Mouth. The Diviners were conſulted about the Prodigy, and they declared it an happy Omen, and that the Gods had deſtined *Hiero* to mount a Throne. Then *Hierocles* his Father, pleaſed with this Anſwer, owned him; and educated him in a manner ſuitable to his Birth. When he came to Man's Eſtate, *Hiero* diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Courage, and a very prudent Conduct. He made his firſt Campaigns under *Pyrrhus*. This King honoured him with his Eſteem, and thought him worthy of the military Rewards Generals uſed to give to brave Men. In his firſt Campaigns, an Eagle perched upon his Helmet, and an Owl upon his Pike. And theſe two Birds, the former ſacred to *Jupiter*, and the Symbol of Valour, the latter ſacred to *Minerva*, and the Emblem of Wiſdom, ſeemed to confirm the firſt Prediction. But we cannot warrant Facts of this Nature, upon the Credit of thoſe who probably report them, only to celebrate their Hero. After the King of *Epirus*'s Departure, *Hiero* was elected *Prætor* with *Artemidorus*, by the *Syracuſan* Army, contrary to the Inclination of the Inhabitants of the City. But he made himſelf ſo acceptable to the People, by his great Affability, and the Mildneſs of his Government, that they unanimouſly confirmed his Election. During his *Prætorſhip*, he was ſupported by all the Intereſt of *Leptinus*, a Man of great Authority in *Syracuſe*, and in order to ſtrengthen this Friendſhip, he had married his Daughter. He began his Government with diſmiſſing the foreign Troops he had Reaſon to ſuſpect, and keeping only Natives in his Pay; and after he had vanquiſhed the *Mamertini*, he was choſen King of *Syracuſe* by common Conſent. Then all the *Sicilians* gave him the Title of their Captain-General againſt the *Carthaginians*, who had long been aſpiring at the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland; and in this Quality, he continued the War with the *Mamertini*, who called in the *Romans* to their Aſſiſtance, and thereby gave Riſe to the firſt *Punic* War. The other Actions of *Hiero*, and all the different Circumſtances of his Life, will be mentioned in the Sequel of our Hiſtory: and we ſhall conclude this Account of him with *Juſtin*'s Picture of this Prince. *He was very handſome*

Thus the *Carthaginians* ſtill maintained their Power in *Sicily*, and even increaſed it. They had likewiſe begun to make ſome Conqueſts in *Spain*. The Inhabitants of 20 *Gades*, who were originally *Tyrians*, had called them in, to their Aſſiſtance; and when once the *Carthaginians* had a Footing in *Spain*, this was enough to induce them to try to make Conqueſts there. They ſoon brought the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean* into Subjection; and *Sardinia* 21 and *Corſica* obeyed theſe Conquerors; but we

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX. APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.

handſome, ſays this Hiſtorian, *and was a Man of a robuſt Conſtitution, and prodigious Strength. His Affability in Converſation, his Equity in the Management of Affairs, and his Moderation in the Government of his People were ſuch, that he ſeemed to want nothing regal, but a Crown.* *Juſtin*'s Words are; *Pulchritudo ei corporis inſignis, vires quoque in homine admirabiles fuere. In alloquiis Blandus, in negotiis juſtus, in imperio moderatus, prorſus, ut nihil regium deeſſe, præter regnum, videretur.*

20 Near the Mouth of the *Bætis*, or *Guadalquivir*, twenty five Miles from *Hercules*'s *Pillars*, or *The Streights of Gibraltar*, ſtood the ancient City of *Gades*, in an Iſland of the ſame Name, formerly about ſeven hundred geometrical Paces from the Continent, according to *Strabo*. It now has a Communication with the Continent by a Bridge. The *Tyrians*, who came from the *Red Sea*, advanced as far as this Iſland, which the Ancients thought the end of the World: and there they founded a *Colony* and City, which they called *Erythræa*; but the *Carthaginians* called it *Gadir*. *In capite Bæticæ*, ſays *Solinus*, *c.* 23. *ubi extremus eſt noti orbis terminus, Inſula a Continenti ſeptuagentis paſſibus ſeparatur, quam Tyrii a Rubro profecti mari Erythræam, Puni lingua ſua Gadir, id eſt, Sepem, nominarunt.* The ancient Geographers thought the Name of *Gades* agreed very well with a neighbouring Iſland, which *Strabo* calls *Erythia*, and of which there are now no Footſteps remaining. We find the Iſland of *Gades* deſcribed by the Ancients, under the different Names of *Cotinuſſa* (which was its firſt Name) *Tarteſſus*, *The Iſland of Juno*, and *Aphrodiſius*, or *the Iſland conſecrated to Venus*. *Strabo* tells us, it was at leaſt a hundred *Stadia*, that is, 12500 geometrical Paces, long; and three thouſand Paces broad, in the wideſt part, and a thouſand in the narroweſt. The Inhabitants of the Iſland and City of *Gades*, were particularly devoted to the Worſhip of *Hercules Tyrius*; either becauſe this Hero, was held in great Veneration by the People of *Tyre*, from whom thoſe of *Gades* deſcended; or becauſe he had, according to the fabulous Traditions of thoſe Times, finiſhed his Labours, and Conqueſts, in this part of *Spain*. The Temple the Inhabitants of this Iſland erected to this God, was famous for its Magnificence, and the Concourſe of People to it, to pay their Vows, and make their Offerings there. Some think it was built upon the Point of the Iſland, five Miles from the City. *Saturn* alſo had a Temple here, as well as at *Carthage*, and *Tyre*. The Capital of this Iſland was afterwards called *Julia Auguſta Gaditana*; and it became one of the richeſt *Roman Colonies*. It is now called *Cadix*. See *Pliny B.* 4. *c.* 22; *Stephen of Biſantium*, and *Strabo B.* 3.

21 *Diodorus Siculus*, *Procopius*, *Lycophron*, and *Dionyſius the Geographer*, give the Iſland of *Corſica* the different Names of *Curſica*, *Cerneatis*, *Corſis*, and *Sidis*. The *Greeks* called it *Cyrnos*, becauſe *Cyrnus* the Son of *Hercules*, founded a *Colony* there, if we may believe *Servius*, and *Iſidorus*, on this Head. *Corſica*, ſays *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, *B.* 3. *c.* 26. lies in the Sea of *Liguria*, and is called *Cyrnos* by the *Greeks*. *In Liguſtico mari eſt Corſica, quam Graci Cyrnon appellavere.* *Euſtathius* derives the Name of *Corſica* from a Woman, whom he calls *Corſa*; who, according to him, was a Herdſ-Woman, whoſe Bull firſt ſwam over into this Iſland, which was till that time unknown to the *Ligures*. *Corſa*, adds he, ſeized a Bark, and purſued the Beaſt to the Place where he ſtopped. But *Euſtathius* ought to have conſidered, when he vented this Fable, that *Corſica* is ſixty thouſand geometrical Paces, that is, twenty Leagues from the *Italian* Shore; and that it is very improbable, a Bull ſhould be able to ſwim ſo far. The ancient Geographers give us different Accounts of the Length and Breadth of *Corſica*. *Strabo* reckons it to be a hundred and ſixty Miles long; *Ptolomy* a hundred and thirty; *Capella* a hundred and ſixty; *Pliny* but ſixty; and *Cluver* a hundred and twenty. Nor are they better agreed as to the Breadth of it. *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* make it ſeventy Miles broad; *Pliny* and *Capella* fifty; and *Oroſius* no more than twenty five. But it is now reckoned to be exactly 106000 geometrical Paces long; 54000 broad, and 300000 in Circumference. The Ancients looked on it as an ungrateful and barbarous Country, on account of the Barrenneſs of this Iſland, and the Barbarity and ſavage Tempers of the Inhabitants. This is *Seneca*'s Account of it; *Conſol. ad Helvian.* *Saxum nudum, abruptum, ſejanum, immanſuetum, horridum, intemperans.* Nevertheleſs, *Corſica* abounded with Wax and Honey, which received a bitter Taſte from the Yew-trees, which grow here in great Plenty. Which made *Virgil* ſay, *Eclog.* 8.

Sic tua Cyrnæos fugiant examina Taxos.

Ovid aſcribes this Bitterneſs to the Hemlock, which poiſoned the Iſland. Its Wine was thought excellent: and its Foreſts produced Trees of an extraordinary height. It had ſome Paſtures, wherein good Horſes were bred; but the Dogs of *Corſica* eſpecially, were very much eſteemed. *Athenæus* and *Euſtathius* tell us, that the Inhabitants generally lived to a pretty advanced Age. It is ſaid to have been firſt poſſeſſed by the *Ligures*. Then the *Phocæi* planted a *Colony* there, about the 56th *Olympiad*, and in the Reign of *Cyrus*, according to *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*. But they were driven out of it by the *Tyrrhenians*. Afterwards it was conquered by the *Carthaginians*, who kept it till the firſt *Punic* War; and then they gave it up to the *Romans*, who made a Settlement there. Nevertheleſs, the Mountaineers, jealous of their Liberty, refuſed to ſubmit to them for a great while. They cantoned themſelves in their Mountains, and put the *Romans* under the Neceſſity of going and forcing their Trenches. And then theſe untractable Men preferred a voluntary Death to the Shame of ſubmitting to the Conqueror's Will. Thoſe who could not eſcape the Enemy by flight, were reduced to Slavery. And they were more remarkable than other Slaves, for a natural Stupidity, which is often mentioned to the Reproach of the *Corſicans*.

Sardinia, which lies South of *Corſica*, had ſeveral different Names. The *Greeks* called it *Sardon*, and from thence the Inhabitants were called *Sardonii*. According to the Mythologiſts, one *Sardus*, whom they make to be the Son of *Hercules*, landed in this Iſland, at the Head of a Company of *Lybians*, planted *Colonies* there, together with another Adventurer named *Norax*, the Son of *Mercury*, incorporated thoſe *Colonies* with the old Inhabitants of the Iſland, and gave his Name to the whole

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXIX. App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

we know not the exact time, when they made themſelves Maſters of them. This was much the State of the Republick of *Carthage*, when ſhe gave the *Romans* Umbrage. As theſe two Powers drew near each other by their Conqueſts, they became Rivals, notwithſtanding the Treaties which had united them. How different were the Manners of theſe two Nations, which were now ready to contend for Superiority! The *Romans* profeſſed ſtrict Probity; the *Carthaginians* looked on Perfidiouſneſs as a Trifle. The former acted wholly by Rules of Honour; the latter had no Guide but their Intereſt. The one kept their Words; the other thought Fidelity a Weakneſs. The *Romans* had more Ruſticity in their Behaviour, but were more upright. The *Carthaginians* affected an *Aſiatick* Politeneſs, but it was only firſt to deceive, and then ruin, thoſe who lay any Streſs upon it. The Senate and People of *Rome* encouraged their Generals, by honourable Rewards. The Senate and People of *Carthage* made uſe of no Motive to keep their *Dictators* to their Duty, but the fear of Torture and Death. Both the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* loved Liberty; but the *Carthaginians* were ready to ſell it to the firſt Tyrant, who would purchaſe it; the *Romans* thought no Price could be an equivalent for it. The *Carthaginian* Republick was moſt formidable by Sea; the *Roman* was invincible by Land. The latter uſed their Cavalry to Advantage; the former armed Elephants, and artfully trained them up for Wars. Every thing was to be feared from the Bravery of the *Romans*; every thing to be ſuſpected from the Cunning and Artifices of the *Carthaginians*. The two Nations ſcarce agreed in any thing, but an equal Ambition; which *Rome* was forced to diſcover firſt, upon this Occaſion.

whole Country. *Sardinia* is not unlike the Mark of a Man's Foot, or the Sole of a Shoe; and to this the *Greek* Terms *Sanaliotis* and *Ichnuſa* allude: which are Names given this Iſland by many Authors, particularly by *Silius*, *B.* 12.

——————*Terras*
Enormes cohibet nuda ſub imagine plantæ,
Inde Ichnuſa prius Graiis memorata Colonis.

The ancient Geographers are divided in Opinion about the Length of *Sardinia*; but it is now agreed, that it is 170000 geometrical Paces, or about ſixty Leagues long in the longeſt part, from South to North, that is, from *Capo Tavolaro*, to *Capo della Teſta*. It is 90000 geometrical Paces, or about thirty Leagues broad, in the wideſt Place from Eaſt to Weſt, that is, from *Capo Comino*, to *Capo della Caccia*. And according to the moſt exact Computation, it is 570000 geometrical Paces, that is, about two hundred and fifty Leagues in Circumference, at the rate of three Miles *per* League; ſo that it is very near as large as *Sicily*. There is not at moſt above ten or twelve Leagues Difference between them. *Herodotus*, *B.* 1. ſays, that *Sardinia* is bigger than *Sicily*. Its Fruitfulneſs in all ſorts of Grain, made it one of the chief Places, to which the *Romans* had recourſe in Times of Scarcity. *Siciliam & Sardiniam benigniſſimas Urbis Romanæ nutrices*, ſays *Valer. Max. B.* 7. *c.* 6. The Ancients boaſt much of the Excellency of its Wines and Paſtures. But they all agree, that its Air was very unwholſome, eſpecially in the Summer; and almoſt always ſpeak of it, as a peſtilential Place. This is the Account *Mela* gives us of it, *B.* 7. *c.* 2. *Soli, quam Cœli melioris, atque ut ſecunda, ita pœne peſtilens. Cicero* gives us in one Sentence, both the Character of *Tigellius* the *Sardinian*, and the common Opinion of the Climate. *Id ego in Lucris pono, non ferre hominem peſtilentiorem patria ſua*, *B.* 7. *Ep.* 22. This Prejudice was ſo generally received at *Rome*, that the *Romans*, who went thither, thought they went to certain Death. And therefore this was generally the Place to which the Emperors baniſhed Criminals, and thoſe whom they wanted to get rid of. Among the Properties the *Naturaliſts* give *Sardinia*, one thing they think remarkable is, that there were never any Wolves or Serpents there, and that its Soil never produced any venomous Herb, except a little Plant, very like *Smallage*, according to *Pauſanias in Phocicis*, or *Balm*, according to *Iſidorus*, *B.* 14. *c.* 6. The Quality of this Herb, which the Ancients call *Sardonia*, was as ſingular as it was pernicious. Thoſe who accidentally had eaten of it, were ſeized with a mortal Diſeaſe, which produced a Contraction of the Nerves; and drew open their Mouths in ſuch a manner, that they ſeemed to be Laughing. Hence the Expreſſion *Riſus Sardonicus*, to ſignify an ill-natured, or forced Laugh. *Pliny* and *Solinus* are of this Opinion. But others ſay, that the *Sardonians*, a People of *Africa*, who bordered upon the Republick of *Carthage*, gave Riſe to this *Latin* Proverb. It was cuſtomary among them, ſay they, to cut the Throats of their Fathers and Mothers, who were ſeventy Years old, and ſacrifice them to *Saturn*, laughing. *Solinus* mentions a Spider found in *Sardinia*, which he calls *Solifuga*, becauſe it avoided the Sun. He ſays, its Bite was venomous, and often mortal. It was generally found in Silver Mines, of which there were ſome here, as well as Sulphur, and Allom Mines. The Inhabitants feed moſtly on the Fleſh of an Horn-beaſt, a little leſs than a Stag, but altogether as ſwift. There is great Plenty of them in the Mountains; and their Skins are applied to ſeveral Uſes. The Ponds in the Iſland afford fine Fiſh; and the Sea-ſhore produces red Coral. *Solinus* and *Iſidorus* commend the hot and mineral Waters of *Sardinia*, Theſe were Preſervatives againſt the Diſeaſes produced by the ill Qualities of the Air; but the Inhabitants wanted freſh Water, for common Uſe: and were forced to make uſe of Rain-water, which they caught and kept in Pits for that Purpoſe. But what theſe two laſt Authors ſay of a certain Water here, that it had the Quality of diſcovering Robberies, by ſtriking the Robbers blind, who rubbed their Eyes with it, deſerves no manner of Credit. *Suidas* talks much more probably, when he commends the purple Colour that was made in *Sardinia*. This Iſland is divided from that of *Corſica*, only by a narrow Streight of about eight thouſand geometrical Paces over; ſo that at a Diſtance, they both ſeem to be but one Iſland. This Arm of the Sea is called *Taphros* by the *Greeks*, becauſe it is as it were *a Ditch* between the two Iſlands.

§. III. The

Year of ROME CCCCLXXX X.

App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls. *Polybius B.* 1. and *Diod. Sic.*

§. III. We have already obſerved, that in *Pyrrhus*'s time, there were three different Nations, which contended for the Government of *Sicily*; the *Syracuſans*, the old Inhabitants of the Country, the *Mamertini*, originally *Italians*, and the *Carthaginians*; and theſe three Nations were yet at War. Each endeavoured to take Cities, ſometimes by Surpriſe, and ſometimes by Force. Whilſt the City of *Rhegium* was in the Hands of the eighth *Legion*, which *Rome* had now reduced and puniſhed, the *Mamertini* had conſiderably enlarged their Dominions, by the Help of their *Italian* Allies. But when theſe Succours failed them, *Hiero* King of *Syracuſe* on one ſide, and the *Carthaginians* on the other, fell upon the Dominions of the *Mamertini*, ſeized their Towns, and ſcarce left them any but their Capital, which was *Meſſana*. Nor was this all. The Head of the *Mamertini*, named *Cios*, had lately been vanquiſhed by *Hiero*: and being in the Battel covered with Wounds and Blood, and carried Priſoner to the Camp of the *Syracuſans*; he there ſaw the Horſe his Son had rode in the Battel. Upon this ſight, *Cios* took it for granted that his dear Son was among the Dead, and reſolving to live no longer, he, in a great Rage, looſened the Ligatures of his Wounds, let the Blood run, and expired. By his Death, he left the City of *Meſſana* without a Governor, and without Remedy; and in this Extremity, the *Mamertini* deliberated about ſurrendring up *Meſſana* to *Hiero*, with whoſe mild Government, and ſtrict Honour, they were well acquainted. They ſaid, it was better to bear the *Syracuſan* Yoke, than the *Carthaginian*. They therefore prepared to ſurrender up their City to the Conquerors; and *Hiero* was advancing to take Poſſeſſion of it, when a *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* General at that time, prevented him, by a Deceit. The cunning *African* kept ſome Troops concealed on the Iſland of [22] *Lipari*, came to meet *Hiero*, as it were to congratulate him on his Victory, and amuſed him, whilſt he filed off his Forces towards *Meſſana*. Upon this, the *Mamertini* ſeeing their City ſupported with a new Reinforcement, were divided into ſeveral Opinions. Some were for accepting the Protection *Carthage* offered them; others for ſurrendring to the *Syracuſans*; and the greateſt part were for calling in the *Romans*, to the Aſſiſtance of a City, whoſe Inhabitants were originally *Italians*, and came from *Campania*. This Deſign of having recourſe to *Rome*, was nothing new. The *Mamertini*, before they hazarded the laſt Battel with *Hiero*, had ſent to deſire the *Roman* Senate and People, to furniſh them with a Reinforcement of Troops, to enable them to maintain their Poſſeſſions againſt the Invaſions of their Neighbours; and the People, at the Inſtigation of the *Conſuls*, had already conſented to grant them their Requeſt. The Senate indeed were not come to any Determination about it. Theſe grave Magiſtrates had more Regard to Honour and Equity, than the People. *After all*, ſaid they, *the* Sicilians *are only endeavouring to recover a City, which the* Mamertini *took from them by Treachery. Does it become us to protect a Company of Villains, who, under the Pretence of an Alliance, firſt maſſacred the Inhabitants, and then ſeized their City, contrary to the Law of Nations? We have very juſtly puniſhed the perfidious* Legion, *which ſeized* Rhegium, *by the like Violence; and ſhall we then countenance in ſome, the very ſame Actions, for which we have chaſtized others?* Such were the Sentiments of the *Roman* Senate, whilſt the *Mamertini* had no Enemies except the *Syracuſans*. But the News which was brought to *Rome*, that the *Carthaginians* were entered into *Meſſana*, and offered to defend it, made the *Conſcript Fathers* ſpeak quite another Language. They perceived that *Carthage* undertook the Defence of this important City, only with a View to ſeize it for her ſelf. *What*, ſaid they, *ſhall hinder the* Carthaginians *from treating the* Mamertini *with the ſame Perfi-*

Polybius B. 1. and *Zonaras, B.* 8. *c.* 8.

[22] The Iſland of *Lipari*, formerly called *Meliſſa*, is the largeſt of the *Æolian* Iſlands, of which we have ſpoken already. *Liparus*, who was according to ſome, the Predeceſſor, according to others, the Succeſſor of *Æolus*, gave his Name to the Iſland and City of *Lipari*. It lies in the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, North of *Sicily*. The Ancients have not the ſame Opinion of its Soil, as *Cicero* had. He ſays, in his *Oration againſt Verres*, that it was dry and barren. *Strabo* and *Diodorus Siculus* ſay, it produced all the Neceſſaries of Life, eſpecially Corn, and excellent Fruits: and that there were a great many Alum Mines here, from which the *Romans* raiſed a conſiderable Revenue, when they came to enjoy this Iſland in Peace. The Soil of *Lipari* is full of Nitre, Bitumen, and Sulphur, and from hence proceed thoſe ſubterraneous Fires, which ſometimes burſt out with great Violence, and do great Miſchief in the neighbouring Places. The Springs of hot and mineral Waters, which riſe in ſeveral Parts of this Iſland, were thought infallible Cures for ſeveral ſorts of Diſeaſes. *Ariſtotle*, in his Treatiſe *Of Prodigies*, ſays, that there was formerly a Sepulchre in *Lipari*, near which there was heard a humming Noiſe, ſomewhat like a confuſed Sound of Drums and Symbols, with loud Laughs, and clapping of Hands.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX.

APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.

dioufneſs, that the latter did the ancient Inhabitants? Beſides, if Meſſana *becomes* Carthaginian, *we ſhall then be very near Neighbours to this powerful Republick; and have no Barrier between us, but a Streight, which their Ships will enable them to croſs, as readily as if there was a Bridge over it.* This ſelfiſh Conſideration, made moſt of the Senators forget the Regard they had hitherto ſhewn for rigid Probity. They came into the People's Meaſures, and agreed to ſend the *Conſul Appius Claudius*, to attempt the Deliverance of *Meſſana*. And indeed, if the City had continued in the Power of the *Carthaginians*, the *Mamertini* could not have avoided joining with their Defenders, and aſſiſting them firſt in conquering the reſt of *Sicily*, and then in making a Deſcent upon *Italy*. Beſides, there had long been a Coldneſs between the two Republicks. The *Romans* complained of the *Carthaginians*, for having come with a Fleet to relieve *Tarentum*, after the Departure of *Pyrrhus*. On the other hand, the *Carthaginians* reproached the *Romans*, with having received Proviſions and Men from *Hiero*, their Enemy, during the Siege of *Rhegium:* So that the Minds and Affections of theſe Nations, were equally alienated from each other.

IN the mean time, the *Conſul Appius Claudius* continued at *Rome*; and ſent one of his *Legionary Tribunes*, who was alſo named *Claudius*, to *Rhegium*, in his ſtead. He was a Man of a good Head and fearleſs Bravery. His firſt Care was to get together all the Veſſels he could find, on the Coaſt, in order to paſs over into *Sicily*. Nevertheleſs, he did not think it proper immediately to hazard the few [23] *Triremes* he had, and expoſe them to the Inſults of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which infeſted the *Streights*. And therefore he ſet out for *Meſſana*, without any Attendants, in order to obſerve what paſſed in the City, treat with the *Mamertini*, and then return again with Speed, as ſoon as he had diſcovered their Diſpoſitions. Being full of this Project, he paſſed through the Enemy's Fleet in a Fiſher-boat, and came to *Meſſana*. He found the City poſſeſſed by the *Carthaginians*, who, with the Conſent of ſome of the Inhabitants, and contrary to the Inclinations of others, ſet up to be the Defenders of it. Then the *Tribune Claudius* convened the *Mamertini*, in the Place, where they uſually met; and the *Carthaginians* came to the Aſſembly, with the Citizens of *Meſſana*. At firſt *Claudius* laboured in vain to be heard, the Clamours of the *Carthaginians* drowned his Voice. But after he had pauſed a while, and obtained a Moment's Silence, he ſaid; Mamertini, *I come hither as a Deputy from the* Romans, *to offer you the Aſſiſtance you have deſired. The Senate and People concur in granting it, and have nothing more in view, than to defend* Meſſana *from the Oppreſſion with which ſhe is threatened. We give you our Words, that we will withdraw our Forces, as ſoon as your*

Author of the Lives of Illuſtrious Men. Zonar. B. 8. c. 8.

23 The *Greek* and *Roman* Fleets conſiſted of two ſorts of Ships. One ſort almoſt always ſailed; the other was generally rowed. The former were called Ships of Burden, *Naves Onerariæ*, and were applied to the ſame Uſes as our Tranſport-ſhips. The latter, which for their Length may be compared to our modern Gallies, ſupplied the Place of *Men of War*, and the Strength of the Sea-Armaments of the Ancients conſiſted in them. They received different Names, according to their Sizes and Capacity, which were both judged of by the Number of the Banks of Rowers in the Galley. Thus a Ship of War was called an *Uniremis*, *Biremis*, *Triremis*, *Quadriremis*, or *Quiqueremis*, according as it contained, one, two, three, four, or five Benches of Rowers. But generally ſpeaking, the *Triremes* in the ancient Fleets, were more in Number than all the reſt of the Ships beſides. And for this Reaſon, the ancient Hiſtorians ſometimes call all the Gallies in a Fleet *Triremes*, without determining how large they were. In this Senſe, what *Zonaras* ſays of the Peace concluded between the *Romans* and *Philip* is to be underſtood. He obſerves, that one of the Conditions of the Treaty was, that the King ſhould deliver up to the Republick, all his Elephants, and *Triremes*, except five. Among theſe was comprehended the chief Gallies the King had, which *Zonaras* tells us had ſixteen Benches of Rowers. Beſides, though ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Terms *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, *Quinqueremes*, &c. generally ſignified thoſe ſorts of long Boats, which contained three, four, or five Benches of Rowers on each ſide, yet theſe Names were ſometimes given to little light Barks, which were rowed only by three, four, and five Oars. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Polybius*, call a Sloop, or Brigantine of this ſort, Σκάφην Τετρηρικὸν, ἢ Σκάφιν Πεντηρικὸν. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Theſeus*, ſpeaks of a *Triremis*, which could carry but five Men; and conſequently could not be one of thoſe Boats, which had three Benches of Rowers. And the ſame Author, in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius*, gives the ſame Name to a little Boat with three Oars. The great Difficulty is, to know in what manner the Ancients built their Gallies, and how they ranged their Benches of Rowers along the Sides of them. There are various Opinions about it: and in this Variety every one is fond of his own Hypotheſis. But after all, this may be ſaid to be one of thoſe Points of Antiquity, which, after many Diſcuſſions, is yet a Secret; and we ſhall not formally treat of this Subject, on which ſeveral learned Criticks, in our Days, have exerciſed their Judgments, till we come to the end of the twenty eighth Book of this Hiſtory. It is ſufficient to obſerve at preſent, that there were three ſorts of Rowers in every Galley. *The Thalamioi*, who ſate on the loweſt Bench; *The Zygioi*, who ſate in the middle Ranks; and *The Thranitai*, who ſate uppermoſt. [According to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, the *Corinthians* began the firſt of any Men to build Ships with three Orders of Oars, called *Triremes*, about the Year before *Chriſt* 697. *Chronol.* p. 36.]

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX. APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.

City and Eſtates are in Safety. Theſe few Words made an Impreſſion on their Minds; nevertheleſs, their Fear of the *Carthaginians*, whom they had already introduced into their City, made them give the *Tribune Claudius* ſuch an Anſwer, as would have diſcouraged him, had he been leſs intrepid. *It is a great Pleaſure to* Meſſana, replied the *Mamertini, to be able to ſpare the* Romans *the Trouble of aſſiſting her.* Carthage *is beforehand with them, and her Protection is ſufficient for us: So that you may withdraw, if you have no other Propoſal to make. Every free City has a Right to call in whom ſhe pleaſes to her Defence. A free City!* replied *Claudius* briſkly, *Are you then in Poſſeſſion of your Liberty? What do I ſee here, but foreign Arms? Does not* Carthage *make you already begin to feel the Weight of that eternal Slavery with which ſhe threatens you? Anſwer me, if you dare.* Upon theſe Words, the *Mamertini* held their Peace for fear of the *Carthaginians*, and the *Carthaginians* were ſtruck dumb, with the Force of Truth: and the able *Roman* took Advantage of this general Silence. *You* Carthaginians, ſaid he, *are dumb, out of a Conſciouſneſs of your Injuſtice; and you* Mamertini, *as ſecretly conſenting to what I ſay. If the one did not ſee themſelves unmasked, would they be aſhamed to ſpeak? Or would the others, if they durſt ſpeak their Sentiments freely, reject my Offers? Would you diſſemble,* Mamertini, *if your Mouths were not ſtopped? I make no doubt, but you would have me underſtand your Silence, as a Conſent to my Propoſal.* Upon theſe Words, a Murmur aroſe among the *Mamertini*, and the *Tribune Claudius* took it for granted, that he underſtood their Meaning: So that he left *Meſſana*, without further Delay, and returned to *Rhegium*. The *Roman* Senate, upon his Report, judged that the *Mamertini* were diſpoſed to receive Succours from *Rome*, and ordered the ſame *Tribune* to ſet ſail, and ſteer with the *Roman* Fleet to *Meſſana*. But how weak was this Fleet, in Compariſon of the naval Armament the *Carthaginians* had brought into the *Streights!* How ignorant [24] were the *Romans* at that time of Sea-affairs! Nevertheleſs, the *Tribune Claudius* had the Boldneſs to weigh Anchor, and dare all Danger. The *Romans* were by no means an equal Match for

24 According to *Polybius B.* 1. the *Romans* were utter Strangers to naval Affairs, and knew nothing of the Art of building Ships, before the firſt *Punic* War. He ſays, that *Sicily* was the firſt Ground they landed on, out of *Italy*; and that they were then ſo utterly unprovided with Ships, and all things neceſſary for Navigation, that in order to be able to relieve the *Mamertini*, they had recourſe to the Inhabitants of *Tarentum*, *Locris*, and *Naples*, for Shipping. Till at length, adds he, a *Carthaginian* Galley, which was taken by the *Romans*, ſerved them for a Model, and they built by it a Fleet of an hundred *Quinqueremes*, and twenty *Triremes*: and *Polybius* confeſſes, that he thought the Equipment of this Fleet a kind of Prodigy, which he could not enough admire; and which alone, made him reſolve to write the Hiſtory of the firſt *Punic* War. Indeed, the Ships of the *Roman* Fleet, which oppoſed the *Carthaginians*, were not very regularly built; all the *Roman* Hiſtorians acknowledge it. Nay, they tell us, that in the War between the Republick and *Antiochus*, the *Romans* knew very little of the Art of building and working Gallies.

Nevertheleſs *Polybius* ſays too much, when he affirms, that the *Romans* had had no Ships at Sea, before the firſt *Punic* War. It is indeed no very eaſy Matter to reconcile him with himſelf, as to this Subject, when, *B.* 3. he ſpeaks of the Treaties concluded between the Republicks of *Rome* and *Carthage*. In the firſt of theſe, which was concluded almoſt immediately after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, the *Romans* engaged for themſelves, and their Allies, that they would not ſail beyond the Cape which covered *Carthage* to the North, and was called *The Fair Promontory*; unleſs a Tempeſt, or purſuing Enemy, obliged them to paſs thoſe Bounds. There are particular Clauſes in this firſt Treaty, relating to their Trade in *Africa*, *Sardinia*, and a part of *Sicily*, which was then ſubject to the *Carthaginians*. The principal Articles of the Treaty relate to the naval Forces of the two Nations. This appears from *Polybius*'s own Interpretation of the Terms of the Treaty. He ſhews, that *Carthage* had no other view in denying the *Roman* Gallies Entrance into her Ports, but to guard againſt Hoſtilities from without, and againſt the Enterpriſes *Rome* might undertake, to the Prejudice of the *Carthaginian* State. In the ſecond Treaty, concluded between the two Republicks, in the Year of *Rome* 405, when *Marcus Popilius*, and *Marcus Valerius* were *Conſuls*, the *Romans* were permitted to bring their Ships, and to trade beyond *The Fair Promontory*, to the Coaſts of *Utica*, and *Carthage*, and even to *Tyre*. On the other hand, the *Romans* engaged not to offer any Injury to the Countries ſubject to *Carthage*, where they ſhould be obliged to put in, for freſh Water and Proviſions. Theſe Precautions, on the ſide of the *Carthaginians*, manifeſtly ſuppoſe, that the *Romans* had Ships for Cruiſing and Commerce at that time. The War which *Pyrrhus* carried on in *Italy*, laid the Foundation of a third Treaty: by which it appears, that the *Romans*, wholly intent on extending their Conqueſts in *Italy*, laid aſide all care of naval Affairs. Indeed, the *Carthaginians* obliged themſelves to furniſh the *Roman* Republick with as many Ships as ſhe ſhould want, either for naval Expeditions, or for Voyages. And beſides theſe Arguments, which are drawn from *Polybius* himſelf, againſt his own Aſſertion, the Hiſtorians tell us, that after the *Conſul Mænius* had ruined the Port of *Antium*, he made himſelf Maſter of the Fleet there, which conſiſted of twenty two Gallies: and they add, that the Conqueror carried a part of this Fleet to *Rome*, where it was laid up in the Place appointed for building Ships. It is therefore paſt doubt, that the Republick did not then entirely neglect Sea-Affairs.

Laſtly, It is a Fact acknowledged by the Ancients, that before the *Romans* declared War with the *Tarentini*, they had a Fleet at Sea, of ten Ships decked and armed. And they obliged themſelves by

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX. App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Consuls.

for the *Carthaginians*, at Sea. These, besides the great Number of Ships they had, understood the Art of working them. So that *Claudius* being attacked by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* Admiral in the *Streights*, he had both the Experience of his Enemies, and the Winds and Waves to contend with. A Storm arose, which the *Carthaginians*, who were used to the Sea, knew how to turn to Advantage. But the *Romans*, affrighted to see themselves struggling with an Element they were not much used to, lost all their Courage. Some of their Ships were taken by the Enemy, others beaten in pieces by the Violence of the Waves. In short, *Claudius* was forced to return to *Rhegium*, after a considerable Loss.

§. IV. Nevertheless, the *Romans* did not think this Check so fatal a Prognostick, as to be discouraged by it. They were sensible, that if their Attempt at Sea had succeeded, it must have been merely by Accident. They did not expect to learn the Art of Navigation, without paying dearly for it. But they hoped, that Constancy, and continual Exercise, would soon put them upon an equal Foot with their Enemies. The *Tribune Claudius* was very busy in refitting his Fleet, when he saw out at Sea, the Ships, which the *Carthaginian* Admiral had taken, and which he was conducting back to the *Roman* Ports. This was an artful Present, made by an Enemy, either to pique the *Roman* Republick in point of Honour, or to divert her from sending Succours to *Messana*, or at least, to lay all the Blame of a Rupture upon her. And indeed, when *Hanno*'s Deputy restored the *Romans* their Ships, he reproached them with having first infringed the Treaties; and pretended, that the *Streights* had a great while belonged to *Carthage*. This therefore made *Claudius* reject the Present with the more Indignation, and carry on the Designs of the *Romans* with more Vigour. He then saw more plainly than ever, of what Importance it was to drive the *Carthaginians* from *Messana*. The Empire they already usurped over the *Streights*, seemed to threaten terrible Consequences: and he therefore resolved to leave nothing undone, that could contribute to force out of the Neighbourhood of *Rome* these proud Enemies, who covered their unjust Claims, with a Shew of peaceful Dispositions. He studied the Sea, observed the Winds and Season proper for his Departure, and at length put to Sea again. In the mean time, *Hanno*'s Deputy had declared to the *Romans*, that *Carthage* would not suffer them so much as to wash their Hands in the *Streights*. However, the brave *Claudius* timed his Enterprise so well, that he passed safely with his Squadron, and arrived at the Port of *Messana*, having eluded the Vigilance of the *Carthaginians*. *Hanno*, instead of being Admiral of the Fleet, was now become the Commander of the Land Forces, which had got into *Messana*; and upon the Arrival of the *Romans*, he abandoned the City to them, and retired into the Citadel. As soon as the *Tribune Claudius* was landed, he demanded of the *Mamertini*, to assemble in Council, and call *Hanno* to it. It was not without Difficulty, that the *Carthaginian* could be drawn out of his Citadel; for he was afraid of the Ill-will of the *Messanians*. But he was more afraid of alienating them from him, by his Distrust, and therefore appeared in the Assembly. Then *Claudius*, who no longer appeared only as an Envoy, but was backed with some brave *Legionaries*, gained the Ascendant over the *Carthaginian*. They mutually reproached each other, and came at last to hard Words. Till at length the *Tribune* being provoked, ordered his Soldiers to seize *Hanno*, and kept him Prisoner. The *Mamertini* applauded the Resolution of the *Roman*; and *Claudius* made a good use of this Declaration in his Favour. He at length, by Menaces, and Persuasions, prevailed on the *Carthaginian* Commander, to surrender up the Citadel to him, and evacuate the City. A piece of Cowardice, which cost the unfortunate *Hanno* dear! The *Carthaginians* used to punish their Generals for dangerous Enterprises, though the Success of them had been good; and therefore did not spare a Commander, who had suffered himself to be outwitted at Sea, imprisoned at Land, and deprived of a Citadel, in which he might have defended himself. He was crucified.

Polyb. B 1. *c.* 11.

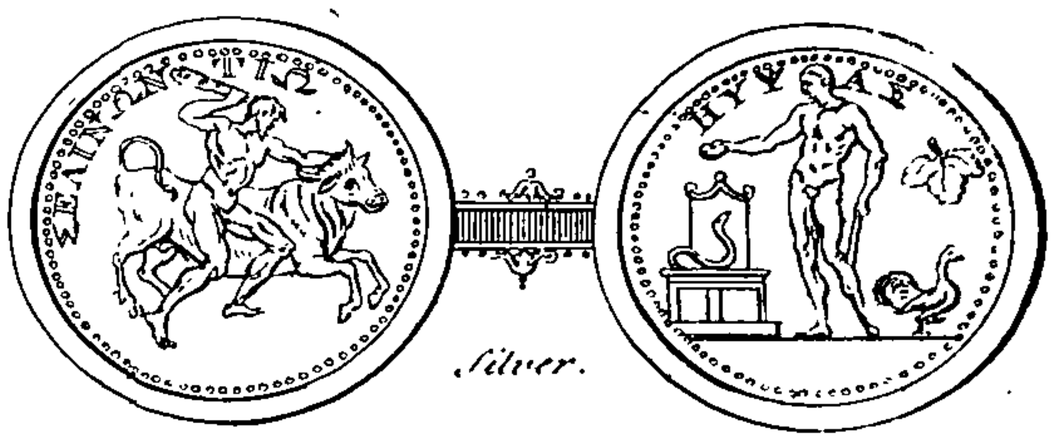
Val. Max. B 7. *Ext.* 1

by a Treaty concluded with the *Tarentini*, not to sail beyond *The Lacinian Promontory*, which was near *The Gulph of Tarentum*. It is likewise no less certain, that in the Year of *Rome* 442, the *Roman* People committed the Care of their Trade and Navigation, to two Magistrates called *Duumviri*, whose Office was confined to the Inspection and repairing of their Fleets. It is therefore false, that the *Romans* did not begin to have any Ships till about the time of the first *Punic* War. But it may be said, in Justification of *Polybius*, that the *Roman* Republick being wholly intent upon reducing the neighbouring States, did not give her self the Trouble to breed up Persons in the Knowledge of naval Architecture, and Sea-affairs, till that time.

§. V. Thus,

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXIX. App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls. *Polybius B.* 1. *c.* 11. *Diod. in Ecl.*

§. V. Thus by the prudent Conduct of the *Tribune Claudius*, the *Romans* were now become the Defenders of *Meſſana*, which two Enemies were preparing to attack. *Hiero* had looked on it as a ſure Conqueſt, after the Victory he had gained over the *Mamertini*; but being too weak alone to lay Siege himſelf to a City which was defended by two warlike Nations, he joined the *Carthaginians*. Thus two Factions in *Sicily* united together for the firſt time, in order to deſtroy a third. But the latter being defended by a fourth, which appeared all on a ſudden, in the Diſpute, was the ſtrongeſt, for ſome time; and it was at laſt enſlaved by its Defenders. *Carthage* had been too much enraged by the *Romans*, to ſuffer them to continue in peaceable Poſſeſſion of *Meſſana*; and therefore raiſed both Sea and Land Forces, gave the Command of them to another *Hanno*, the Son of *Hannibal*, and ſent him to *Sicily* with them. This new *Carthaginian* Fleet put in at *Lilybæum*, and there the Land-Forces came on Shore, and marched to [25] *Selinus*, where they encamped. In the mean time their General went to *Agrigentum*, ordered it to be fortified, and upon his return to his Camp, found *Hiero*'s Envoys; who brought him Word, that the *Syracuſans* would join with him in beſieging *Meſſana*, and driving out the Barbarians, meaning the *Romans*. There the Treaty between *Syracuſe* and *Carthage* was ratified: but nevertheleſs, *Hanno* obſerved ſome Formalities, before he entered upon Action. He ſent an Herald to the *Romans*, to ſummons them to leave *Sicily*, and ſurrender up *Meſſana* to him, if they would keep the ancient Treaties: and *Claudius*'s Anſwer was ſuch as beſt ſuited with the Intereſts of *Rome*. The *Carthaginian* and *Syracuſan* Armies therefore joined, and came and inveſted *Meſſana*. The *Carthaginians* poſted themſelves near Cape *Pelorus*, and lined the Coaſt, whilſt *Hiero* with



Silver.

[25] *Selinus* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Sicily*. *Ptolomy* places it between *Lilybæum*, and the River *Mazara*. But herein he differs from the Hiſtorians, who place it between two Rivers; the *Mazara*, and the River anciently called *Hypſa* (now the *Belici Siniſter*, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Belici Dexter*) which was the Name the Ancients gave the River *Criniſus*. *Strabo*, *B.* 6. and *Thucydides*, *B.* 7. ſay, that *Selinus* was founded by a *Colony* of *Megarenſes*, who came from *Megara*, a City in *Achaia*, to *Hybla* in *Sicily*, where they had ſettled, and had given this laſt City the Name of their Metropolis. An hundred Years after, a Swarm of the Inhabitants of the new *Megara*, founded *Selinus*, under the Command of *Pammilus*. And the *Greek* Hiſtorian alludes to the Origin of the *Selinuntii*, when he calls them *Selinuntii Megarenſes*. They had great Quarrels with the People of *Segeſta*, about their Frontiers: and at length came to an open War with them. The *Segeſtani* had recourſe to *Hannibal*, (the Son of *Giſco*) who was then at the Head of an Army of a hundred thouſand Men. The *Carthaginian* was fond of revenging the Inſults the *Selinuntii* had offered his Father, when he was baniſhed from *Carthage*, and had taken Refuge in *Selinus*, where having been deſpiſed, and abandoned by the Inhabitants, he had periſhed with Want. *Selinus* not being able to hold out againſt ſo formidable an Army, was taken and razed. Moſt of the *Citizens* were inhumanly maſſacred, without Regard to Sex or Age. Some time after, *Hermocrates* the Father-in-law of old *Dionyſius*, having been expelled *Syracuſe*, joined the Remains of the *Selinuntii*, who had eſcaped the Fury of the *Carthaginian*, and repaired the Ruins of their City, which was yet ſubſiſting in the ſecond *Punic* War. It was of Service to *Marcellus* in the Siege of *Syracuſe*: But in *Strabo*'s time, it was entirely deſerted. *Diogenes Laertius* ſays, that there was a muddy Marſh near *Selinus*, from whoſe naſty and ſtagnating Waters ſuch malignant Vapours were exhaled, as infected the whole Neighbourhood; and the contagious Diſtemper they produced, carried off great Numbers of the Inhabitants every Year. *Empedocles* therefore, that he might effectually remedy this Evil, turned the Streams of the two Rivers *Selinus* and *Hipſa* into the Marſh, and by that means carried off theſe poiſonous Waters. And the ſame Author adds, that the *Citizens*, in Gratitude for ſo great a Benefit, ordered divine Honours to be paid *Empedocles*, and at the ſame time commanded Sacrifices to be offered up to *Æſculapius*. On the reverſe of a Medal, which bears the Name of *Selinus*, we ſee a Man ſacrificing to this God, probably by Way of Thankſgiving, for having put a Stop to the Contagion. The Serpent on the Medal, is the Symbol of the God of *Health*. The Branch of *Smallage* alludes to the River which waters the City of *Selinus*. Geographers ſay, that great Quantities of this Herb, called by the *Greeks* Σέλινον, were found on the Banks of this River. Hence the Name of the City and River, which is ſuppoſed to be the preſent *Madiuni*. As for the City, it is ſuppoſed to have ſtood in the Place, now called by the Natives, *Terra delli Pulci*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCLXXXIX.

APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls. *Zonar. B.* 8. *c.* 9.

his Troops blocked up the City on the Land-ſide, and encamped round Mount [26] *Chalcis:* So that *Meſſana* was ſurrounded on all ſides, and no Proviſions or Succours could be conveyed into it, either by Sea, or Land.

HITHERTO, the *Conſul Appius* had not appeared in this Diſpute. All the Steps towards this new War had been taken by one of the *Tribunes* of his Army, whoſe Proceedings might have been diſowned, if the *Carthaginians* had acted reaſonably. But a monſtrous Act of Cruelty, of which they were then guilty, determined *Rome* to keep no Meaſures with them. As ſoon as the *Tribune Claudius* had refuſed to quit *Meſſana*, the General *Hanno* ordered all the *Italians*, who ſerved in his Army, to be maſſacred. *Carthage* was indeed a trading City, and rich enough to hire Mercenaries in foreign Nations; but ſhe bred few Soldiers her ſelf. The whole Strength of her Armies conſiſted in the Voluntiers, which came into her Service from the different Nations on the Sea-coaſts. They conſiſted of *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Greeks*. As for the *Carthaginians* themſelves, they were indeed at all Expences, but did not hazard their own Lives in War: and the Murder of theſe unfortunate *Italians*, was a plain Indication of their Fury. *Appius* ſet out from *Rome* on the firſt News of it, and came to *Rhegium*. He firſt proceeded in an honourable Way, by ſending Deputies to King *Hiero*, who conjured him, by his ancient Friendſhip to the *Romans*, not to perſiſt in the Siege of *Meſſana*, which alone would create a Quarrel, the Conſequences of which were not eaſily to be foreſeen. But as worthy a Prince as *Hiero* was, he did not receive the Reſpect which the *Conſul* paid him in an handſome manner; he broke out into Invectives againſt the Ingratitude of a Republick, which he had aſſiſted in her Diſtreſs. *It is ſurpriſing*, ſaid he, *that the* Carthaginians *and I ſhould find thoſe very* Romans *our Enemies, who are bound to us, by the moſt inviolable Treaties. But what Alliances have you entered into with the* Mamertini? *or what Services have they ever done you? And what are the People whom you undertake to defend? They came indeed originally from a Country bordering upon yours; but what Honour do theſe Traitors do it? They have ſurprized* Meſſana, *as one of your* Legions, *whom you have puniſhed, did* Rhegium. *You condemned one for the very ſame Things, which you defend in the others. What is become of that Equity, to which you ſo oſtentatiouſly pretended? But what am I ſaying? or why do I equal the Crimes of the Uſurpers of* Rhegium, *to the Villanies of the Tyrants of* Meſſana? *Theſe have very lately razed both* Gela *and* Camarina, *two Cities* [27], *which I had taken under my Protection. You thought your ſelves obliged to take Vengeance for the Reproach a rebellious* Legion *brought upon*

Diod. Sic. in Eclog.



Silver.

26 There was a Chain of Mountains which reached from the Territory of *Taurominium*, or *Tauromenium*, and was called by the Ancients *Pelorias*, *Peloris*, and *Pelorus*; and as *Solinus* obſerves, *c.* 11. it was alſo called *Mons Neptunus*, or *Mount Neptunus*, from a famous Temple built in honour to that God, not far from it. And the ſame Author adds, that there was a Tower on the Top of the *Peloris*, from whence you had a view of the *Adriatic* and *Tuſcan* Seas. *Mount Chalcis*, or *Mons Chalcidicus*, which the Ancients alſo call *Senes*, and *Eunes*, either was the ſame Mountain as the *Peloris*, or at leaſt a part of it. A *Colony* of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*, the Capital of *Euboea*, gave it this Name, when they ſettled at *Meſſana*.

27 The City of *Gela* was one of the moſt ancient and moſt conſiderable Cities in *Sicily*. *Thucydides* tells us, it was founded forty five Years after *Syracuſe*, by one *Antiphemus*, who had made a Deſcent on the Iſland. He was followed by a *Colony* of two hundred of the Inhabitants of *Lyndus*, a City which belonged to the *Rhodians*: and they gave their own Name to their new Settlement; which they founded jointly with one *Entimus* of *Crete*, who was at the Head of a Body of *Cretans*, who were lately landed on the Iſland. Theſe joining the *Lyndians*, built their City together, and became but one People. The City afterwards changed its Name, for that of the River *Gela*, which watered its Territory. Nevertheleſs it preſerved the

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX. APP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX, M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Conſuls.

upon you in Rhegium; *and I ſent you very ſeaſonable Succours, to aſſiſt you in putting it in Execution. Could I then expect to ſee the Puniſhments, which Villains of the ſame kind have deſerved, ſuſpended, and prevented by thoſe very Men, who ſhould have aſſiſted in exterminating them? The Events of War are indeed uncertain; but ſhould I in this prove unſucceſsful, the whole World will at leaſt agree, that though the Ambition and Strength of the* Romans *proſpered, yet* Hiero *fell in a very juſt, and honourable Cauſe.*

IT can ſcarce be doubted, but all theſe were the real Sentiments of the King of *Syracuſe*. It was well known, that his Integrity was his only Motive to take up Arms againſt the *Mamertini*. But after all, he deſerved the Enmity of the *Romans*, by joining with the *Carthaginians*. He did not ſee through the Intentions of his new Allies. Their Deſign in ſeizing *Meſſana*, was only thereby to pave the Way, firſt for the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, and then for that of *Italy:* So that the *Conſul Appius* was little affected with the Report that was made him of King *Hiero*'s Diſcourſe. He waited to receive his Anſwer, in *Rhegium*; and as ſoon as he found him determined to carry on the Siege of *Meſſana*, he alſo reſolved to ſail thither in Perſon, but diſſembled his Deſign. He knew there were many Strangers in *Rhegium*, who watched him: and leſt therefore they ſhould inform the Enemy of the Steps he took, he ſpread a Report, That he would not go to *Sicily*; and That it was not in his Power to declare War with *Hiero*, without freſh Orders from the *Roman* People. This News ſpread, and upon it, the *Carthaginian* Fleet left off watching the *Streights*. And indeed, after the *Conſul* had ordered his Troops to repair to ſeveral Ports in *Italy*, he went on board a bad Galley, haſtily and unſkilfully built, and then pretended only to coaſt along the Shore, in order to return to *Rome*. But as ſoon as he was out of ſight, he tacked about; and being favoured by a dark Night, reached the neareſt Shore in the Iſland, and landed his Troops in *Sicily*, without being perceived by the Enemy, either by Sea, or Land. A bold Enterpriſe, at a time, when the *Romans* were making their firſt Eſſays in maritime Affairs! And the *Romans* thought it ſo fine an Action, that they from thence gave the *Conſul Claudius* the Surname of *Caudex*, a *Latin* Term, which then ſignified a Boat ill-built, of Planks irregularly diſpoſed, and haſtily joined together. The Succeſs of the Deſcent raiſed *Caudex*'s Courage; and he advanced with his *Legions* to ſurpriſe *Hiero*, who blocked up *Meſſana*, on the ſide of Mount *Chalcis*. The King of *Syracuſe* was forced to give Battel, and the *Roman* Cavalry were put into Diſorder, upon the firſt Onſet; but the *Legions* fought with ſo much Bravery, that it was not poſſible to break through them. *Hiero*'s Troops gave Way, and the King himſelf being obliged to leave open a Paſſage for the Conquerors to go into the City, retired to his own Camp with Loſs. The *Conſul* ordered the Dead to be rifled, was delighted with gaining the firſt Victory the *Romans* ever obtained out of their Continent, and entered triumphantly into *Meſſana*. The *Mamertini* received him with all the Joy of Men, who now hoped to be delivered from a Siege, which began to ſtraiten them. Nor were their Expectations vain. *Hiero* could not continue any longer before the Place, after his firſt Over-

Frontin. Stratag. B. 1. c. 4.

Zonaras, B. 8. c. 9.

Senec. de Brevit. vitæ.

throw.

the Memory of its Origin, on moſt of the Medals ſtruck in it, which bear the Image of *The Minotaur of Crete*. This City is thought to have ſtood on the South-ſide of *Sicily*, on the Coaſt which looks towards *Africa*, at the Mouth of the River *Gela*, where *Terra Nuova* now is. The River is now called, in the Language of the Natives, *Fiume di terra Nuova*. Others place the City near *Alicate*.

Camarina was formerly one of the moſt wealthy Cities in *Sicily*. It ſtood on the South Coaſt, between the Rivers *Camarana*, and *Fraſcolari*, or *Fraſcolani*, which the old Geographers call *Oanus*. This is the Situation given it by *Pliny*, and moſt Authors, except *Ptolomy*, who places it ten Miles from the Sea. Nothing now remains of this City, but ſome Ruins, and the Name of *Camarana*, which has been transferred to a Tower which the Natives call *Torre de Camarana*. *Thucydides*, *Marcian of Heraclea*, and *Strabo*, ſay, that the *Syracuſani* founded it; and afterwards ſubdued it, and razed it. But it was rebuilt by *Hypocrates* the Tyrant of *Gela*; and after that, underwent ſeveral Revolutions, till it was at laſt brought into Subjection to *Rome*, in the firſt *Punic* War. Near this City there was a Marſh, which corrupted the Air, and produced contagious Diſtempers, by its ſtinking Exhalations: So that though it was a Defence to the City, the Inhabitants dried it up, contrary to the Direction of an Oracle they had conſulted. But they had ſcarce finiſhed their Enterpriſe, before the *Syracuſani* came, and without any Reſiſtance, laid Siege to it on that ſide. They attacked it; took it by Aſſault; and utterly deſtroyed it. Hence the Proverb *Camarinam ne Moveas*, founded on the Anſwer of the Oracle, which was expreſſed in thoſe Terms. The meaning of the Proverb, which we take from the *Greek Anthologium*, is, that it is fooliſh, to run a very great Hazard to avoid a very little Trouble. The Marſh was the ſame which is now called *Lago di Camarana*. The River *Hipparis*, which ran near *Camarina*, is now called *Fiume de Camarana*.

Year of ROME CCCCLXXXIX. App. Claudius Caudex, M. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

throw. He owned, that the *Romans* attacked him, before he dreamt of Fighting; and he therefore thought himſelf betrayed by the *Carthaginians*. *This perfidious Nation*, ſaid he, *have been wrought upon by the* Romans. *Would a* Conſul *have ventured to tranſport his* Legions *to our Coaſts, if the* Streights *had been well guarded by the* Carthaginian *Fleet? There is nothing that I have not Reaſon to fear.* Being therefore full of this falſe Perſuaſion, he gave Way to his Diſtruſts, decamped haſtily in the Night, and returned to *Syracuſe*.

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 9.

§. VI. The *Conſul Appius* had now one Enemy leſs before *Meſſana*. His good Fortune made him enterprizing; and the Courage of his Troops extricated him with Honour, from an Enterpriſe which was raſhly undertaken. The *Carthaginian* General had encamped very advantageouſly; his Entrenchments were inacceſſible. The Sea guarded them on one ſide, and two deep Marſhes, made by the overflowing of the Sea, defended them on the other. Between the two Marſhes, there was a narrow Road, which the *Carthaginians* had made utterly unpaſſable, by ſtopping it up with a Wall. From thence the Enemy, drawn up in Battalia on a ſteep Rock, could throw their Darts among the Aſſailants, as from a Citadel. And this was the Poſt which *Appius* would have taken from the Enemy. He refreſhed his Soldiers before Day, and at Day-break appeared before the Camp, which he was coming to force. Could the *Romans* have joined the Enemy, and come to a cloſe fight with them, their Victory had been certain; but what could they do againſt a greater Number, defended both by Art and Nature? The *Conſul* was obliged to withdraw his *Legions*, and return towards *Meſſana*, after a pretty conſiderable Loſs; and his Retreat was taken for a Flight. Then the *Carthaginians*, as raſh in their Turn, marched out of their Entrenchments, and purſued the *Romans*, into the middle of the Plain. And there *Appius* had his Revenge. As ſoon as the *Legions* could engage in the open Field, they ſtrenuouſly puſhed their Enemies, whoſe Fortune changed, with the Place of Battel; and the Victory declared for the *Romans*. The Numbers of ſlain in *Hanno*'s Army were conſiderable, and the Rout univerſal. Some of thoſe who eſcaped Death, diſbanded themſelves, and fled to the neighbouring Cities for Refuge. The reſt, who were few in Number, returned to the Camp, and neither ventured to appear in the Plain, or carry on the Siege, as long as the *Conſul* continued in *Sicily*. And *Appius*, on the other hand, made no farther Attempts on an impregnable Rock. But he over-ran the Lands of the *Syracuſans* like a Torrent, pillaged, and laid waſte all Places, wherever he came, and made ſome Attempts on the City of *Syracuſe* itſelf. And then *Hiero* became more tractable. The *Conſul* indeed, in a great Emergency, made ſome Advances towards the King, in order to bring him to a Peace; and the good King underſtood his true Intereſt, and thought an Alliance with *Rome* would be more ſolid, than one with *Carthage*. Beſides, ſeveral *Syracuſans* ſometimes talked with the *Romans*, and their Converſations turned upon the mutual Advantages they ſhould reap, by renewing the good Underſtanding there formerly was between the two Nations. And it had then been done, if the King of *Syracuſe* would have taken it upon him, to gain his People's Conſent. However, the *Conſul*, after he had ſpent a Year very gloriouſly, partly in Battels, and partly in Negotiations, returned to *Meſſana*, from thence to *Rhegium*, and from thence to *Rome*. But we cannot affirm, upon the Credit of one ſingle Hiſtorian, and a Poet, that he received the Honours of a Triumph for his *Sicilian* Expedition. The *Triumphal Tables* ſay nothing of it; and it is certain, that the *Tribune Claudius* ſhared at leaſt the Glory of this fine [28] Campaign.

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 9.

Eutrop. B. 2. and *Sil. Italic. B.* 6.

28 The *Faſti Capitolini* have perpetuated the Memory of the Triumph, the Republick granted *Fulvius Flaccus*, the Collegue of *Appius Claudius*, in his *Conſulſhip* in the Year 489. He received this Honour on *The Calends of November*, that is, the firſt Day of that Month. *Zonaras* therefore is right, when he ſays, that *Q. Fabius Gurges* did not put an end to the Expedition of the *Romans* againſt the *Freedmen* of *Volſinii*. *Fulvius* alone had the Honour of finiſhing it, and reducing the Rebels. The Teſtimony of theſe ancient Authors is an unanſwerable Proof againſt the Opinion of the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, who aſcribes the whole Management of this Enterpriſe, to one *Decius Mus*. *Feſtus* ſays, that the Triumphs of *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *L. Papirius Curſor*, were painted on the Walls of the Temple of *Vertumnus*; and that this Painting continued to his Time. He appeals to this Monument to prove, that the Robes of the triumphant Victors were only bordered with Purple, and not wrought with Gold, as was cuſtomary after this time.

§. VII. Thus

§. VII. THUS the first Expedition of the *Romans* beyond Sea, was crowned with Victories: and the Work was too happily begun to be left unfinished. As soon as the two new *Consuls*, *Manius* [29] *Valerius Flaccus*, and *Manius Otacilius Crassus* were chosen, the Republick ordered them to transport into *Sicily* two *Consular* Armies, consisting each of two *Legions*; that is, of eight thousand *Legionaries*, and a great Number of Auxiliaries, exclusive of the *Roman* Horse, which were but twelve hundred in each Army. But the Cavalry of the Allies was more numerous. The Way was now open into *Sicily*, and the two *Consuls* landed there, without any Opposition, on the part of the *Carthaginian* Fleet. This is one of those fortunate Enterprises of the *Romans*, which we cannot too much admire. Though little acquainted with naval Affairs, they embarked the Flower of their Youth, on borrowed Vessels, gathered together from the several Ports of *Italy*, and were not afraid to expose them to the Hazards of the Sea, where their Enemies were stronger than they. But their good Fortune carried them safe to *Sicily*, and made them victorious there. After they were landed, the two *Consuls* separated from one another; *Valerius* undertook to deliver *Messana* from the Siege, which the *Carthaginians* obstinately carried on, in the advantageous Post they possessed; and it is not to be doubted, but their Defeat signalized *Valerius*'s first Expedition. Though the Historians don't affirm it, we may infer it from the Surname of *Messala*, which the *Consul* ever bore, after this time, and in which his Posterity gloried. Would this Title have been continued in his Branch of his Family, if it had not been founded in some great Action? Indeed, *Valerius* acquired the Appellation of *Messana* from the Name of the City he had defended; and afterwards, either for Softness of Sound, or by Corruption, this Name was changed into that of *Messala*: but it was not given him for having taken the City, as some Authors have imagined. The *Romans* had entered it the Year before, and now defended it. *Valerius*, by some signal Action, drove away the Enemy which besieged *Messana*, and from thence he had that glorious Name. The Deliverer of a City, was looked on as the Conqueror of it.

Year of ROME CCCCXC. MANIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS, MANIUS OTACILIUS CRASSUS, Consuls.

Seneca de Brev. vitæ.

Macrob. B. 1. Saturn.

ON the other Hand, the *Consul Otacilius* spread Terror in the Heart of *Sicily*. He advanced to the Foot of Mount *Ætna* [30]: And all the Cities in this fine Country either surrendered to the *Romans*, or were taken by force. After the Surrender of [31] *Adranum*, and [32] *Centuripe*, the *Alæsani* [33] came, and voluntary submitted to the Conquerors. After this, the two *Consular* Armies sometimes joined to fight the united *Carthaginians* and *Syracusans*, and sometimes separated, to extend their Conquests the farther. The Enemies were vanquished wherever they came; and as

Diod. Sic. in Excerp

29 The *Capitoline Marbles* were our Guides in rectifying the *Prænomina* of the two *Consuls* for the Year 490. They were altered in *Eutropius*, *Cassiodorus*, *Pliny*, and several *Latin* Historians. *Marianus* and *Cassiodorus* don't distinguish them by their Surnames.

30 Mount *Ætna*, or Mount *Gibel* commands all that Coast, upon which the Territory of *Catana* lies. It is said to be near three Leagues high, and seventeen round. How fatal this Mountain has proved to *Sicily*, is well known. The Torrents of Fire and Ashes it vomits out, have more than once destroyed the Cities and Fields in its Neighbourhood. The Fires which are continually burning in the Bowels of it, have given the Poets occasion to feign, that its Mouths are so many Vent-holes of Hell. Here they placed the Forges of the *Cyclopes*, under the Direction of *Vulcan*, and the Prison of the Giants who rebelled against *Jupiter*: and the People soon took these Fictions for Truths, and looked on Mount *Ætna*, as the Residence of *Vulcan*, and the Seat of his Empire. Upon this Supposition they erected a Temple to him near it; which Temple *Ælian* mentions *B.* 11. *de Animalibus*. The Trees round it were consecrated by Religion, and a perpetual Fire was kept in it, as well as in the Temple of *Vesta*; because this Element was the Symbol of this God, by whom the Pagans often meant the Element of Fire itself.

31 *Adranum*, now *Aderno*, stood at the Foot of Mount *Ætna*, on a River, now called *Fiume d' Aderno*. This City was built, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, by *Dionysius the Elder*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*. It was famous for the Temple of *Adranus*, the Tutelary God of *Sicily*. The People of the Island, and Foreigners crowded thither, to make their Offerings at it. What *Ælian* says of the Mastiffs which were kept here, to the Number of a thousand, ought to be esteemed fabulous. He affirms, that these Dogs had a particular Instinct, of caressing those who came to enrich the Temple with their Presents; of conducting drunken Persons home in the Night; and of falling furiously upon Thieves, and tearing them in pieces.

32 *Centuripe*, formerly one of the richest Cities in *Sicily*, is now only a small Town, called by the Natives *Centorbe*. *Strabo* says, it stood at the Foot of Mount *Ætna*, near *Catana*, not far from the River *Simæthus*, which the *Sicilians* call *Da Jaresta*. It gloried in being the Birth-place of *Celsus* the Physician.

33 The *Alæsani* inhabited an ancient City in *Sicily*, which the Historians call *Alæsa*. It stood, as *Fazellus* conjectures, near the Place where the City of *Caronia* now stands, on the River *Alæsus*, or *Fiume di Casonia*. *Alæsa* gave its own Name to a neighbouring Fountain, which *Solinus* says, had a very singular Quality; but it has much the Air of a Fable. He assures us, that at the Sound of a Flute, the Waters of it would bubble up, and swell, and overflow its Bason. *In Halesina regione fons alias quietus, & tranquillus, quum siletur; si insonent tibiæ, exultabundus ad cantus elevatur, & quasi miretur dulcedinem vocis, ultra margines intumescit.* Cap. xi.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXC. Manius Valerius Flaccus, Manius Oracilius Crassus, Conſuls.

they took both the Cities under the Dominion of the *Syracuſans*, and thoſe ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, without Diſtinction, the *Romans* had, in a few Months time, ſubdued ſixty ſeven Places: Of which Number were 34 *Tauromenium*, and 35 *Catana*, two Cities of Importance. As no part of the World was more fruitful than *Sicily*, ſo none was better peopled, or abounded more with Cities and Towns. And as the *Romans* drew great Reinforcements from theſe new Conqueſts, their Armies were exceedingly encreaſed. Inſomuch, that they thought themſelves able to undertake the Siege of *Syracuſe*, the Capital of the Iſland, and one of the greateſt Cities in the World. It was then divided, as it were, into four different Cities, each of which had its particular Limits; and all four were included within the ſame Walls. The Iſland of *Ortygia*, which was one of them, was joined to the other three, by a Bridge over the Sea, and ſurrounded with the ſame Fortifications, as they. In order to inveſt this vaſt Place, an infinite Number of Troops were neceſſary; but the *Romans* thought nothing impoſſible. And then the extreme Danger he was in, intimidated King *Hiero*. He had experienced the Valour of the *Romans* laſt Year, and had again very lately felt the Effects of it. This brought into his Mind his former Reflections. He was now more ſenſible than ever, that, all things conſidered, an Alliance with the *Romans* would be leſs diſadvantageous to him, than one with the *Carthaginians*; and therefore, as ſoon as the *Conſuls* had begun to inveſt his Capital, he loſt no time in endeavouring to ſave it from Ruin. He ſent out Deputies from *Syracuſe* to treat with the *Romans* of a Peace: and *Rome* was too much concerned in Intereſt to accept his Propoſals, not to comply with them. To draw off the *Syracuſans* from the *Carthaginians*, was to reduce the latter to their own Forces only; and to keep up a faithful Correſpondence with *Hiero*, was to ſecure a continual Aſſiſtance in all future Wars. Nothing had fatigued the *Roman* Army more, the laſt Year, than the want of Proviſions, and the Difficulty of getting them: and to make *Syracuſe* their Friend, was to ſecure a plentiful Supply of them, on all Occaſions. Theſe Conſiderations removed the Difficulties which might have obſtructed the King's Deſires; and the *Conſuls* agreed to a Treaty with him, on the following Conditions. The *Romans* promiſed to acknowledge *Hiero* a Friend to their Republick, to defend his Capital and his Dominions, and to protect *Acræ* 36, *Leontini*, *Megara*, *Elorum*, *Netum*, and *Tauromenium* in particular, (which were the chief Cities in his Kingdom) from all Hoſtilities whatſoever. On the other hand, *Hiero* promiſed, to ſurrender up all the Priſoners of War he had taken from the *Romans*, without Ranſom; to pay the Republick an hundred *Talents* 37 of Silver; and to cultivate her Friendſhip by a faithful Obſervance of the Treaty. But this Convention was only drawn up, by the King and *Conſuls*; it was to be ratified at *Rome*; where it was approved,

Polyb. B. 1. *c.* 16.

34 *Tauromenium*, built on the Ruins of old *Naxos*, which was deſtroyed by *Dionyſius the Tyrant*, ſtood on the Declivity of Mount *Taurus* in *Sicily*. The River *Tauromin*ius, ſince called *Onobala*, and afterwards *Cantara* watered the Territory of this City, which is now called *Taormina*. Its Hills were famous for many excellent Vineyards, which produced exceeding rich Wines.

35 *Catana* is commended by the old Geographers, as one of the richeſt and moſt powerful Cities in *Sicily*. According to *Thucydides*, *B.* 3. it was originally a *Colony* of the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*. After continuing in great Splendor, for many Ages, it underwent the ſame Fate as many other Cities, ſituated near Mount *Ætna*. It was almoſt buried in its own Ruins, by the terrible Earthquakes, which laid this whole Country waſte; and nothing now remains but the Ruins of this great City. It was watered by the River *Amenes*, or *Amenanus*, according to *Strabo*, now the *Judicello*.

36 *Cluver* places the City of *Acræ* in that part of *Sicily* where now ſtands *Sancta Maria d'Arcia*, a Village, between *Noto* and *Avula*. We have ſpoken of the Cities of *Megara* and *Leontini* already. The former, which was called *The Little Hybla*, before a *Colony* of *Megarenſes* ſettled in it, was famous for the excellent Honey with which it furniſhed *Italy*. *Virgil* ſpeaks of it in his firſt Eclogue. There are ſome Remains of it yet to be ſeen, at the Mouth of the River *Alabus*, which the *Sicilians* now call *Lo Cataro*. It was originally called *Galeotis*.

Elorum was built by the *Syracuſans* near a River of the ſame Name, which *Father Briet* thinks was the River the Natives now call *Abiſo*. According to *Athenæus*, *B.* 8. the Fiſh in this River offered themſelves to be taken of their own accord. *Ovid*, *Faſti*, *B.* 4. ſpeaks of the Fields of *Elorum*, as a delicious Plain, where reigned a continual Spring. This City is ſuppoſed to have ſtood near the Place where *Bajacheno* now ſtands.

Fazellus places the City of *Netum*, called *Neetum* by *Ptolomy*, near the City, which has given its own Name to the *Val de Noto*, one of the three Cantons, into which *Sicily* is now divided.

37 See what we have ſaid of the *Talent*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 170. *Note* 67. [where the Reader is deſired to read 329 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* as the Value of the *Alexandrian Talent*, inſtead of 328 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d*; and 10200 *Drachmæ*, the Reduction of the *Hebrew* Silver *Talent*, inſtead of 102000.] The Sum of 100 *Talents* was worth about 100000 *French* Crowns, [or 19375 *l. Sterling*, according to *Arbuthnot*.] For it muſt be remembered, that each *Talent* was worth 60 *Minæ*;

proved, firſt by the Senate, and then by the *Comitia*, at the Motion, or Requeſt of *Cn. Attilius Calatinus*, then *A Tribune of the People*. It was at firſt, only a Truce for fifteen Years; but both Parties were ſo well ſatisfied with it, and the Conditions of it were ſo faithfully performed, that it laſted as long as *Hiero* lived. Indeed, this King had all the Inclinations and Virtues of a *Roman*; and it may not be improper to give ſome Account in this Place, of a Prince, whoſe Name will be ſo often mentioned with thoſe of the Heroes of *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXC. MANIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS, MANIUS OTACILIUS CRASSUS, Conſuls.

§. VIII. *HIERO* was the Son of *Hierocles*, who was deſcended from a Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, named *Gelo*. The Word Tyrant did not then convey the odious Idea, which the *Romans* have ſince affixed to it. It only ſignified a King, or Sovereign in general, whether a lawful one, or an Uſurper; whether he treated his People with Gentleneſs, or governed them with Severity and Rigor. But *Hiero*'s Deſcent was not ſo honourable by the Mother's ſide. She was a Slave, and *Hierocles* was therefore aſhamed to own him for his Son. He expoſed him on the Borders of a Foreſt, where a Swarm of Bees is ſaid to have ſerved him inſtead of a Nurſe. Upon the Report of this Prodigy, *Hierocles* conſulted the Diviners; and they foretold, that this Son of his, would one Day mount the Throne of his Anceſtors, and reſtore his Family to its ancient Splendor. The Child was therefore brought up with Care, and his Improvements were anſwerable to his Father's Expectations. When he performed his firſt Exerciſes, an Eagle is ſaid to have perched upon his Buckler, and an Owl upon his Lance; the former of which was the Symbol of Valour, the latter of Wiſdom: And young *Hiero* did not bely theſe Prognoſticks. He made his firſt Campaigns under *Pyrrhus:* and being inſtructed in the Art of War by ſo great a Maſter, he gained ſeveral of thoſe Prizes, which were beſtowed on Men of diſtinguiſhed Valour. And his Continence and Moderation gained him more Honour, than his firſt Exploits. He ſeemed to have been born for Virtue; and was governed by no Paſſion, but the Love of Glory; which he often acquired, both in ſingle Combats, and in Battels. At length *Pyrrhus* left *Sicily*, and returned to *Italy*; and then *Syracuſe*, which was without a Governor, fell into the greateſt Diſorders, during the Anarchy. It being therefore neceſſary to put a Stop to this Confuſion, the Troops choſe *Hiero* and *Artemidorus* to command them; and the two Generals had nothing more at Heart, than to re-eſtabliſh good Order in the Capital. With this View, they brought their Soldiers into it; and then *Hiero* diſcovered a great Superiority of Genius for Government. He, by the Arts of Inſinuation and Addreſs, and without ſpilling of Blood, calmed the Minds of the People, reconciled the Factions, and ſo gained their Hearts, that they unanimouſly choſe him *Prætor* of the City, during the *Interregnum*. This was the higheſt Office in the State. Two Things often raiſed Diſturbances in *Syracuſe*; the Abſence of the Generals when they were in the Field; and the ungovernable Tempers of the Mercenaries, which the Republick hired into her Service: and *Hiero* remedied both theſe Inconveniencies. He married the Daughter of the moſt conſiderable *Citizen* in *Syracuſe*, and always left his Father-in-law Governor of the City, when he took the Field: And in order to get rid of the Mercenaries he made uſe of this Expedient. He formed them into a ſeparate Body, and expoſed them alone, in a Battel with the *Mamertini*. But his *Syracuſan* Troops he brought into the City, without having expoſed them to any Danger; for he had taken care to poſt them ſo, as to have a River between them and the Enemy. When he was rid of that Company of Mutineers, he taught the *Syracuſans* military Diſcipline; took other Mercenaries that were more tractable into his Service, and taught them likewiſe the uſe of their Arms; and by this means rendered the *Syracuſans* invincible by any Enemy, but the *Romans*. Then *Hiero* marched againſt the *Mamertini*, beat them in a pitched Battel, took from them the Cities of [38] *Mylæ*, *Amaſela*, and

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 6. *Juſtin B.* 23.

Polyb. B. 1. *c.* 16.

60 *Minæ*, and each *Minæ* an hundred *Drachmæ*: So that there were 6000 *Drachmæ* in every *Talent*. Now each *Attick Drachma* was worth 10 *Sols*; ſo that the 6000 *Drachmæ* were worth 1000 Crowns. It is eaſy to reduce *Greek* Money to the *French* upon this Foot; only making proper Allowances for the raiſing or Reduction of the *French Species*. This Method of reckoning by *Talents* was chiefly uſed by the *Greeks*; the *Romans* reckoned by *Aſſes* and *Seſterces*.

38 *Mylæ*, now *Milazzo*, was formerly a *Colony* of *Tyndaritani*, who ſettled in it. This City, which was ſituated in a Peninſula, in the North Point of *Sicily*, had a Port, which was a convenient Retreat for Ships. *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 31. *c.* 4. that there was a Fountain near *Mylæ*, which dried up in Winter,

Year of ROME CCCCXC. MANIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS, MANIUS OTACILIUS CRASSUS, Conſuls.

and *Alæſa*, and received the Homage of the Inhabitants of 39 *Abacænum*, and *Tyndaris*, who ſubmitted to him. And ſo many Victories, and ſo much Wiſdom, procured *Hiero*, the Title and Regalia of a King; but added nothing to his Authority. He was abſolute in *Syracuſe*, when he was only *Prætor*. A little time after this, he again worſted the *Mamertini*, and was ready to have made himſelf Maſter of *Meſſana*, if he had not been diſappointed, through the Fraud of the *Carthaginians*. Nay, he always would have continued a Conqueror, if the *Romans* had not oppoſed his Victories: and they being now become his Friends, he made it his whole Buſineſs to ſtudy the Happineſs of his People, by cultivating the Friendſhip of theſe new Allies. *Syracuſe* never enjoyed more Tranquillity, than when *Hiero* was her King, and *Rome* her Protectreſs. It was this wiſe Prince's Maxim, That the King, who would ſit happily and peaceably upon the Throne, muſt make his Subjects afraid to loſe him. And indeed, no People ever more ſincerely prayed for the long Life of any Monarch, than the *Syracuſans* did, for his; and Heaven granted them their Deſires. This good King was not taken from them, till the ninetieth Year of his Age. His long Life was both the Reward and Proof of his Sobriety and Continence. When he entered into his Treaty with the *Romans*, he was but forty Years old; and he ſpent the reſt of his Life in a peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Throne, and in a ſincere Friendſhip with the *Romans*, to the laſt.

Polybius in Excerptis, apud Valeſium.

§. IX. AFTER the Treaty was made between the *Romans* and *Hiero*, the only Enemies the former had in *Sicily*, were the *Carthaginians*. But they reſolved to make War, with the utmoſt Fury upon a People, whoſe Ambition, they ſaid, led them firſt to *Sicily*, in order to paſs from thence into *Africa*: and their Terror was much increaſed, by the unexpected return of *Hannibal*. This General of the *Carthaginian* Fleet had advanced as far as *Xiphonia* 40, in hopes of ſuccouring *Syracuſe* by Sea, in caſe the *Romans* beſieged it. But the Truce *Hiero* made with the *Conſuls*, broke the Admiral's Meaſures; and he therefore left the Way open to the *Romans*, and returned to *Carthage*. The *Conſuls* took Advantage of this happy Opportunity, and aſſiſted with Succours by the *Syracuſans*, ſpread themſelves all over the Countries ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, in *Sicily*. They indeed made fruitleſs Attempts upon the Cities of *Adranum* and *Macella* 41, the Garriſons of which continued faithful to the *Carthaginians*. But all the Places, on the weſtern Coaſt of *Sicily*, where the Paſſage of *Æneas*, the firſt Founder of *Rome*, was ſtill remembered, came over to their old Allies. *The* Romans, ſaid theſe People, *are our Brothers, ſince they were originally* Trojans, *as well as we*: and upon this account, the Inhabitants of *Segeſta* 42 maſſacred the *African* Garriſon they had

Diodorus in Excerp.

Zonaras, B. 8. c. 9.

ter, and produced great Plenty of Water in the hotteſt part of Summer: and *Fazellus* ſays, he obſerved the ſame thing. We ſhall not ſay any thing here of the City of *Amaſela*; this City, and its ancient Situation, are abſolutely unknown. As for the City of *Alæſa*, we have given ſome Account of it before, in ſpeaking of the *Alæſani*.

39 The City called in *Latin Abacænum*, ſtood in the North part of *Sicily*, as well as *Tyndaris*. *Cluver* imagines we yet find ſome Traces of the former, near the little City of *Tripio*; but nothing remains of the latter, more than the Name, which is preſerved in the Place now called *Sancta Maria di Tynduro*. It was thought to have been originally a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*, who gave it the Name of *Tyndarus* the Father of *Leda*. *Cicero* commends it in his *Oration againſt Verres*. *Mercury* had a Temple in this City, and a Statue, which was thought by Judges to be a Maſter-piece of Art. We ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of it elſewhere. *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 2. *c.* 92. that a great part of *Tyndaris* had been ſwallowed up by the Sea. There is to this Day, a ſort of *Promontory* near it, which *Zonaras* ſays, had formerly the ſame Name as the City.

40 The City of *Xiphonia* was moſt probably the ſame City that modern Geographers call *Auguſta*. The *Peninſula* in which the City ſtood, and the weſtern Coaſt, made a very convenient Port for Ships. *Strabo* mentions the Promontory of *Xiphonia*, *B.* 6. This Cape, the Head of which is divided into three Branches, extends itſelf a great way into the Sea; and is now called *La Cruce*. The Territory of this City was watered by the River *Myla*, which ſome ſay was the ſame which is now called *San Marcellino*. But others will have it to be *Fiume di Sancto Juliano*, which the *Sicilians* call *Fiume Yabeda* at its Mouth. *Fazellus* is of the former Opinion; *Aretius* and *Leander*, of the latter; but neither of them gives any Reaſons for his Conjecture.

41 By the Account *Polybius* gives us, *B.* 1. of the March of the Troops to lay Siege to *Macella*, it is plain that this City ſtood between *Palermo* and *Segeſta*, a little to the South. The *Saracens*, who ſince conquered it, changed its Name, and called it *Colta Buſamar*.

42 The ancient City of *Segeſta*, which the *Greek* Authors call *Egeſta*, and ſometimes *Aceſta*, ſtood a little Way from *Lilybæum*, beyond *Drepanum*, and *Eryx*. The *Romans*, ſays *Feſtus*, changed the Name of *Egeſta* into that of *Segeſta*, by adding the Letter S to it; which Change was wholly founded in Superſtition. The Word *Egeſta* is the ſame, all but one Letter, as *Egeſtas*, which ſignifies in *Latin* Poverty and Want: and thoſe Names, which ſignified any thing that was calamitous, or bad, alarmed the ſuperſtitious *Romans*. They thought them Omens of the Dangers that threatened the Man who pronounced them. At leaſt they were enough to retard the Execution of any Enterpriſe. After ſuch

had received into their City, and went over to the *Romans*. Thoſe of *Aliena* 43 did the ſame; but the Inhabitants of *Hilara* 44, *Tyrita*, and *Aſcela*, ſuſtained Sieges; and being forced at laſt to ſurrender, were treated with Rigour. The *Tyndaritani* alſo were ready to ſurrender to the *Romans*; but the *Carthaginians* prevented it, and carried away their principal Citizens to *Lilybæum*, for Hoſtages. During theſe Wars, the *Conſul Otacilius* treated ſome of his Soldiers with a Severity, which kept up Diſcipline in his Army. They had been taken, in a Rencounter with a Party of *Carthaginians*, and had *paſſed under the Yoke*; and then being ſent back by the Enemy, they returned to their own Camp. But the General would not ſuffer them to enter it. He obliged them to encamp without the Entrenchments, expoſed to the Mercy of the Enemy; which, he ſaid, was *to teach them not to be any longer afraid of the Arms of Foreigners, which they had dreaded too much.* The Campaign being now ended, and the *Conſuls* obliged to return to *Rome*; they carried back moſt of their Troops with them, in order to put them in Winter Quarters, on the Coaſts of *Italy*. *Valerius* and *Otacilius* returned to the City; where the Senate and People did Juſtice to Merit. They decreed *Valerius* a Triumph, which he enjoyed on *The ſixteenth of the Calends of April.* His Surname of *Meſſala*, and this Mark of Diſtinction which he alone received, at his return, plainly ſhew how much he had ſignalized himſelf above his Collegue, both in the Defence of *Meſſana*, and the Wars with *Hiero*, and the *Carthaginians*.

Year of ROME CCCCXC. MANIUS VALERIUS FLACCUS, MANIUS OTACILIUS CRASSUS, Conſuls.

Diod. id Excerp. *Frontin. B. 4. c. 1.*

Tab. Triumph.

In the mean time, the Plague which had been in *Rome* for the two laſt Years, ſtill continued to make Ravages there; and Recourſe was therefore had to the uſual Remedy. The Republick nominated *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, *Dictator*, who choſe *Q. Marcius Philippus* for his General of Horſe; and their only Buſineſs was to drive a Nail in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, either in Regard to the old Superſtition; or perhaps, there might be a ſort of Magic in this old Ceremony. As for *Valerius*, who triumphed, he brought two Things from the Country, where he had made War, which were entirely new to the *Romans*. He brought from *Catana*, a horizontal Sun-dial, which he fixed on a Pedeſtal, near *The Tribune of Harangues*. But as it had been made for the 45 Latitude of *Catana*, it did not go right at *Rome*. The other Curioſity, was a Picture of the Battel in which he had vanquiſhed *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*, before *Meſſana*. This Picture he placed on one ſide of the old Palace of King *Hoſtilius*, where the Senate uſually aſſembled.

Faſti Capitol.

Pliny L. 7. c. ult.

Idem L. 35. c. 4.

§. X. *MESSALA*

ſuch a Name had been mentioned, the Gods were conſulted, and ſome happy Signal was expected to correct or prevent the ill Conſequences of it. Upon theſe odd Prejudices, the *Romans*, after mature Deliberation, changed the Name of the City which was at firſt called *Maleventum*, into that of *Beneventum*; and ſo likewiſe of *Egeſta*. *Præpoſita eſt ei* [SEGESTA] *littera, ne obſcæno nomine appellaretur, ut factum eſt Malevento, quod Beneventum dictum eſt.* Tradition ſaid, That *Æneas* built *Segeſta*, when he was thrown on the Coaſts of *Sicily*, by a Tempeſt; That *Egeſtus*, or *Aceſtes*, as *Virgil* calls him, a *Trojan*, was left in Poſſeſſion of this City, when the Founder ſailed on to *Italy*; and That from him it had the Name of *Egeſta*, which it retained, till it became ſubject to the *Romans*. Others ſay, *Egeſtus* himſelf was the Founder of it, and that it was built before *Æneas* came into *Sicily*. Some think it was built by another *Trojan*, named *Elymus*, and that the People of this Diſtrict were from him called *Elymi*. Their Territory was watered by the *Scamander*, and the *Simois*; two Names given theſe Rivers by the *Trojans*, in Memory of thoſe in their old Country. The former is now *The St. Bartholomew*; the latter is a Rivulet, that has no Name. *Segeſta* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Sicily*. *Agathocles* ſubdued it by force, according to *Diodorus B.* 20. and utterly deſtroyed all the Inhabitants. And he changed its former Name into that of *Dicæpolis*, which it did not retain long. *Cicero* ſays, it had been ruined by the *Carthaginians* before the Reign of *Agathocles*; and if then *Diodorus*'s Account be true, it muſt have been rebuilt. The Situation *Strabo* gives it, makes us believe it ſtood near the Place, where the Town of *Barbara* now ſtands, at a little Diſtance from *Caſtel a Mare*.

43 *Aliena* is no longer in being; nor can we diſcover any Footſteps of its ancient Situation.

44 The three Cities of *Hilara*, *Tyrita*, and *Aſcela*, are unknown. Or rather their Names have been altered and diſfigured by the Copyiſts. But be that as it will, the Cities here ſpoken of plainly appear to have been ſituated in the moſt weſtern Parts of *Sicily*.

45 The Latitude, or Elevation of the Pole, at *Catana*, is, according to the moſt exact Obſervations, thirty ſeven Degrees, thirty ſix Minutes, and fifty two Seconds. That of *Rome* is ſaid by modern Aſtronomers to be forty one Degrees, fifty four Minutes. If therefore this horizontal Dial was made according to the Rules of the Art of Dialling, the Style, or *Gnomon*, ought not to have been ſo placed for *Catana*, as for *Rome*. The firſt and moſt eſſential Rule in that Art, is to place the *Gnomon* of an horizontal Dial in ſuch a manner, as to make with the Plane, an Angle equal to the Elevation of the Pole. So that this Angle muſt be greater, or leſs, according as the Latitudes of Places differ. Without this Precaution, the Axis of the Plane, would not be the ſame with, or parallel to, the Axis of the World. Which being ſuppoſed, it will follow, that this horizontal Dial, which was made at *Catana*, for the Latitude of thirty ſeven Degrees, thirty ſix

Year of ROME CCCCXCI.

L. Posthumius Megellus, Q. Mamilius Vitulus, Conſuls.

§. X. *MESSALA* had now nothing more to do in his Office, but to preſide at the new Election of *Conſuls*, in the *Campus Martius*. *L. Poſthumius* 46 *Megellus*, and *Q. Mamilius Vitulus*, were the Perſons elected; and they were both ordered to go, and carry on the War in *Sicily* together. *Rome* had now no Enemies any where elſe. Nevertheleſs, the Number of the Troops, which were to be tranſported croſs The *Streights*, was diminiſhed. Each *Conſul* had hitherto conducted a complete *Conſular* Army; ſo that both commanded four *Legions*, which made in all 16000 Foot, and about 3000 Horſe. But now, they were diminiſhed one half, and each *Conſul* carried into *Sicily* only one *Legion*, of four thouſand ſix hundred Men. So that their whole Army conſiſted of no more than eight thouſand *Legionaries*, both Horſe and Foot included. This indeed ſeemed to be a ſmall Force for ſo great an Enterpriſe; but the Republick depended on the Succours, which would be ſent by *Hiero*, the *Mamertini*, and the other Nations in the Iſland, which had lately entered into Alliances with the *Roman* People. It is indeed very ſurpriſing, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet did not oppoſe the Paſſage of theſe Troops. The *Conſuls* landed at *Meſſana*, without any Oppoſition; and as ſoon as they came on Shore, aſſembled the Reinforcements they were to receive in the Country, and formed a Deſign, which ſeemed to be beyond their Strength. *Agrigentum* was a great City, on the South Coaſt of *Sicily*, naturally ſtrong by its Situation, and capable of receiving any Reinforcements or Ammunition by Water, its Port lying on the *African* Sea. The *Agrigentini*, who had long adhered to the *Carthaginians*, had put them in Poſſeſſion of their Walls, and Port; and the *Africans* had made *Agrigentum* their Place of Safety, their *Aſylum*, in caſe of any Miſcarriage, or Defect, and their Magazine of Arms, and Proviſions. And they had put ſo ſtrong a Garriſon into it, that that alone might paſs for a very great Army. If we may give Credit to one Hiſtorian, *Hannibal* was there at the Head of fifty thouſand *Carthaginians*, excluſive of the Inhabitants of the City, in which there were above twenty five thouſand Men, fit to bear Arms.

Polybius B. 1. c. 17.

In order to put a Stop to the good Fortune of the *Romans*, the *Carthaginians* ſeemed to have aſſembled together, all the Nations, on the Sea-Coaſts, from *Carthage* to the *Alpes*, to oppoſe theſe terrible Enemies. The *African* Republick had hired Troops of the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and *Ligures* or *Ligurians*. One of her Fleets, on which ſome of theſe Troops, which were picked up in ſeveral Places, were embarked, was then diſperſed in the Ports of *Sardinia*, and threatened the ſouthern Parts of *Italy*; whilſt *Hanno* was preparing to ſail from *Carthage*, upon the firſt Orders, with an Army of fifty thouſand Foot, ſix thouſand Horſe, and ſixty Elephants. But all theſe great Preparations for War did not terrify the *Romans*. They came and encamped a Mile from *Agrigentum*, after they had diſperſed the Troops which oppoſed their March. They could not expect to reduce ſo important a Place ſoon; but Conſtancy was the proper Character of the *Romans*. They ſate down before *Agrigentum*, juſt at the time of Harveſt. The fruitful Fields of *Sicily* were then covered with Corn, and ſome of the Beſiegers were tempted to gather it in themſelves, in order to provide againſt the Wants, which uſually attend long Campaigns. Theſe Reapers therefore divided themſelves into ſmall Parties, and diſperſed themſelves about the Plain, with the Conſent of the *Conſuls*, who were too eaſy in relaxing military Diſcipline. This was an Act of Imprudence, which nothing but Valour could repair. *Hannibal*,

Polybius B. 1. c. 17.

Dion. in Eclogis.

Minutes, and fifty two ſeconds, could not but go wrong at *Rome*, in the Latitude of forty one Degrees, fifty four Minutes. For want of obſerving this Difference in the Degrees of the Elevation of the Pole, and the Bigneſs of the Angles, the *Romans*, when a little better inſtructed, afterwards perceived, that the Shade did not ſhew the Hours on the horary Lines, agreably to the Sun's Motion. Beſides, it is probable, the *Romans* did not know how to ſet up an horizontal Sun-dial; that is, how to place the Meridian of the Plane, parallel to the Meridian of *Rome*. Doubtleſs, the Method now made uſe of, to find the Meridian of a Place, by one or two Points of Shade, was unknown to them. They probably only took care to place the Dial ſo, as that the *Gnomon* ſhould caſt a Shade upon the Plane, whenever the Sun ſhined on the Place between *The Tribune of Harangues*, and the Houſe appointed for the Reception of Ambaſſadors. We have already obſerved, that this was the only Way the *Romans* anciently had of diſtinguiſhing the Hours of the Day; when the Sun ſhined there, an Herald proclaimed that it was Noon. We are not therefore to wonder, that they ſhould a few Years after diſcover, that their Sun-dial had been irregular.

46 The *Greek Tables* only give *Lucius Poſthumius* the Name of *Albinus*, and not that of *Megellus*. But both might equally belong to him. We have already ſeen ſeveral *Poſthumii* bear the Surname of *Albinus*. It appears from the *Faſti Capitolini*, that *Marianus* miſtakes the Name of the ſecond *Conſul*. He calls him *Manlius*, and not *Manilius*. In the Text of *Polybius*, and *Zonaras*, it is *Æmilius*; but this is a Miſtake of the Copyiſts.

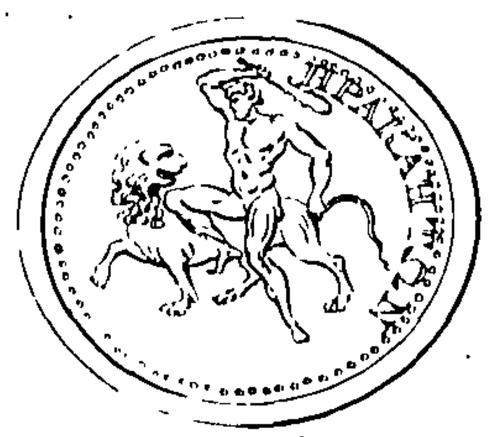
Year of ROME CCCCXCI.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS, Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS, Conſuls. *Polybius.*

who commanded in the Town, made two Sallies at the ſame time, one upon the Reapers, whoſe Greedineſs of Prey, had carried them too far; and the other upon the *Roman* Camp, which was now deprived of one part of thoſe who were to defend it. In the Plain, a great Number of *Romans*, who could not rally ſoon enough, were overpowered by the Numbers of their Enemies; but in the Camp, the *Romans* performed wonderful Feats of Valour. The *Carthaginians* had there divided themſelves into two Bodies; one attacked the advance-Guards; the other marched up to the Rampart, and endeavoured to make a Breach in it: But they were received in both Places, with more Vigour than they expected. It was a Law in the *Roman* Army, that if any Soldier, who was poſted without the Camp, to guard the Avenues to it, quitted his Poſt, he ſhould be put to death. The advanced-Guards therefore knowing they ſhould be executed, if they retired, ſuſtained the Attack of the Enemy, without ſtirring: and though few in Number, made a much greater Slaughter of the Enemy, than was made of them.

THIS firſt Battel gave the *Conſuls* time to look about them. They drew up their Troops in Battalia with all Speed, and ordered them to march out of the Camp, to the Relief of thoſe brave Men, whoſe Reſiſtance was ſuch, as to ſtop a whole Army. And when Numbers were equal, the *Carthaginians* could no longer ſtand before the *Romans*. The latter made them give Way, repulſed them with Loſs, and forced them to retreat into their City, after they had left a great Number of Dead on the Plain. As for the Body, which endeavoured to make a Breach in the Ramparts of the Camp, the *Romans* being Maſters of the Ground, ſurrounded it, and revenged on the *Carthaginians* the Slaughter of the Reapers. And this taught both the Beſiegers, and the Beſieged, more Wiſdom. The *Conſuls* took care, how they ſuffered their Troops to go out to forage in the Country, in Bands; and *Hannibal* ventured no more to make Sallies, and inſult the *Roman* Camp.

§. XI. YET ſtill the Siege was carried on, though but ſlowly. No more Battels were fought; but to prevent Convoys of Proviſions from entering the Place. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* Army continually received new Reinforcements. The *Sicilians* had ſuch an Abhorrence of the *Carthaginians*, that above a hundred thouſand of them followed the *Roman* Standards; and this additional Multitude obliged the *Conſuls* to divide their Army, and form two Camps. One was near a Temple of *Æſculapius* at ſome Diſtance from *Agrigentum*; the other on the Road to 47 *Heraclea*. A large Ditch was thrown up round the beſieged City, which guarded the two Camps againſt the Sallies of the Beſieged: and a ſecond Line beyond the *Roman* Camps, both preſerved them from any Attacks from without, and was a Barrier, to hinder the Conveyance of any Proviſions into the City. All the Space between the



Gold.

47 This City was ſucceſſively called *Macara*, and *Heraclea*. The ancient Geographers call it *Heraclea Minoa*, becauſe it was thought to have been built by *Minos*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, *B.* 16. though he had before ſaid, *B.* 4. that a *Colony* of *Cretans* had founded it, after the Death of the King of *Crete*. Others pretend that it was already in being, and called *Macara*, when the *Cretans* ſettled there. Afterwards, a Company of *Lacedæmonians*, under the Command of one of the *Heraclidæ*, drove out the ancient Inhabitants of this City, and took Poſſeſſion of it themſelves. It was then poſſeſſed by the *Selinuntii*, who had long before ſent a *Colony* thither. After this Revolution, it bore the Name of *Heraclea*, and ſtill retains it on its Medals, which bear the Figure of an *Hercules*, to perpetuate the Memory of its laſt Founder, who pretended to be deſcended from this *Grecian* Hero. This City is now utterly deſtroyed. *Fazellus* ſuppoſes it ſtood on the Banks of a River in *Sicily*, called by the Ancients *Halycus*, and by the Moderns *Platani*; and that it was near the Place now called *Caſtel Bianco*. Which Situation agrees well enough with that which *Ptolomy* and *Mela* give it.

two

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCI.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS, Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS, Conſuls.

two Camps, and in the middle of the two Lines, were filled Day and Night, with *Roman* Troops, who guarded the Lines, and watched all the Avenues to *Agrigentum*. For the Subſiſtence of the two Camps, the *Conſuls* brought their Proviſions by *Erbeſſa* [48], a City well affected to them, and not far from *Agrigentum*. There they placed their Magazine of Proviſions, which they brought thither from all Parts of *Sicily*: and they hoped to force the *Agrigentini* to ſurrender, by Famine. Thus the *Romans* continued before the Place five Months, keeping exact Diſcipline. But they made no Attempts to ſcale the Walls, provided no Machines to batter them, raiſed no Galleries to annoy the Beſieged. And this Inaction of the Beſiegers daily weakened the Beſieged. So numerous a Garriſon was prejudicial to the Place, and Proviſions began to fail. This made the Inhabitants deſpair of being able to preſerve the Town, and give themſelves up for loſt. However, *Hannibal* kept up their Courage with Promiſes, and ſent Couriers to *Carthage* from time to time, to ſollicite Succours. The great Army *Hanno* kept ready for any Expedition, was not yet debarked; he was preſſed to ſet ſail; and the General came at length, and landed at the Port of *Lilybæum*, on the Point of Land, which was neareſt *Carthage* of any in *Sicily*.

AGRIGENTUM was in great Danger; and *Hanno* making what haſte he could thither, came and encamped near *Heraclea*, about twenty Miles from it; and there received a Deputation, which gave him Hopes that the Siege would be raiſed. Some *Erbeſſani*, who were ſecret Enemies to the *Romans*, came and offered *Hanno* to ſurrender up *Erbeſſa* to him, and thereby extirpate the *Romans* out of *Sicily*. An Offer, which was accepted with the greateſt Joy. To take *Erbeſſa* from the *Romans*, was not only to deprive them of their Proviſions, and to intercept all Convoys in their Way to their Camp; but the two *Roman* Camps would, by that Means, be as much beſieged in the Plain, and as much preſſed with Famine, as the *Agrigentini* within their Walls. And indeed, as ſoon as the *Carthaginians* were put into Poſſeſſion of *Erbeſſa*, the *Conſuls* deliberated, whether they ſhould not raiſe the Siege. But the faithful *Hiero* knew the Wants of his Allies, and was not dilatory in ſupplying them. He ſent a great Number of Convoys to their Army, ſome of which always arrived ſafe. And this was enough to ſupport them for a time; but not enough for their convenient Subſiſtence between two Armies, ſhut up in two Cities. Diſtempers, the uſual Conſequences of Famine, ſpread in the *Roman* Army; which nevertheleſs continued the Works before *Agrigentum*. And *Hanno*'s Precipitation was of more Service in delivering the *Romans* from their Danger, than even *Hiero*'s Succours. The raſh *Carthaginian* came within reach of the Entrenchments of the Beſiegers, and gave them Hopes that he would ſoon offer them Battel.

HANNO took it for granted, that Sickneſs and Diſtemper, which weakened the Bodies of the *Romans*, muſt likewiſe have ſunk their Courage. Whereas, the *Conſuls* gave him a fine Inſtance of thoſe prudent Delays, which ſometimes deſtroy an Enemy's Army, more effectually than Swords and Darts. But the *Carthaginian* was haſty and bold. He made his Horſe advance within ſight of the Enemy, and hover round their Camps. On the other hand, the *Conſuls*, who deſired a general Action, more than *Hanno* did, marched out their Squadrons likewiſe. Indeed, in this firſt Skirmiſh, the *Roman* Cavalry were worſted. Their Ardour carried them too far, and they were not aware of the Ambuſcade which was laid for them. They fell in with *Hanno*'s Infantry, who followed the *Numidian* Horſe, which were uſed to theſe ſort of feigned Flights; and ſo great a Slaughter was made of them, that few came back to the Camp.

It is often dangerous for Generals, who are inclined to be raſh, to gain any Superiority over the Enemy, in the beginning of an Engagement. It increaſes their Confidence, and Temerity. *Hanno*, full of Hopes of coming inſtantly to a general Action, poſted himſelf upon a Hill, named *Taurus*, about a Mile and half from the *Romans*. But the *Conſuls* did not comply with his Deſires, as readily as he wiſhed. They thought it better to endure the Inconveniences of their Camp, for ſome time longer, than to ſtand the Shock of the firſt Ardour of theſe fiery *Africans*. But as ſoon as their Fire ſhould be in the leaſt abated, they thought it would be better to

Zonaras B. 8. c. 10.

48 The ancient Geographers mention two Cities in *Sicily*, which both had the Name of *Erbeſſa*. The firſt ſtood above *Agrigentum*, and is that here ſpoken of; which is now called *Le Grotte*, or *Grutti*. The ſecond City of this Name was a little Way from *Syracuſe*, near the Place where *Palazzuolo* now ſtands.

face the Enemy, than ſtruggle with a Scarcity of Proviſions. And then they found that the *Carthaginian* had upon Reflection altered his Mind; they did not find him any more impatient for a Battel. Two Months expired, before *Hanno* would venture at any other Engagements, but ſlight Skirmiſhes. Year of *ROME* CCCCXCI.

IN the mean time the City of *Agrigentum*, which was carefully inveſted by the *Romans*, was reduced to the utmoſt Extremity by Famine. *Hannibal* often gave *Hanno* Notice of the deplorable Condition of the Place; and he as often returned him Anſwer by Signals, that he had nothing to do, but to ſurrender. Beſides, it was well known in the *Carthaginian* Army, that the Soldiers in the beſieged City, deſerted by Companies, and choſe rather to ſuffer Want with the *Romans*, than periſh with Hunger. So that, all things conſidered, the *Carthaginian* ſaw, that it was neceſſary to come to a deciſive Action. He gave *Hannibal* Notice of the Day of Battel, and ordered him to make a Sally, the Moment the *Romans* appeared in the Plain. And then the *Conſuls* in their Turn pretended to decline a Battel. The *Carthaginian* Army being drawn up in Battalia, it covered all the Ground from Mount *Taurus*, to the Entrenchments of the *Romans*. But theſe did not ſtir out of their Poſts, heard the Inſults of the *Carthaginians*, and laughed at their Bravadoes. They only repulſed the Enemy with their Darts, as oft as they came too near to their Camps: and this Management laſted ſome Days. At the time appointed, *Hanno* drew out all his Troops in ſight of the *Romans*, and ordered them to move round their Ramparts; but all in vain. The *Conſuls* would not accept the Challenge; they only ſent out ſome light-armed Troops to annoy the Enemy in their Retreat. But the more obſtinate the *Romans* were, in keeping themſelves under cover, the more did *Hanno* perſiſt in parading with his Troops: And his Enemies often laid Baits for him, by ſuffering him to gain ſlight Advantages; till at length the Day came on, which the *Conſuls* reſolved to put their Deſign in Execution. *Hanno* appeared on the Plain, and made a Shew with his Army as uſual. The *Romans* oppoſed him with ſome few Troops, and the *Carthaginian Cohorts* ſpent their firſt Fire upon them. The reſt of *Hanno*'s Army continued expoſed to the Sun, during the Heat of the Day; whilſt the *Romans* were under Shelter, and the *Conſuls* gave their Soldiers a plentiful Refreſhment, drew them up within the Camp, and ordered them to march out of it, when *Hanno* leaſt expected it. The firſt Onſet of the *Romans* was upon the Mercenaries the *Carthaginians* kept in their Service, which were placed in the Advance-guard; and theſe, who were little concerned for the Glory of thoſe they defended, and fatigued with the Delays of the Battel, immediately gave Way, and fled. In their Rout, they fell upon the Elephants, which they put into Diſorder; and theſe flying, entirely broke the laſt Line of their Battalions. All was in Confuſion in the *Carthaginian* Army, and in the Rout much Blood was ſpilt.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS, Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS, Conſuls.
Polybius B. 1. *c.* 19.
Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 10.
Frontin. B. 2. *c.* 1.

ON the other hand, the *Conſuls* had poſted ſome Troops in the Avenues of the City, to prevent *Hannibal*'s making any Sallies. So that this General in vain endeavoured to bring all the Soldiers he had left, which were in a Condition to fight, to *Hanno*'s Aſſiſtance. They were ſo vigorouſly repulſed at all the Gates, that he was forced to return into the City, after he had loſt a great Number of *Carthaginians*. In ſhort, the *Romans* gained a complete Victory. They took eleven Elephants from the Enemy, wounded three, and left thirty dead upon the Plain: and they killed as many Men in Proportion; but we don't exactly know their Number. However, this at leaſt is certain, that the Vanquiſhed had a great deal of Difficulty to recover *Heraclea*, after their Defeat.

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 10.
Diod. Sic. in Excerp.

NEVERTHELESS, *Hannibal* did not loſe all Hopes. He imagined, that the *Romans* would be leſs upon their Guard than uſual, in the two Camps, after the Fatigues of ſo glorious a Day; and he flattered himſelf, that he ſhould find the Centinels and the Watch off their Duty. Upon this Preſumption therefore, he prepared Faſcines, and Bridges of Boats, marched away with the greateſt part of his Troops in the middle of the Night, found indeed the outward Entrenchments but negligently guarded, and penetrated at laſt to the Foot of the Ramparts. But it unfortunately happened, that by that time he was in a Condition to act, the Day began to appear: and as ſoon as the Enemy was perceived, they were put to flight, and their Rear-guard, but coarſely handled, in their Retreat. *Hannibal* did not return with the reſt of his Men, into a City, which he could not defend: but retired to a Place of Safety. A memorable Inſtance of *Carthaginian* Treachery. This General, whom the *Agri-*

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCI. L. Posthumius Megellus, Q. Mamilius Vitulus, Consuls.

Zonaras, B. 8 *c.* 10. *Polybius B.* 1. *c.* 19.

gentini had entrusted with their Lives and Estates, left these unhappy People to their hard Fate. It was enough for an ungrateful Man, who had no Honour, to save himself, and his Troops. The *Agrigentini* therefore revenged themselves on the rest of the *Carthaginians*, whom *Hannibal* had left in the Place; and massacred them all, without Mercy. They hoped likewise by this Means to make their court to the *Consuls*, and obtain more favourable Terms for it. But such Cruelties were not agreable to the *Romans*. The City surrendered at Discretion; the *Consuls* gave it up to be plundered; and above twenty five thousand Persons, of free Condition, were made Slaves. Such was the Success of a Siege, which lasted at least seven Months. *Rome* had never yet undertaken one more difficult, or more remarkable for the Variety of its Events: and it must be owned, that it cost the Besiegers dear. The *Consuls* lost before it in Battels, and by Want, about thirty thousand Men, *Romans*, and Allies: but the Conquest was indeed both an important and a glorious one. It for ever gained the *Roman* Republick a kind of Superiority by Land, which always kept her above the *Carthaginian*. The Campaign ended with the taking of *Agrigentum*; after which, the *Consuls* returned to *Messana*, and from thence to *Rome*. It is natural enough to wish to see them triumph, after so glorious an Expedition; and one single Historian tells us, they did so; but the Silence of all other Authors, and especially of *The Triumphal Tables*, in which we don't find their Names, makes us believe, that the Senate and People did not grant them those Honours. And if I might be permitted to guess at the Cause of it, I should suppose, That they might intend by this Refusal, to punish the Relaxation of Discipline in the Army; and That *Rome* would not pardon their suffering the Troops to ramble a great Way from the Camp, in order to go a reaping in the Country.

Eutropius

§. XII. The Reduction of *Agrigentum* gave the *Romans* Hopes of conquering all *Sicily*. The Way being now open, they resolved to pursue it, and not to leave the Pursuit, till they had taken from the *Carthaginians*, all the Cities they had invaded. The *Romans* at first pretended only to drive these *Africans* from their own Coasts, to which they were come too near. But the first Advantages they gained over the *Carthaginians* before *Messana*, raised their Ambition, and animated them to carry on the Enterprise as far as possible. As soon then as *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *T. Otacilius* [49], the Brother of *M. Otacilius*, who had been *Consul* two Years before, were chosen *Consuls*, they were ordered to carry on the War in *Sicily*. The Senate plainly foresaw, That by Land, and in the middle of the Island, the *Roman* Arms would always prevail over the *Carthaginian*; but That *Rome* could never make her self Mistress of the maritime Cities, without the Assistance of a Fleet, equal at least, to that of *Carthage*. And to build one, was a difficult Undertaking. The *Romans* had hitherto passed *The Streights*, only on Merchant Ships, borrowed of the Inhabitants on the Coast of *Italy*; and they had neither Seamen, nor Marines, nor Ship-Carpenters, who knew how to build Gallies. But what cannot Valour and Constancy do when actuated by great Ambition! The *Roman* Republick took it into her Head, to be as formidable by Sea, as she was by Land: and ordered a hundred and twenty Boats [50] to be built at the publick Expence, after the Model of a *Triremis*, which was lately split on the Coasts of *Italy*. The *Romans* immediately set about this laborious Work; and they cut down Forests, and removed the Trees to the Sea-Shores, with an Expedition peculiar to themselves. And whilst these Gallies were upon the Stocks, the two *Consuls* set out for *Sicily*. But how dangerous and how difficult was the Enterprise they went upon! They were obliged to support the Glory, and Exploits of their Predecessors; and indeed, they may be said, in some Measure, to have surpassed them. All the Cities, which were at any Distance from the Sea-shore, submitted to the *Romans*. The Punishment of the *Agrigentini* affrighted them; and they had now nothing to fear from the *Carthaginians*. As for *Hanno*, after he had failed in his Attempt to deliver *Agrigentum*, his Mercenaries gave him some Trouble. The *Gauls* especially, seemed more dissatisfied, and untractable than the rest. The *Carthaginian*

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCII. L. Valerius Flaccus, T. Otacilius, Consuls.

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 20.

49 *Marianus* and *Cassiodorus* gave *Otacilius* the *Prænomen* of *Lucius*, contrary to the *Fasti Capitolini*. *Zonaras* omits both these Magistrates.

50 This Fleet was equipped in two Months time, according to *Polybius*, reckoning from the Day the Trees began to be cut in the Forest. In this Fleet there were a hundred Ships, which had five Benches of Rowers, and twenty which had three. Some Authors say it consisted of a hundred and sixty Sail.

owed

owed them ſeveral Months Pay; and the Method the General took to get rid of them, was this. He promiſed thoſe Rebels, who were reſolved to deſert, and go over to the *Conſuls*, that he would ſoon give them the Plunder of *Entella* 51; a City then ſubject to the *Romans*. The Hopes therefore of ſo rich a Booty appeaſed the Mutiny, by exciting the Avarice of theſe *Gauls*, who were about four thouſand in Number. Year of *ROME* CCCCXCII. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, T. OTALIDIUS, Conſuls.

IN the mean time, the cunning *Carthaginian* ſent away his Steward to the *Roman* Camp, under the Pretence of being a Malecontent, and a Deſerter: and he, like an artful Cheat, made the *Conſul Otacilius* believe, that he was accuſed of Male-adminiſtration in his Office, and was therefore forced to have recourſe to *Hanno*'s Enemies. And as a Proof of his Zeal for the new Cauſe he now eſpouſed, he undertook to diſcover all his Maſter's Secrets. *The Inhabitants of* Entella, ſaid he, *have agreed to deliver up their City to* Hanno, *at a certain time*; which time he named. *Four thouſand* Gauls *will then be detached from the* Carthaginian *Army, to go and take Poſſeſſion of the Place, which the Traytors are to ſurrender to them; and nothing will be more eaſy, than to lay an Ambuſcade for this Detachment, and not only diſappoint them of their Hopes, but alſo cut them in pieces.* *Otacilius* therefore, who did not ſee through the Informer's Deſign, believed him upon his Word; and laid ſome *Romans* in Ambuſh, in the Road, where the *Gauls* were to paſs. On the Day fixed, the *Gauls* marched with Expedition, by *Hanno*'s Orders, to go and pay themſelves, the Arrears which had been promiſed them; and were ſurprized to find themſelves delivered up to a Body of *Romans*, who appeared all on a ſudden, and inveſted them. However, they were not People, who would ſuffer themſelves to be maſſacred, without making any Reſiſtance, and they ſold their Lives very dear: but not one of them eſcaped. *Hanno*'s Domeſtick, who returned back from the *Roman* Camp, carried his Maſter the welcome News of this Defeat, which gave the *Carthaginian* General double Pleaſure; as he was thereby delivered from a Company of Mutineers, and had alſo cauſed a good deal of *Roman* Blood to be ſpilt by the *Gauls*. All the reſt of the Campaign, the *Carthaginians* oppoſed the Conqueſts of *Valerius*, and *Otacilius* but faintly. They made themſelves Maſters of all the flat Country, and returned to *Rome*. But they were not honoured with a Triumph. The Advantages of the Campaign had been too equally divided between them and their Enemies. *Frontin. Stratag. B.* 16. *Diod. in Ecl.*

INDEED, whilſt the *Romans* were ſubduing the inland Country, the *Carthaginians*, either kept ſteady in their Intereſt, or ſubdued all the Cities on the Coaſts. So that both Parties were equally ſucceſsful. Nor was it poſſible to incline the Balance wholly to the *Romans*, as long as their Republick wanted Sea-forces: and this Glory was reſerved for the ſucceeding *Conſuls*.

§. XIII. THE *Centuries* choſe *Cn. Cornelius*, ſurnamed *Aſina Scipio*, and *C. Duilius* 52, in the *Campus Martius*: and before they left *Rome*, it was adorned with Fountains. We have already obſerved, that when *Curius Dentatus* was *Cenſor*, he had formed a Deſign of bringing 53 the Water of the *Anio* to *Rome*; and this Project had met with numberleſs Obſtructions. But at length, *Cn. Minucius*, who was *Prætor*, had brought the Senate to conſent, to undertake this fine Work. The care of it was committed to two able Men; one of which was the ſame *Curius* who was the Projector of it, and the other was *M. Fulvius*, a Man of Conſequence in the Republick, who had been honoured with a *Conſulſhip*, and a Triumph. But *Curius* died five Days after he was choſen, to conduct this Work; ſo that *Fulvius* had all the Honour of finiſhing theſe Fountains, which were both an Ornament to the City, and very commodious for the Inhabitants. Year of *ROME* CCCCXCIII. CN. CORNELIUS ASINA SCIPIO, C. DUILIUS, Conſuls. *Frontinus de Aquæductibus.*

51 The ancient City of *Entella* boaſted of being founded by *Entellus*, one of *Æneas*'s Companions. It underwent the ſame Fate from *Dionyſius the Tyrant*, as the Cities of *Rhegium* and *Meſſana*, ſeveral Years after ſuffered, from the *Campani*. See *Diodorus Siculus*, *B.* 14. on that Subject. There are yet ſome Remains of *Entella* left, in *The Valley of Mazara*, on the River *Belice Dextro*. *Strabo* ſays, its Territory was planted with Vineyards, which produced excellent Wines. It now produces ſcarce any thing but Corn. The Ruins of *Entella*, which was deſtroyed by the Emperor *Frederick the Second*, and the neighbouring Mountain, ſtill preſerve the old Name of *Entella*, though the City is no longer in being.

52 Moſt ancient Authors differ, both as to the *Prænomen*, and Name, of *Caius Duilius*. Some call him *Cneius Duilius*, others *Marcus Duellius*, and ſome *Bellius*. Thus, as *Cicero* obſerves, the old Word *Duellum*, which ſignified *War*, was changed into that of *Bellum*. We adhere to the ancient Monuments which give this *Conſul* the Name of *Caius Duilius*.

53 We have already ſpoken of this Canal, which the Ancients call *Anio Vetus*, *B.* 22. §. 15. *pag.* 495. of this *Volume*, *Note* 61.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCIII. Cn. Cornelius Asina Scipio, C. Duilius, Conſuls.

At the ſame time, a much greater Work was alſo finiſhed in the Ports of *Italy*, which was the Building of ſixſcore Gallies, moſt of which were *Quinqueremes*. With what Expedition and Conſtancy did the *Romans* perfect this uncommon Work! In ſixty Days after the Timber neceſſary for it was brought to the Ports, this large Fleet was ready to ſail. Theſe Veſſels were not indeed made, with all the Regularity and Art 54, with which the *Carthaginians* had long built their Ships. Theſe firſt

54 In order to give the Reader ſome Idea of the naval Affairs of the Ancients, it may not be improper to make the following Obſervations.

1. The Art of Navigation was, to all Nations, in the firſt Ages, one of thoſe Myſteries, which are only diſcovered by Degrees, and not brought to any Perfection, but by long Experience. The moſt ancient Ships, were nothing better than mere Rafts. A Parcel of Beams, covered with Boards, like thoſe which are now uſed, for the Conveyance of Merchandiſe in Rivers, which will not carry Boats. The *Greeks* call them *Schedia*; and ſome Authors aſcribe the Invention of them to the *Lydians*. *Schedia*, ſays *Feſtus*, *genus navigii inconditi, trabibus tantum inter ſe connexis facti, quo Mercimonia circumferunt.* *Xenophon*, *B.* 6 and *Polienus* *B.* 5. ſpeak of another ſort of Boat, which was very anciently in uſe; and which they call *Monoxilon*, or *Alveus*. It was made of the Trunk of a Tree, hollowed like a Trough, or Gondola: and Hiſtorians ſay, they were of different Sizes. *Pliny*, *B.* 16. *c.* 4. ſays, that the *Germans* committed their Piracies in this ſort of Gondola's, the largeſt of which would hold thirty Men. *Strabo*, *B.* 16. ſpeaks of ſome Barks, covered with pitched Skins, which the *Sabæans* uſed. The ſame Geographer alſo ſays, that the *Egyptians* had Boats made of dried Earth; which *Juvenal* confirms, when he ſays of the *Agathyrſes*, a People of *Egypt*,

imbelle & inutile vulgus,
Parvula fictilibus ſolitum dare vela phaſelis,
Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere teſtæ.

2. Such were the firſt Eſſays of Men towards learning the Art of Navigation, till, inſtructed by the Experience of former Ages. and grown more induſtrious, they extended their Commerce and Dominion beyond the Seas. Then Ships of Burden were built, for tranſporting of Merchandizes; and Ships of War, or Gallies, to guard againſt Pirates: and Sails and Oars were made uſe of to move theſe unweildy Hulks. The firſt ſort of Ships were made, almoſt in a circular Form. The Gallies which were longer than thoſe, were of two ſorts. Some were armed for Sea-fights; and others, which were called *Actuariæ Naves*, were pretty much like our *Galliots*. *Cicero*, in a Letter to *Aticus*, 16, 3. calls certain light Barks, with more or fewer Oars, according to their Sizes, *Actuariolæ Naves:* and *Latin* Authors call theſe Sloops, *Cymbæ*, *Acatia*, *Celocia*, *Lembi*, and *Scaphæ*. Theſe little Skiffs were generally faſtened to the Poops of the Gallies. *Appian* tells us, *B.* 5. that the Ancients alſo made uſe of the Barks, which the *Latins* call *Phaſeli*. They were built, partly like Ships of Burden, and partly like long Boats. The *Myoparones*, and *Hemiolæ*, ſo often mentioned by the Hiſtorians, were much the ſame kind of Boats as our Frigates.

3. Some of the Ships, both of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, had neither Decks, nor Beaks in their *Prows*. Such were thoſe, which the *Latins* called *Cymbæ*, *Lintres*, *Scaphæ*, and the other Boats, they ſent out to make Diſcoveries. The reſt which *Polybius* calls κατάφρακτα πλοῖα, had Decks. As for thoſe Veſſels which took their Name from the *Liburni*, a People of *Illyricum*, and which the *Romans* uſed, we ſhall have Occaſion to deſcribe them more particularly, in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

4. The Ships of the Ancients, as well as thoſe of the Moderns, had their *Sterns*, *Prows*, and *Keels*. The latter was as it were the Foundation or Groundwork of the whole Ship, and conſiſted of one large Beam, or ſeveral joined together endways, which reached the whole length of the Ship, from the *Prow* to the *Stern*. But the Word *Carina* often ſignifies all that part of the Ship that is under Water. The upper part of the Ship above the *Carina*, was divided into three Stages. The loweſt, which was kept for the *Thalamioi*, was called Θάλαμοι; the middle Ζύγα, which was for the *Zugioi*; and the uppermoſt Θρᾶνος, in which were lodged the *Thranatai*, who both among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, always kept the uppermoſt Stage. In the ſides of the Galley, were as many Holes as ſhe carried Oars. The *Prow* was the forepart of the Veſſel; at the Bottom of which, even with the Water, was a Beam, armed with a Spike of Iron, or Copper, which the *Latins* called *Roſtrum*, becauſe the Point of it was like the Beak of a Bird. The great Ships had each no leſs than three Beaks, which when driven with Violence againſt the Enemy's Ships, made Holes in them under the Water, which flowed into them very faſt, and ſunk them. Beſides the Beak, theſe Ships had likewiſe what the *Greeks* call *Epotides*; which, from the Account given us of them by *Suidas* and *Thucydides*, *B.* 7. we ſuppoſe were Beams, or great pieces of Wood, which ſtuck out at the two ſides of the *Prow*, to break the violent Stroaks of the Beaks. In this manner, ſays *Thucydides* in the ſame Place, the *Syracuſani*, when at War with the *Athenians*, added *Epotides* to the *Prows* of their Ships. They were faſtened within and without the Ship, with Girders; and they jetted out about ſix Cubits beyond the Ship. The Ancients had not yet obſerved, that the Weight and Length of the Beaks conſiderably retarded the run of the Ship. They are now made lighter and ſhorter to remedy this Inconvenience. That part of the Ship, which is oppoſite to the *Prow*, was called the hindpart of the Ship, or *Puppis*, which was adorned all round with Balconies, Galleries, Pilaſters, and ſeveral ſorts of Painting. The Cuſtom of painting the Figures of the Gods, Tritons, Sea-horſes, &c. on Ships, was at leaſt as old as *Homer*, and *Herodotus*, who expreſly mention it.

5. The Ships of the Ancients had their Oars, Sails, and Cables. The Oars were faſtened to a great wooden Pin, called by the *Latins Scalmus*. Each Ship had only one Sail at firſt; but afterwards more; as we are told by *Pliny* in the Preface to his 19th Book. *The largeſt Sail*, ſays he, *is not of itſelf ſufficient for one of theſe Ships; tho' a whole Tree be ſcarce enough to make a Yard to it. There are other Sails added in the* Prow *and* Stern, *beſides thoſe on the Main-maſt. So many ways do Men take to deſtroy one another!* His Words are theſe. *Jam vero nec vela ſatis eſſe majora navigiis; ſed quamvis amplitudini antennarum ſingulæ arbores ſufficiant, ſuper eas tamen addi velorum alia vela, præterque alia in proris, & alia in puppibus pandi, ac tot modis provocari mortem.* The Sail at the Top of the Maſt, was called by the *Latins*, *Supparum*. Theſe Sails, as well as the Cables, were ſometimes made of Flax, ſometimes of Hemp, and ſometimes of Bulruſhes. In different Nations, ſome Cords were uſed, which

Year of ROME CCCCXCIII. CN. CORNELIUS ASINA SCIPIO, C. DUILIUS, Conſuls.

firſt Gallies of the *Romans*, were but heavy Sailors; and the Valour of thoſe who manned them, was to ſupply the want of Skill in the Builders. In order to inſtruct the Crews of Slaves, and teach the Rowers to obey the Word of Command, the General appointed a ſort of marine Exerciſe on Shore, which at firſt ſeemed ſomewhat ridiculous. They were ranged on the Land in the ſame Order, in which they were to ſit at their Oars. An Officer gave the Word, and the ſame Signals which were to direct them when at Sea; and they moved their Oars in the Air in the ſame manner, and with the ſame Exactneſs in point of time, as if they had been in the Water. In ſhort, they were taught when to ply hard to their Oars, and when to ſtop all on a ſudden, upon different Signals; and this new School [55] was no uſeleſs Diverſion for the *Romans*; it paved the Way for their obtaining great Victories.

WHEN all things were ready for the Departure of the *Conſuls*, they choſe their different Commands by Lot. That of the Fleet fell to *Cornelius*, that of the Land Forces to *Duilius*. It is probable, that *Duilius* ſet out firſt with two *Roman Legions*, and paſſed *The Streights*, to keep the Cities, already conquered, ſteady, and to add new Conqueſts to them. His Collegue ſhould have waited till the new Fleet was entirely fitted out; but his haſte in putting to Sea, drew him into the Snare, *Hannibal* laid for him. He hired Men to come and inform him, that the Iſland and City of *Lipara*

Zonaras, B. 8. c. 11.

which were made of Barks of Trees, others of Palm-Leaves, and others of the Fibres of the Plant called *Papyrus*. The People who dwelt on the Banks of the *Nile*, made their Sails of Bulruſhes, and Reeds, like our Mats. The Rudder was formerly nothing but a longer and larger Oar than ordinary. Some Ships had ſeveral of them, faſtened to Bars of Irons, at the hindpart of the Ship. The Ancients knew the uſe of Anchors, to which they faſtened their Cables to moor the Ship; but in the earlieſt times, theſe Anchors had only one ſharp and crooked Claw. Some ſay *Eupalamus*, others *Anacharſis*, firſt made them with double Hooks, as they are at preſent.

6 Beſides the Statues, *Baſ-reliefs*, and Paintings, with which the Ships of the Ancients were adorned; every Ship had alſo her *Paraſemon*, which was a particular Sign, that diſtinguiſhed her from all others, and probably gave every Ship her Name. This Mark of Diſtinction was placed in the *Prow*, ſo as to be eaſily ſeen of thoſe, who were to go on board the Ship. It was generally the Figure of ſome Animal, carved, or painted; and ſometimes, the Figure of an Helmet, Buckler, Centaur, *&c.* or the Image of ſome God, eſpecially *Portumnus*, who was by the Pagans thought to favour Mariners. The ancient Monuments furniſh us with Proofs of this Cuſtom. In them we find the Names of ſome *Liburnian* Gallies, one of which was called *Diana*, another *Neptune*, a third *Mars*, a fourth *Clypeus*, that is, *The Buckler*, and ſo on. And the ſame thing is confirmed by *Lucian*, in his Dialogue entituled *Navigium*. At the *Prow*, ſays he, was the Image of *Iſis*, from which the Ship took her Name. *Strabo* ſays, the Fiſhermen of *Cadis* gave their Barks Names, from the Figures of Horſes on their *Prows*. In this Senſe, *Virgil*, *B.* 6. calls the Ship which carried *Auletes*, *Immanis Triton*. *Hunc vehit immanis Triton*. The chief Care of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was to put their Ships under the Protection of ſome God: to whom they aſſigned a Place of Diſtinction in the *Poop*, which then became as it were the Sanctuary of the Veſſel. *Seneca*, *Ep.* 77. calls this Place *Tutela*, as *Monſieur Fabretti* conjectures; but I rather think he meant the tutelary God of the Ship, by the Word *Tutela*. On the Stern of ſome *Triremes*, there was what was called the *Cheniſcus*. It was the Figure of the Head and Neck of a Gooſe, which the *Greeks* call χὴν; and from thence came the Name of *Cheniſcus*. *Lucian* ſpeaks of this Figure, which he places upon the Stern. *Apuleius*, ſpeaking of the Ship *Iſis*, ſays, that the Stern was covered with Leaves of Gold, and terminated in a *Cheniſcus*. The Ancients probably thought this Figure, an happy Preſage of avoiding the Dangers at Sea; becauſe Geeſe ſwim in it ſecurely.

7. The Gallies, armed for cruiſing, were ſurrounded with a kind of Ramparts and Parapets, to guard the Soldiers and Rowers, as much as poſſible, from the Darts, Bills, Harping-irons, and other offenſive Weapons of the Enemy; and in ſome of them a kind of Towers with Battlements were erected at certain Diſtances. From them, the *Balliſtæ*, and *Catapultæ* threw Fire-pots, and burning Arrows, dipped in Pitch, Roſin, Oil, and Sulphur, and wrapped round with Tow, which immediately took Fire, and ſet the Body of the Ship on Fire. *Pliny*, *B.* 31. *c.* 1. mentions theſe Towers, which the *Romans* raiſed at certain Diſtances, where they were ready to give Battel. *Armatæ claſſes imponunt ſibi turrium propugnacula, ut in mari quoque pugnetur, velut e muris.* *Pollux* and *Appian* ſay, they were placed at the *Prow* and *Stern*. And ſometimes they were built at the Sides, and in the Center of the Ship. *Thucydides* tells us, *B.* 7. that the *Athenians*, had a Ship at the Siege of *Syracuſe*, which was fortified with Towers and Ramparts. We ſhall hereafter ſee the ſame Cuſtom confirmed by *Livy*, *B.* 24.

8. The Mariners had offenſive and defenſive Weapons, like the Land-Forces. Beſides, Bucklers, Helmets, Bows and Arrows, Swords, Slings, *&c.* they made uſe of long Pikes, in the Heat of an Action, in order to reach the Enemy's Ships at a Diſtance. Some held in their Hands long Poles, armed with Scythes, with which they cut the Rigging of the Ships, which advanced to give the Attack. And then they made uſe of a ſort of Ram, which *Vegetius* deſcribes. This Machine, which he calls *Aſſer*, was a long Beam, pointed with Iron at both Ends. It was hung to the Maſt, and being puſhed with Violence to the right and left, againſt thoſe who came to board the Ship in which it was, killed all the Aſſailants in its Way, and broke the ſides of their Ships. Grappling-irons alſo, and *Crows*, which are now uſed to catch Veſſels, and hold them faſt, were not unknown to the *Greeks* and *Romans*.

55 *Aſconius Pedianus* tells us, that Muſick was ſometimes uſed to regulate the Movement of the Oars, and animate the Rowers. This Exerciſe is like that which *Plutarch* mentions in his *Life of Alcibiades*. He ſays, a Comedian called *Callipedes*, dreſſed in all the Finery of an Actor, directed the Rowers how to work, by ſinging.

Year of ROME CCCCXCIII. CN. CORNELIUS ASINA SCIPIO, C. DUILIUS, Conſuls. *Polyb. B. 1. c. 21.*

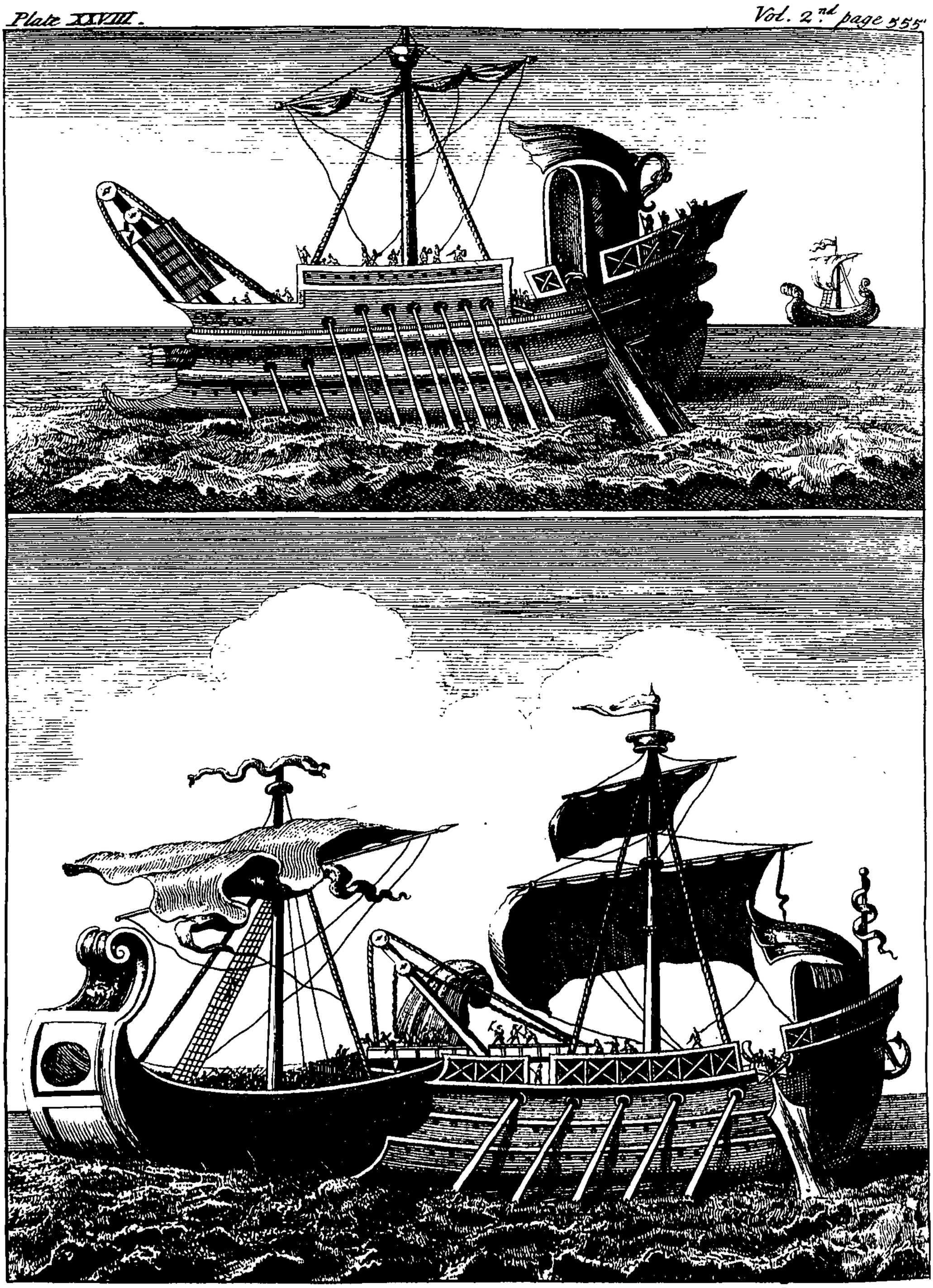
would ſurrender to the *Romans* upon the firſt Summons: and in the mean time, *Hannibal* ordered *Boodes*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, to put to Sea, and cruiſe round *Lipara*, in order to ſurpriſe and inveſt the *Conſul*, as ſoon as he ſhould appear in that Road. *Cornelius* was credulous enough to be in haſte to go and take Poſſeſſion of an Iſland, which he thought would forward the Conqueſt of *Sicily*; and he ſet out with Expedition, with the few Gallies he found ready. Only ſeventeen of the new Boats followed him, the reſt of his Fleet was ordered to coaſt along *Italy*, and repair to *Meſſana*. The *Conſul* went before, and appeared off *Lipara*, where *Boodes* waited for him, with a greater Number of Ships than his: and the *Conſul*'s Squadron was ſoon ſurrounded. But after all, as the *Romans* had a great Reputation for Bravery, the *Carthaginian*, who was afraid of fighting, notwithſtanding his Advantage, durſt not truſt to his firſt Stratagem, without adding a ſecond to it. He invited *Cornelius* and his *Tribunes*, that is, the Commanders of his Gallies, on board his Ship, to confer about the Differences between *Rome* and *Carthage*, in an amicable manner; and the *Conſul* was weak enough to truſt to the Honour of the *Carthaginian*. But as ſoon as *Cornelius* and his Officers were on board the Enemy's Ship, they were laid in Irons. And then the Squadron being deprived of its Commanders, ſurrendered without fighting, and the *Conſul* was ſent to *Carthage*. Some Hiſtorians ſay, theſe Barbarians aſſaſſinated the *Conſul:* but they only kept him in Captivity, from whence we ſhall, in a little time, ſee him return, with Glory. Thus this firſt Attempt of the new Fleet proved unſucceſsful to the *Romans*; but we ſhall ſoon ſee this ſlight Diſadvantage help to increaſe the Joy of gaining a glorious Victory.

Zonaras and *Livy in Epitome.*

Polyb. B. 1. *ibid.*

THE hundred and thirteen Gallies, which remained in the *Roman* Ports, ſet ſail according to orders, and coaſting along *Italy*, made the beſt of their Way towards the Mouth of *The Streights*, not knowing what had happened to *Cornelius* their Admiral. On the other hand, *Hannibal*, [56] who commanded the *Carthaginian* Fleet, knew the Road the *Roman* Fleet would take, and came with a Detachment of fifty Ships, to *reconnoitre* the Enemy, before he gave them Battel. He was curious to ſee the Workmanſhip of theſe new-faſhioned Boats, the Order in which they proceeded, and the Skill of the Crews; and he paid dear for his Curioſity. As he lay in a Nook, under Shelter of Land, and in a ſhallow Road, which made an Elbow in this Place, the *Roman* Fleet came upon him all on a ſudden, and advanced in good Order. *Hannibal* did not then expect to fight, and therefore had not provided for it; but his Ships were diſperſed about, and not drawn up in a Line. The *Romans* therefore took Advantage of his Negligence, and immediately attacking the diſordered Squadron with great Vigour, the Victory was not long diſputed with them. They conquered upon the firſt Onſet; *Hannibal* himſelf did not eſcape without Difficulty; and the greateſt part of his Ships were either taken, or ſunk. So that the *Carthaginian* Admiral, upon the firſt Trial he made in Perſon of the Power of the *Romans* at Sea, was forced to quit the Action with Shame, and retire, after he had been in great Danger himſelf. But after all, the *Romans* themſelves plainly ſaw, even in the Battel, wherein they had all the Advantage, that their Gallies wanted the Lightneſs of thoſe of *Carthage*. Then their Captives informing them of the ill Fate of *Conſul Cornelius*, who was to have commanded them; and it being to be preſumed, that *Hannibal* would ſoon return with his whole Fleet, to revenge himſelf upon them, they ſent an Account of their Difficulties and Fears to the *Conſul Duilius*, who upon his Collegue's Captivity, was left ſole Commander, both at Sea and Land. Upon this, that Great Man went immediately on board the Fleet, without Heſitation: But the Reflections he made on the Heavineſs of his Gallies, a little abated his Confidence. He knew the Valour of the *Romans*; but how could they conquer as long as they could only be upon the defenſive, and were not able to make an Attack? The Arts of Fighting at Sea, then wholly conſiſted in knowing how to get the Wind; in driving upon the Enemy with Sails and Oars; in endeavouring to break the Enemy's Ships, eſpecially in the ſide, by ſtriking them violently with the Iron fixed in the *Prows* of their own Veſſels; and laſtly, in hovering round the Enemy, near enough to reach them with Darts. From all which it is very evident, what vaſt Advantage light Ships had over heavy ones. *If indeed*, ſaid *Duilius*, *the* Romans *could bring their unweildly*

56 The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was commanded by ſays, on the Credit of ſome incorrect Memoirs, *Himilco*, and not by *Hannibal*.



The **Corvus** *made use of by Duilius to grapple with the Carthaginian Ships and board them.*

Year of ROME CCCCXCIII. CN. CORNELIUS ASINA SCIPIO, C. DUILIUS, Conſuls.

Gallies to grapple with thoſe of the Enemy, I ſhould not doubt, but when they came to a cloſe Engagement, and to fight Man to Man, as on Shore, my Soldiers would beat the Carthaginians. And whilſt he was ruminating on theſe things, an Engineer in his Fleet, gave him Hopes of making Amends for the Heavineſs of his Ships, and rendring the Lightneſs of the *Carthaginian* Veſſels fatal to them. He invented a Machine which was afterwards called the *Corvus*; and all Hiſtorians agree, that the Uſe of it, was to ſtop the Enemy's Ships, as ſoon as the *Romans* came up with them, and thereby give them an Opportunity to board them. It is indeed exceeding difficult to find out, how theſe Machines were built; but we will nevertheleſs endeavour to give the Reader an Idea of them, as they are deſcribed by a celebrated Hiſtorian. A ſort of Maſt, ſays he, of about four *Cubits* high, was erected in the *Prow* of the Ship, and had a Pully at the Top of it. The Uſe of this Pully was, by the help of a Cable, to raiſe, or ſink, at Pleaſure, a kind of Draw-bridge, which had pieces of Wood nailed croſs it, like the Rongs of a Ladder, to prevent ſliding; and it was guarded, on both ſides, with a kind of Parapet-wall, Knee high. This Draw-bridge went round the Maſt, when it was drawn up; and when it was let down, it reached about four Cubits beyond the Prow of the Ship. The other two Cubits of the Bridge covered a part of the Prow of the Ship inwards, and came round this falſe Maſt. There was an oblong opening between the two ſides of the Bridge, and through that an heavy Bar of Iron [57], made like a Peſtle, but exceeding ſharp at the Point, fell upon the Enemy's Ship, as ſoon as the Pully let it down. There was an Iron Ring to this Peſtle, and a Chain faſtened to that Ring. At the ſame time that the Peſtle ſtuck into the Timber of the Enemy's Ship, the Draw-Bridge fell upon her, which made it eaſy for the Aſſailants to board her. This was the Uſe of the *Corvus*, and Bridges, in boarding Ships at the Bow. But it ſometimes happening that the *Roman* Galley came upon the Broadſide of a *Carthaginian* one, the Peſtle was then fixed into the ſide of her. The two Gallies then lay ſide by ſide, and the Soldiers leaped out of one Ship into the other, by the ſide on which they grappled her. But when Ships were attacked by the Bow, the Draw-bridge was let down. It was like the Drags to our Ferry-boats, which are made with an eaſy Deſcent towards the Shore, for the better Paſſage of Carriages. Two Men walked a Breaſt on the Bridge, and covering themſelves with their Bucklers, entered the Enemy's Ship, Sword in Hand [58].

Polybius B. 1. c. 21.

THE

57 This thick piece of Iron, was probably not very unlike thoſe Hooks which are now thrown over the Shrowds, and Bolt-ſprit, of an Enemy's Ship, which the Sailors would grapple with. For this Reaſon, it is called by the Seamen, a grapling Iron. When once this is faſtened into the ſides of a Ship, the Seamen pull the Cable to which it is tied, and then the Ships being brought near together, the Crews come to a cloſe Fight. *Frontinus* and *Florus* call theſe Machines, which were firſt invented by *Duilius*, *Manus Ferreæ*. The adjoining Plate will ſhew, how the *Roman* General put his Project in Execution.

58 [Theſe are the Words of the Jeſuits, which differ conſiderably from *Kennet*'s Deſcription of the *Corvus*, *Antiquities*, *p.* 240, 241. which is this. *They erected*, ſays he, *on the Brow of their Veſſels a round piece of Timber, of about a Foot and an half diameter, and about twelve Foot long; on the Top whereof, they had a Block or Pully. Round this piece of Timber they laid a Stage, or Platform of Boards, four Foot broad, and about eighteen Foot long, which was well framed, and faſtened with Iron. The Entrance was Longways, and it moved about the aforeſaid upright piece of Timber, as on a Spindle, and could be hoiſted up within ſix Foot of the Top: About this a ſort of a Parapet, Knee high, which was defended with upright Bars of Iron, ſharpened at the Ends; toward the Top whereof there was a Ring; through this Ring, faſtening a Rope, by the help of the Pully, they hoiſted, or lowered, the Engine, at Pleaſure: and ſo with it attacked the Enemy's Veſſels, ſometimes on their Bow, and ſometimes on their Broadſide, as Occaſion beſt ſerved. When they had grappled the Enemy with thoſe Iron Spikes, if they happened to ſwing Broadſide to Broadſide, then they entered from all Parts; but in caſe they attacked them on the Bow, they entered two and two, by the help of this Machine, the foremoſt defending the Forepart, and thoſe that followed the Flanks, keeping the Boſs of their Bucklers level with the Top of the Parapet.* How far either of theſe Deſcriptions is agreable to that of *Polybius*, whoſe Authority is referred to for both, is left to the learned Reader to judge, from that Hiſtorian's own Words, which are as follow. Ὄντων δὲ τῶν πλοίων φαύλων ταῖς καταχυσαῖς καὶ δυσκινήτων ὑπωπτεύετό τις αὐτοῖς βοήθημα πρὸς τὴν μάχην, τοὺς ἐπικληθέντας μῦ ταῦτα κόρακας. ὧν συνέβαινε τὴν κατασκευὴν εἶναι τοιαύτην. στύλῳ ἐν πρώραις στρογγύλῳ ἱσταμένῳ, μῆκος μὲν ὀργυιῶν τεττάρων, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πλάτος τριῶν παλαιστῶν, ἔχων τὴν διάμετρον οὕτως. αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς τροχιλίαν εἶχε. περιέπλεκτο δ' αὐτῷ κλίμαξ ἐπικαφσίαις σανίσι καθηλωμένη. πλάτος μὲν ποδῶν τεττάρων, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἐξ ὀργυιῶν. τὸ δὲ τρῆμα τοῦ σανιδώματος ἦν παραμήκης, καὶ περιέβαινε περὶ τὸν στύλον, μὴ τὰς πρώτας ἰσθίους τῆς κλίμακος δύο ὀργυιάς. εἶχε δὲ καὶ δρύφακτον αὐτὴ παρ' ἑκατέραν τὴν ἐπιμήκη πλευράν, εἰς γόνυ τὸ βάθος. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πέρατος αὐτοῦ, προσήρμοσται σιδηροῦν οἷον ὑπέραν ἀπωξυσμένον, ἔχον δακτύλιον ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς· ὡς τὸ ὅλον φαίνεσθαι παραπλήσιον ταῖς σιτοποιϊκαῖς μηχαναῖς. εἰς δὲ τοῦτον τὸν δακτύλιον ἐνιδίδετο ὁ κάλως, ᾧ κατὰ τὰς ἐμβολὰς τῶν πλοίων ἐξαίροντες τοὺς κόρακας διὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ στύλῳ τροχιλίας, ἀφίεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ κατάστρωμα τῆς ἀλλοτρίας νεώς, ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ πρῷραν, ποτὲ δ' ἀντιπαρεκτείνοντες κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῶν πλαγίων προσπιπτούσας ἐμβολάς. ὅτε δὲ ταῖς σανίσι τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἐμπαγόντες οἱ κόρακες ὁμοῦ συνδήσαιεν τὰς ναῦς, εἰ μὲν πλάγιαι

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCIII. Cn. Cornelius Asina Scipio, C. Duilius, Conſuls.

The Invention of this Machine, of which a Trial was made, gave the *Conſul* more Confidence; and he left the Command of the Land-Forces to his Subalterns, and embarked. The *Carthaginian* Fleet had made a Deſcent near *Myle*, in order to lay its Territory waſte; and as this City was near *Meſſana*, and belonged to the *Mamertini*, the *Romans* were obliged to revenge the Cauſe of their Allies. The *Conſul*'s Fleet therefore ſailed that Way, and advanced in good Order. The Enemy, who deſpiſed the *Romans*, as Novices in Sea-affairs, did not ſo much as give themſelves the Trouble to draw up their Ships in Line of Battel. Each *Carthaginian* Galley, choſe a *Roman* Galley, to inſult her, and harraſs her with Darts. They advanced ſwiftly up to the unweildy *Triremes* of the Enemy; but were ſurprized at firſt to ſee ſomething fixed at the Prows of all the *Roman* Gallies, which they had never ſeen before. When theſe Draw-bridges of their *Corvi* were drawn up, and faſtened to the little Maſts, which ſupported them, they looked very like Mill-Hoppers. However, the boldeſt of the *Carthaginians* laughed at theſe Bugbears, the Uſe of which they did not underſtand; and advanced with Confidence quite up to the Enemy's Gallies. Then the *Romans* endeavoured to tack about, and take the Enemy's Veſſels in flank; but if they could not do that, they brought their Prows to thoſe of the Enemy's *Triremes*, and all on a ſudden, let down their Bridges. The Peſtle fell with great Quickneſs and Force, ſtuck into the Timber of the Enemy's Ship, and held it faſt; and the *Roman* Soldiers immediately ſeized the Bridge, paſſed over it into the *Carthaginian Triremis*, and there fought, as if they had been a-ſhore. The *Romans*, who were more expert, more brave, and better armed, than their Adverſaries, ſpared neither Soldiers, nor Seamen; threw the Wounded as well as the Dead over-board; and then ſeized the Ship. The Admiral's own Galley did not eſcape theſe *Corvi* 59. It was a *Septiremis*, which the *Carthaginians* had taken from King *Pyrrhus*. *Hannibal* himſelf, who commanded the Fleet, was on board; but the cowardly General was guilty of the ſame baſe Conduct now, as formerly at *Agrigentum*, where he commanded. As ſoon as he ſaw the *Romans* enter his Galley, he left his Crew and Soldiers to the Mercy of the Enemy, leaped into a Skiff, and eſcaped. In this firſt Battel the *Romans* took thirty Ships from *Hannibal*. The reſt of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which conſiſted of an hundred and thirty Gallies, had not yet engaged. They therefore came and fell upon the *Roman* Fleet, to the Windward; and in order to avoid theſe *Corvi* in the *Prows*, they endeavoured to take the *Roman* Veſſels in flank. But their Commanders, had then learnt the Art of working their Ships, ſo as ſtill to preſent the *Prows* to the Enemy. By this means, they caught hold of many of the *Carthaginian* Ships, and took no leſs than fifty more of them. Some of the Crews made Reſiſtance, others voluntarily ſurrendered to the *Romans*. The latter had Quarter given them; the former were all put to the Sword. In the two Battels, the *Romans* took about ſeven thouſand Priſoners; killed ſeven thouſand Men; and ſunk thirteen of the *Carthaginian* Ships.

Oroſius B. 4.

§. XIV. This glorious Victory at Sea, gained by Men unexperienced in naval Affairs, gave the *Romans* great Joy; and not content with having been victorious, they improved their Victory to the uttermoſt. The *Conſul Duilius* went a-ſhore; put himſelf at the Head of his Land-Forces: and the firſt uſe he made of them, was to relieve *Segeſta*. This City was beſieged, and vigorouſly preſſed by an Army commanded by *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*. This General's Name has made ſome Hiſtorians take him for *Hamilcar*, the Father of the Great *Hannibal*, who was the Hero of the ſecond *Carthaginian* War. But we know from others, that *Hannibal*'s Father 60 was then very young, and had no Command, though he was at that time in the Service of the Republick in *Sicily*. The *Segeſtani* had ſhewn ſo ſincere an Attachment to the *Romans*, as to deſerve not to be deſerted by them in their preſent

πλαγίαι παραβάλλοιεν ἀλλήλαις, παντα χόθεν ἐπιπήδων. οἱ δ' ἢ κατὰ πρῶραν δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κόρακος ἐπὶ δύο συνιχεῖς ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἔφοδον. ὧν οἱ μὲ ἡγούμενοι τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἐπιφάνειαν ἀσκέπαζον ταῖς τῶν θυρέων προβολαῖς· οἱ δ' ἑπόμενοι, τὰς ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ἀσφαλίζοντο πλευράς, ὑπερτιθέμενοι τὰς ἴτυς τῶν ὅπλων, οὗτοι μὲ οὖν τοιαύτη κεχρημένοι παρασκευῇ καιρὸν ἐπετήρουν πρὸς ναυμαχίαν. Polyb. B. 1. c. 21.]

59 What our Mariners call *A Crow* is nothing elſe but a crooked Iron, uſed to draw Ships together, in order to board them. Nevertheleſs, the Ancients ſeem to diſtinguiſh this *Crow*, from two other ſorts of Hooks; one of which they called *Manus Ferrea*, as we have obſerved in the preceding Note; and another which they called *Harpago*. But they have taken ſo little care to ſhew us the Difference between them, that we may well take one for the other.

60 *Cornelius Nepos* tells us, that *Himilcar*, the Father of *Hannibal*, had not the Command of the *Carthaginian* Armies in *Sicily*, till towards the end of the firſt *Punic* War.

Extremities

Extremities. Conſidering themſelves as originally *Trojans*, they had ſurrendered to a Republick of *Trojan* Extraction: and the *Conſul* was too grateful, to ſuffer thoſe Citizens to periſh, who called themſelves his Brothers. He appeared before the Place, and the Siege was raiſed. From thence he went to retake *Macella*, another City, which had ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and had been taken by the *Carthaginians*. The *African* Garriſon in it ſuſtained a Siege, but the *Roman* Valour prevailed.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCIII. CN. CORNELIUS ASINA SCIPIO, C. DUILIUS, Conſuls.

ALL theſe Victories and Conqueſts, which *Duilius*'s Collegue had no Share in, were the Fruits of one ſingle Campaign; which being ended, the Conqueror thought of nothing more, but of confirming the *Sicilians* of his Party, in their Fidelity, and returning to *Rome*. At his Departure, he left his *Legions* in the Country where they had made War, and did not tranſport them into *Italy*, to put them into Winter-Quarters there, as his Predeceſſors had done.

WHILST the *Romans* were preparing to give *Duilius* a magnificent Reception at *Rome*, *Hamilcar* made it his Buſineſs, to take all the Advantage he could of his Abſence. As brave and enterpriſing as this *Carthaginian* General was, he had been awed by the Conqueror's Preſence, and had not dared either to continue the Siege of *Segeſta*, or attempt to raiſe that of *Macella*. But as ſoon as the *Conſul* was ſailed for *Italy*, *Hamilcar* gained an Aſcendant over the *Romans*. *Duilius*'s Lieutenant Generals began the Siege of *Mutiſtrata* [61], a City ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; and *Hamilcar* let them languiſh a long time before the Place: but at laſt he appeared, and forced them to raiſe the Siege. There was then no conſiderable Commander at the Head of the *Roman Legions*; nor any, who had Authority enough to keep the *Sicilian* Allies under Diſcipline; and this was ſufficient to create Diſorders in the Army. The Troops quarrelled about a Point of Honour. The *Sicilians* complained that the *Romans* were placed in the moſt dangerous Poſts, which were then thought the moſt honourable; and the Diſpute was carried on to a Separation, The *Sicilian* Troops left the *Romans* in their Poſts, and went and encamped by themſelves. The *Carthaginian* General was too vigilant, not to draw Advantages from this Diviſion. He came and attacked the *Sicilians* in their Entrenchments; killed four thouſand of them; and the *Romans* had like to have been involved in the ſame Misfortunes. Theſe Troubles brought many other Loſſes upon the *Romans*. *Hamilcar* drove them from their Poſts, and took ſome Cities from them by Force, others by Stratagem. In ſhort, the Republick found by Experience, what Misfortunes may be brought on an Army, by a Great General's leaving it to the Conduct of mere Subalterns, when they are to cope with an experienced Commander.

Diod. Sic. in Eclog.

Polybius B. 1. c. 24.

Diod. Sicul. in Eclog.

BUT after all, the Diſadvantages of the *Romans* in *Sicily*, turned to *Duilius*'s Honour at *Rome*, as the Succeſſes of *Hamilcar* did, to the Diſgrace of *Hannibal* at *Carthage*, who had been overcome at Sea. This imprudent Admiral ſailed back with his ſhattered Fleet to the Ports of *Africa*. He foreſaw the Storm that threatened him; and according to the uſual way of proceeding at *Carthage*, Crucifixion was what he was to expect. But *Hannibal*, who was more cunning than brave, found means to avoid the Puniſhment which was deſigned for him. Before he arrived at *Carthage*, he ſent one of his Friends thither with Directions, what to ſay to the Senate. The Defeat of the *Carthaginian* Fleet was not yet known in *Africa*, and *Hannibal*'s Friend was introduced into the Aſſembly, where he made this Speech. *The Admiral of your Fleet deputes me to you, to know, whether he ſhall fight the* Romans. *Theſe proud Enemies have ventured to appear in our Seas, with a pretty good Number of* Triremes *clumſily built, and ſo heavy, that they look like Tranſports. This is the firſt Attempt of this kind, made by a Nation, which is not uſed to Sea-fights, and which ſeems to brave us. They have indeed ſome Machines fixed on the Prows of their Ships, which we are not acquainted with, nor do we know the uſe of them. Do you judge it Raſhneſs, notwithſtanding this Scare-crow, to preſerve our Empire over the Seas, which they ſeem to diſpute with us, or do you not? Shall we attack the Enemy, or let them infeſt our Coaſts?* The Anſwer was unanimous; *Fight the* Romans, *and puniſh them for their Raſhneſs*; and then *Hannibal*'s Friend told them the News of his Defeat. *What you, my Lords, now command*, Hannibal *has ventured to do. Fortune indeed did not favour him in his*

Val. Max. B. 7. c. 3. Ext. 7. Zonaras, and *Author of the Lives of Illuſtrious Men.*

[61] The ancient City of *Mutiſtrata*, ſtood near the River *Alæſus*, towards the Weſt of *Sicily*. It is the ſame City that *Polybius* calls *Mytiſtrate*. *Cicero* calls it *Ameſtrate* in his *Oration againſt Verres*; and it now bears the Name of *Myſtretta*. The *Greek* Hiſtorian ſays, that this City was ſo advantageouſly ſituated, as to be able to ſuſtain a long Siege.

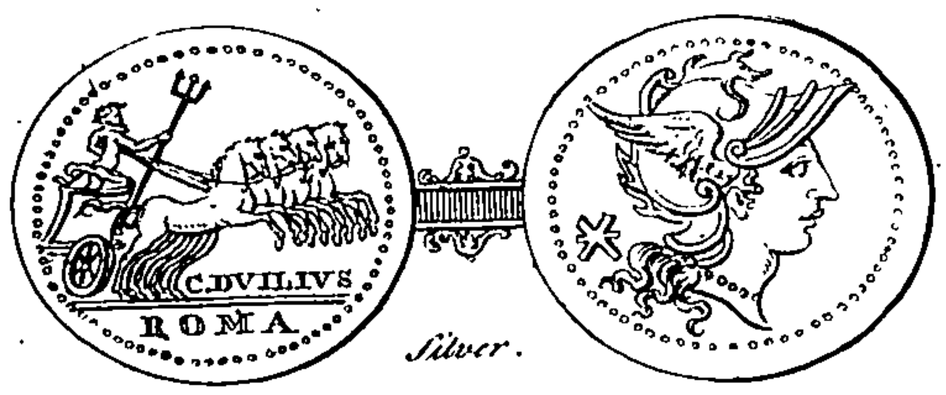
Year of ROME CCCCXCIII. CN. CORNELIUS ASINA SCIPIO, C. DUILIUS, Conſuls.

Enterpriſe; but who can be anſwerable for the Event of Things? Hannibal *thought as you do. And ſhall the Capriciouſneſs of Fortune be charged upon him as a Crime?* The *Carthaginians* indeed did not uſually puniſh any Enterpriſes, but what were imprudently undertaken; and as the Senators would have condemned themſelves, if they had condemned *Hannibal*; they therefore gave him his Life, but deprived him of the Command of the Fleet.

WHILST the *Carthaginians* were puniſhing an unfortunate General at *Carthage*, the *Romans* were heaping Honours on the brave *Duilius* at *Rome*. All the former Victories of *Conſuls*, and *Dictators* ſeemed to be in a manner forgotten. A Victory gained at Sea, was more highly valued by the Republick, at this Juncture, than all the Conqueſts made by Land at different times. So that it would not bear a Queſtion, whether *Duilius* ſhould be honoured with a Triumph; it was univerſally agreed, that he had deſerved it. And the Senate and People endeavoured to ſhew their Gratitude to him, by all poſſible means that they could invent. He entered the City in a Chariot, attended with the Acclamations of all *Rome*; and a Mark of Diſtinction was granted him, which was never heard of before, and was continued to him as long as he lived. Whenever he returned home [62], in the Evening, after he had ſupped in the City, he was attended with Muſick and Flambeaux. This was in ſome Meaſure to perpetuate the Memory of the Triumph, with which he had been honoured: and Medals were alſo ſtruck for the ſame Purpoſe. The Face of them [63] was *A Rome* wearing an Helmet; and the reverſe, a *Neptune* armed with his Trident, and riding in a triumphal Chariot. Add to this, that the Conqueror was alſo permitted to build a Temple [64] to *Janus*, who preſided over *Ways out*, and *Ways in*. And indeed, *Duilius*'s Victory was, as it were, the *Entrance* to, or beginning of, all the Victories the *Romans* afterwards gained at Sea. But what moſt diſtinguiſhed the illuſtrious *Conſul*, was a Pillar of white [65] Marble, which was erected to his Honour. The Ancients ſpeak of it; *Pliny* tells us, that it was ſtanding in the *Forum Romanum*, in his time; and

Cicero in Cat. Majore.

Tacit. Annal. B. 3.



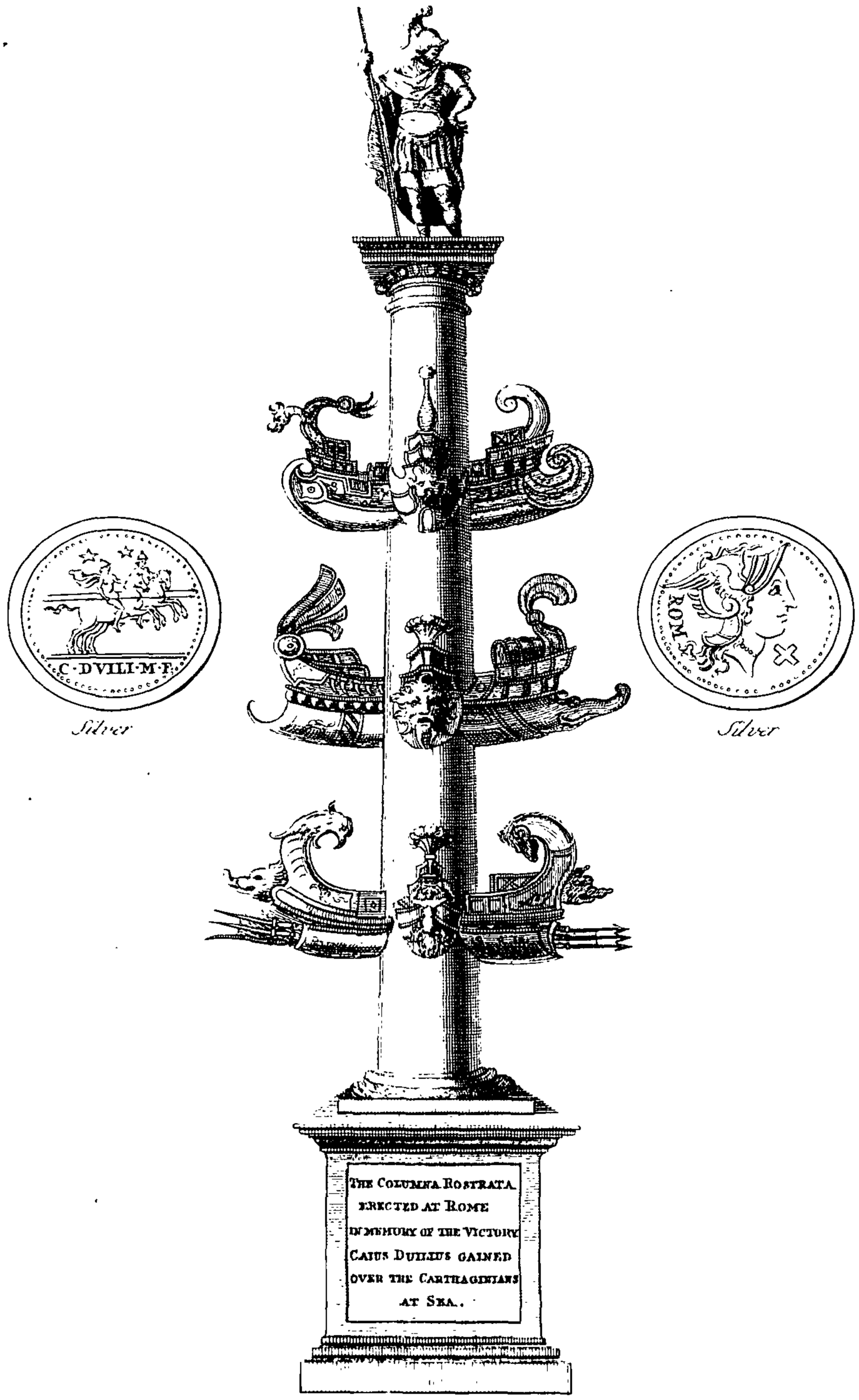
Silver.

62 *Cicero*, in his Book *Of Old Age*, makes *Cato the Elder* ſpeak thus. *In my Youth, I often ſaw* Caius Duilius, *returning from a Supper he had been at, in the City: and he had the Pleaſure of being lighted Home with ſeveral Flambeaux, and attended by a Company of Muſicians, who played to him all the Way. He aſſumed this ſingular Privilege in an unparallelled manner, when he was but a private Perſon. So true is it, that* Duilius *took Advantage of the Glory he had acquired to raiſe himſelf above the Laws.* And *Florus* likewiſe ſeems to ſay, that this General gave himſelf this uncommon Mark of Diſtinction in *Rome*. *Duilius Imperator non contentus unius diei triumpho, per vitam omnem, ubi a cœna rediret, prælucere funalia, præcinere ſibi tibias juſſit, quaſi quotidie triumpharet.* But it is not probable, that *Duilius* ſhould venture to aſſume ſo much Honour to himſelf, without the Conſent of the Senate and People. And if we ſuppoſe he did, would the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, who called every the leaſt Step towards an Independency, a State-crime, have ſuffered him to go on, in this open Inſult on publick Authority? It is more probable, that *Duilius* demanded this Privilege, as a Reward due to his Services. We have already obſerved, that it was granted but for once only, to thoſe who triumphed; which was when they returned home in the Evening, from the ſolemn Feaſt, which was prepared at the Expence of the Publick, for the cloſe of their Triumphs.

63 We don't pretend to warrant the authenticknes of this Medal, which we have taken from *Goltzius*'s *Faſti Conſulares*. The Misfortune is, that the Author's Exactneſs, or Fidelity is ſuſpected, as to this Matter.

64 This Temple of *Janus*, was built near the Herb-Market, according to *Tacitus*, *Annals* 11, 49, 3.

65 *Sextus Ruſus*, who drew a Plan, and Deſcription of *Old Rome*, about the laſt Age of the *Roman* Empire, ſays, *The Columna Roſtrata*, was in being in his time. In his Text indeed, we read the Words D. JULII, as if this Pillar had been erected in Memory of ſome conſiderable Advantage gained over the *Carthaginians* at Sea, by *Julius Cæſar*. But who does not know, that the *Romans* had then no Quarrel with a People, which had been long brought into Subjection to the *Roman* Republick? The ſame Error is alſo crept into the 13th Book, *Of Quintilian*'s *Inſtitutes*, where he mentions *The Columna Roſtrata*; which doubtleſs, ought to be imputed to the Negligence, or Ignorance, of the Copyiſts. According to *Silius Italicus*'s Account, *B. 6. Caius Duilius* had conſecrated this Trophy to *Mars*. This Author ſpeaks more like an Hiſtorian, than a Poet, in this Place; and we ought



Silver

Silver

THE COLUMNA ROSTRATA
ERECTED AT ROME
IN MEMORY OF THE VICTORY
CAIUS DUILIUS GAINED
OVER THE CARTHAGINIANS
AT SEA.

and it was accidently recovered, in the laſt Century. It was dug up in the Place which was formerly the *Forum Romanum*. There are yet ſix *Prows* of *Roman* Gallies ſticking to it; three on one ſide, and three on the other. But what moſt concerns Hiſtorians is the Inſcription [66], which is yet remaining on the Pedeſtal of the Column. Though it is defective in ſome Places, there is enough of it left, to ſhew us diſtinctly, what

Year of ROME CCCCXCIII. CN. CORNELIUS ASINA SCIPIO, C. DUILIUS, Conſuls.

ought not to omit the following Lines, becauſe they confirm the Truth of our Hiſtory.

Æquoreum juxta decus, & navale Trophæum,
Roſtra gerens, nivea ſurgebat mole Columna.
Exuvias Marti, donumque Duilius alto
Ante omnes, merſa Pœnorum claſſe, dicabat;
Cui nocturnus honos, funalia clara, ſacerque
Poſt epulas, Tibicen adeſt, caſtoſque Penates
Inſignis, Læti repetebat murmure Cantus.

66 The Pedeſtal of this Pillar, was carried to the *Capitol*, by the Care of *Cardinal Alexander Farneſe*, in the Year of our Lord 1560. The broken Remains we have of the Inſcription, are in old *Latin*. *Juſtus Lipſius* has endeavoured to reſtore part of it; *Ciaconius* has, by conjecture, filled up all the Chaſms of it: and has finely explained the Senſe he has given it, and the Words of the Inſcription, in a learned Commentary upon it. But we cannot pretend to warrant the Genuineneſs of his Text, which he himſelf could not aſcertain. The adjoining Plate ſhews, *The Columna Roſtrata* entire; and in order to render what remains of the Inſcription the more intelligible, we ſhall here give it the Reader with *Ciaconius*'s Supplement, and *Latin* Interpretation, which is in Subſtance, as follows. Caius Duilius, Conſul, *the Son of* Marcus, *General of the* Roman *Army in* Sicily, *againſt the* Carthaginians, *forced* Hamilcar *to raiſe the Siege of* Segeſta, *a City in Friendſhip and Alliance with the* Roman *People*; *and forced him to return on board his Fleet, after he had left his Camp, and nine Elephants, to the Mercy of the Enemy. Then he took* Macella, *one of the ſtrongeſt Places in* Sicily. *He fitted out a Fleet in the Space of ſixty Days*; *defeated the* Carthaginians, *commanded by* Hannibal, *at Sea*; *took from them thirty Ships, with all their Rigging, and the* Septiremis, *which carried the Admiral himſelf*; *ſunk thirty*; *and took ſeveral Priſoners of Diſtinction, who walked before his Chariot, and added to the Glory of his Triumph. In Memory of which Exploits, the* Roman *Senate and People erected this Pillar.* Thoſe who are curious to read and underſtand the Words of the Inſcription, muſt obſerve, that the *Old Romans* always added a D to the end of a Word which ended with a Vowel; uſed C, inſtead of G; an O for an U; and an E for an I. Thus they wrote, and ſpoke, MACESTRATOS CONSOL CEPET, inſtead of *Magiſtratus, Conſul, Cepit.* The old Words, NAVEBOS, CLASES, NUMEI, TRIRESMOS, POPLO, EXFOCIUNT, are equivalent to *Navibus, Claſſis, Nummi, Triremes, Populo, Effugiunt.* Theſe Remarks will give a Key to the other Terms of the Inſcription, which, with *Ciaconius*'s Supplement and Explanation, is as follows.

THE INSCRIPTION

OF THE COLUMNA ROSTRATA;

WITH CIACONIUS's SUPPLEMENT.

C. Bilios. M. F. Cos. advorſom. Cartacinienſeis. en. Siceliad. rem. cerens. eceſt. ANOS. cocnatos. popli. Romani. artiſumad obſedeoneD. EXEMET. LECION. eis. Cartacinienſeis. omneis MAXIMOSQUE. MACISTRATOS. LUCÆS bovebos relicteis NOVEM. CASTREIS EXFOCIONE, MACELAM. mœnitam. urbem. PUGNANDOD. CEPET. ENQUE. EODEM. MACeſtratod. proſpere REM. NAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. ceſet. reſmecoſque CLASESQUE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PAravetque. diebos. lx. CUMQUE EIS. NAVEBUS. CLASEIS POENICAS. OMnis. parataſque. SUMAS. COPIAS. CARTACINIENSIS. PRÆSENTED. maxumod DICTATORED. olorom. IN. ALTOD. MARID. Pucnandod. vicet XXX QUE NAVeis, cepet. CUM. SOCIEIS. SEMTEMreſmomque. ducis quinreſmoſque. TRIRESMOSQUE. NAVEIS. XX. depreſet. aurom. CAPTOM NUMEI ΦΦΦ DCC
arcenTOM. CAPTOM. PRÆDA. NUMEI ccclↃↃↃ C
grave. CAPTOM. AES. ccclↃↃↃ pondod triompoque. NAVALED. PRÆDAD. POPLOM. Romanom. donavet captivos. CARTACINIenſeis. inCENVOS. DUXet ante. curum primoſque conſol. de SiceleIS. claſeque. CARTacinienſeom triompavet. earum. rerom. erco. S.P.Q.R. ei. hance. columnam. P.

The Words of the Inſcription itſelf are diſtinguiſhed from the Supplement, by being put in Capitals.

THE EXPLANATION

Of the Words of the Inſcription.

Cajus Duilius Marci filius Conſul adverſus Carthaginienſes in Sicilia
rem gerens, Egeſtanos ſocios atque cognatos populi Romani arctiſſima
obſidione exemit. Legiones enim omnes Carthaginienſium qui Egeſtam obſidebant, & Amilcar
maximus eorum Magiſtratus feſtinandi ſtudio elephantis relictis
novem, caſtris effugerunt. Macellam deinde munitam validamque urbem

pugnando

Year of ROME CCCCXCIII. Cn. Cornelius Asina Scipio, C. Duilius, Conſuls.

what Booty [67] the *Romans* took in the *Carthaginian* Ships; how much Silver, and how much Gold in Money; and how much Braſs uncoined. The Reader will not think it ſtrange, that ſo many Monuments of Honour were decreed *Duilius*: if he conſiders, that it may be truly ſaid of him, That by this firſt Victory at Sea, he opened the *Romans* the Way, for their Conqueſt of the whole World.

§. XV. It was no eaſy Matter to equal *Duilius*'s late Exploits; and therefore the two ſucceeding *Conſuls* were eclipſed by the Glory of their Predeceſſor. One celebrated Hiſtorian [68] has not vouchſafed even to mention their *Conſulate*; but other Writers have done them Juſtice. The *Centuries* choſe *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Aquilius Florus*, in the *Campus Martius*: and the Command of the Fleet fell by Lot to *Cornelius*, that of the Land-Forces to *Aquilius*. They were both ordered for *Sicily*; but the Commander of the Gallies had Leave to make an Attempt upon the Iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, before he went thither, if an Opportunity offered.

Year of ROME CCCCXCIV. L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Aquilius Florus, Conſuls.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 24.

Whilst *Cornelius* was getting every thing ready on the Coaſts for his Paſſage, his Collegue was detained at *Rome* by the Diſcovery of a *Conſpiracy*. The Republick had brought to *Rome* a good Number of Men, from all the Provinces ſubject to her, to ſerve as Rowers in the Gallies. Their Crews did not then conſiſt of Galley-Slaves, but were Men of free Condition, who were obliged to ſerve on Ship-board, and who were complaiſantly called, [69] *The Allies choſen for the Fleet*. Theſe conſiſted of Men of all the conquered Nations; and among the reſt ſome *Samnites*, who were an untractable and factious People, came to *Rome* to be inliſted into the Sea-ſervice. Theſe, upon their Arrival, found a Plot againſt the State, already formed among the Slaves, whoſe Deſign was to plunder and burn the City: and the Conſpirators being yet no more than three thouſand in Number, they had a mind to join ſome of thoſe *Samnites* with them, who were ordered to the Gallies. Theſe complained of their hard Fate; having been never uſed to the Sea, they thought it an ungovernable Element; and the Malecontents readily joined the Traitors: So that four thouſand *Samnites* entered

pugnando cepit. Atque in eodem magiſtratu proſpere rem navibus mari Conſul primus geſſit: remiges
claſſeſque navales primus ornavit atque paravit diebus ſexaginta, & cum his navibus, claſſes Punicas omnes, paratas, ornatasque ſummas copias Carthaginienſium, præſente Annibale maximo dictatore illorum, in alto mari pugnando ſuperavit;
triginta naves cum ſociis, hoc eſt cum ipſis hominibus, cepit, & ſeptiremem prætoriam, quinqueremes præterea ac triremes naves xx. depreſſit.
Aurum captum in præda nummi III. M. DCC.
Argentum captum in præda nummi C. M.
Æs grave captum vicies ſemel centena millia pondo atque in triumpho navali prædam omnem in ærarium Popul. Rom. intulit. Captivos etiam Carthaginienſes ingenuos, hoc eſt, nobiles aliquot ante currum duxit:
primuſque Conſul, de Siculis, & Claſſe Carthaginienſium triumphavit. Earum rerum ergo S. P. Q. R. ei hanc columnam poſuit. *vel*
Earum rerum ergo Marti donum dedit atque dicavit.

67 The Value of the Booty *Duilius*'s Victories brought into the publick Treaſury, is ſet down in Numerals. It is computed at 3700 Pieces of Gold, 100000 Pieces of Silver, and 2100000 Pounds weight of Copper. All that remains therefore is to know the Value of theſe pieces of Gold and Silver: which it is not poſſible to determine with Certainty. It is evident theſe pieces of Gold muſt have been *Sicilian* or *Carthaginian* Money, becauſe the *Romans* had not yet coined any Gold. And it is as difficult to compute the Value of the pieces of Silver, which are called in *Latin*, Numei, or *Nummi*; unleſs we could aſcertain the Value of the *Nummus* mentioned on the Inſcription. We know ancient Authors give us different Accounts of the Worth of the *Nummus argenteus*. According to *Varro* it was the fourth part of a Silver *Denarius*; *Terence* in his *Heautontimorumenos*, makes it worth one *Drachma*. *Plautus*, *in Truculento*, makes it worth two *Attick Drachmæ*. So that *Nummus* was a general Term, which was applied to different Species, whether the Metal was Gold, Silver, or Braſs. The 2100000 Pounds weight of Braſs, is ſignified by the Repetition of theſe Numerals ccclɔɔɔ one and twenty times; becauſe, as *Pliny* obſerves, the *Romans* reckoned no Number beyond an hundred thouſand. And for this Reaſon they repeated the ſame Sum, as many times as there were hundred thouſands in the Sum they would expreſs. *Non erat antiquis numerus ultra centum millia. Itaque & hodie multiplicantur hæc, ut decies centena millia, aut ſæpius, dicantur.*

68 *Polybius* ſays nothing of theſe *Conſuls*; and only tells us, that the *Roman Legions* in *Sicily*, did nothing memorable in this Year. But the expreſs Teſtimony of *Florus*, *Zonaras*, *Oroſius*, and eſpecially the *Faſti Capitolini*, are of much greater weight than his Silence.

69 The Rowers were inliſted in the Service of the Republick, and took the military Oath, in the ſame manner as the *Legionaries* did. Sometimes ſome *Roman Citizens*, who from a State of Slavery, became *Freedmen*, were among theſe Rowers; and ſometimes Slaves, according to the preſent State and Exigency of Affairs. *Cicero* tells us, in his fifth *Oration againſt Verres*, that the Cities in Alliance with *Rome*, and the tributary *Provinces*, were each obliged to furniſh a certain Quota of Rowers.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCIV. L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Aquilius Florus, Conſuls.

into their Conſpiracy. Yet ſtill there was an Head wanting for this Confederacy; and the Traitors pitched upon one *Errius Potilius*, who commanded the Auxiliaries. He was a Man of a good Head, and of Reſolution; and he ſeemed to hearken to the Propoſals of the Conſpirators, in order to learn their Secrets, and diſcover them to the Senate. He informed himſelf of all the Names, and Habitations of the Conſpirators; and diſcovered enough to enable him to give the *Conſuls* and *Conſcript Fathers*, a full and faithful Account of the whole Affair. But he was continually beſet by a Company of theſe Wretches, who always kept him in their ſight. In order therefore to get rid of them, he invented this Stratagem. He told the Conſpirators, that in order to ſucceed in their Deſign, it was neceſſary that they ſhould pretend ſome Grievance, complain of it to the Senate when aſſembled, and thereby ſound the Inclinations of the Senators; and in caſe they refuſed to hear them, then break out into open Clamours, and take that Opportunity of arming. This Advice was the more readily agreed to, becauſe *Potitius* offered to appear at the Head of the Malecontents. When therefore they heard that the Senate was ſitting, the *Samnite* Conſpirators came into the *Forum* from all Parts, and loudly complained, that the Corn allowed them for their Subſiſtence, was not full Meaſure. This was not true; but the Conſpirators intended nothing by it, more than to make a Noiſe and Clamour. The Senate was allarmed at it; and in order to appeaſe the Tumult, the chief of the Mutineers was called into the Aſſembly. This *Potitius* expected; and when he came there, inſtead of explaining the Reaſons of their Complaints, he declared the whole Scheme of the Conſpirators. The *Conſcript Fathers* commended the Fidelity of *Potitius*; appeaſed the guilty *Samnites* with good Words, and diſperſed them; and they all returned home very well ſatisfied, with having, as they imagined, appeared formidable to the Senate. But the following Night undeceived them. All the Slaves in the Conſpiracy, whoſe Names were known, were put in Irons by their Maſters, and all the *Samnites*, which were left in *Rome*, were impriſoned.

§. XVII. During theſe Diſtractions at *Rome*, *Cornelius* had weighed Anchor, and his Fleet was at Sea. Men are generally very fond of undertaking things which have never been attempted before. And thus the *Conſul* caſt his Eyes upon the Iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, and thought them worthy of a Campaign. But indeed, no Conqueſt, next to that of *Sicily*, could ſo well anſwer the end, the Republick then had in view, of gaining the Empire of the Seas. The two Iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica* are ſo near one another, that they ſeem at a Diſtance to be but one. *Sardinia* is the largeſt; and there were then a good Number of Cities in this Iſland, which is reckoned to be five hundred and ſeventy Miles in Circumference. That of *Corſica* is ſmaller, was leſs peopled, and leſs fruitful; and was reckoned to be three hundred thouſand geometrical Paces in Circumference. *Sardinia* abounded with Corn and Cattle. *Corſica* produced ſcarce any thing but Honey, which, contrary to its uſual Taſte, was bitter, though very wholſome. All the Naturaliſts of Antiquity ſay, that *Sardinia*, the Soil of which is more moiſt than that of *Corſica*, produced a poiſonous Herb, which was mortal, and ſo contracted the Muſcles of the Faces of thoſe it killed, that they looked as if they were laughing: but it is a Fable. *Corſica*, which has a drier Soil, and is more mountainous, produced Yews and Box-trees in great Quantities; and hence came the Bitterneſs of its Honey, which the Bees gathered from theſe Trees. Though the Air of both theſe Iſlands was extremely unwholſome, yet the *Carthaginians* had poſſeſſed themſelves of them, and had fortified ſome Cities there, in order to draw nearer to *Italy*, and make themſelves Maſters of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. And for the ſame Reaſons, the *Romans* propoſed to drive the *Carthaginians* out of them. The Silver Mines, which were then found in *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, were not ſo ſtrong a Motive to them to attempt the Conqueſt of them, as their excellent Ports. Theſe would ſerve to protect their Fleets, and for Magazines, in caſe of any Enterprizes upon the Coaſts of *Africa*. All theſe Motives together, made the *Conſul Cornelius* very deſirous of ſubduing them. The firſt he attacked was *Corſica*, which was neareſt *Italy*; and he needed only to conquer one City, in order to make himſelf Maſter of the whole Iſland. Having therefore taken 70 *Aleria* by Aſſault, and placed a ſtrong Garriſon in it, he paſſed on to *Sardinia*. In his Way he ſaw a *Carthaginian* Fleet, but they crowded all they

Zonaras, *B.* 8. *c.* 11.

70 The ancient City of *Aleria* is now no longer in being. Some Authors call it *Alabia*, and *Alaria*. It afterwards became a *Roman Colony*.

Year of ROME CCCCXCIV. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, C. AQUILIUS FLORUS, Conſuls.

Sail they could, and got out of ſight, before he could come up with them. He therefore continued his Courſe, and appeared with his Fleet off [71] *Olbia*, then a large City, on the Eaſt-ſide of *Sardinia*. A great Number of *Carthaginian* Veſſels were in the Port, and the *African* Garriſon, which was in the City, was conſiderable. Whereas, *Cornelius* wanted Land-Forces. He therefore returned to *Italy*; embarked as many new Soldiers in his Fleet as he could, and came and made a Deſcent in *Sardinia*, reſolving not to ſpare *Olbia*.

Oroſius B. 4. *c.* 7.

AT *Carthage*, upon *Hannibal*'s being depoſed from being Admiral, that *Hanno* had been put in his room, whom we have already mentioned in the *Sicilian* Wars; and this General's Fleet was now in the Port of *Olbia*, whilſt he himſelf commanded in the City. But the brave *Cornelius* was not terrified by the great Appearance of the *Carthaginian* Forces, which ſeemed ſufficient to ſecure the City from all poſſible Danger. He laid Siege to it; and was forced to fight the *Carthaginians* under *Hanno*'s Command, who ſignalized his Courage in the Battel. But the *Romans* were invincible by Land: *Hanno*, with all his Bravery, could not make Amends for the Weakneſs of his Troops. He died Sword in Hand; and his *Carthaginians* being vanquiſhed, were forced to ſurrender up the Place they defended, to the Conqueror.

Val. Max. B. 5. *c.* 1. § 2.

THEN *Cornelius* gave the *Africans* an Inſtance of that Humanity, to which they were utter Strangers. He honoured the Corps of their General, with magnificent Obſequies. He attended his Body to the Place of Burial himſelf, and ſhewed theſe Barbarians, that the Hatred between brave Men ends with the Battel. By theſe moral Virtues the *Romans* thought to make both Gods and Men leſs ſenſible of the Horror of the terrible Slaughters they made of Mankind, in ſo many Battels. As for the *Conſul*, he did not ſuffer the Ardour of his Troops to cool; but beſieged, and took, many maritime Cities in *Sardinia*, by repeating the ſame Stratagem. As he was Maſter of the Seas, he embarked ſome Troops on his Ships, ordered them to land at ſome Diſtance from the Place he intended to ſurpriſe, and laid them in Ambuſh behind the Rocks, out of the Enemy's ſight. At the ſame time, he himſelf appeared before the City, with a ſmall part of his Army, as it were to begin an attack upon it. This immediately led the Garriſon to make a Sally upon him; and then the General by a feigned Flight, led the Enemy to the Place of the Ambuſcade. And after the Garriſons were defeated, the Cities had nothing to do, but to ſurrender to the Conqueror. By theſe Exploits, *Cornelius* at length forced the *Carthaginians* to quit the Iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*; and almoſt entirely ſubdued them.

Frontin. B. 3. *c.* 9.

§. XVIII. IN the mean time *Aquilius*, who arrived a little too late in *Sicily*, recovered the Affairs of the *Romans* there, notwithſtanding the Enterprizes of *Hamilcar*. This brave *Carthaginian*, had taken great Advantage of the too long Abſence of the *Roman* Generals; and had they tarried any longer, the whole Iſland of *Sicily*, would have been, by Degrees, brought under the Power of the *Africans* again. But now, *Aquilius* repaired the Loſſes the Republick had ſuſtained, ſince *Duilius*'s Departure. When the *Conſul* landed, he found the Conqueſts of his Predeceſſors much leſſened. *Enna* [72], a City famous for the Rape of *Proſerpine*, and *Camarina*, had been taken from

71 Nothing now remains of *Olbia*, but its Ruins; which ſtill retain its ancient Name, in that of *Olbia Rovinata*. The Deſcription *Ptolomy* gives us of the Port of *Olbia*, inclines us to believe it was made by the two Promontories, that are now called *Capo Comino*, and *Capo Cavallo*.

72 According to *Strabo*, the City of *Enna* ſtood on an Eminence in the middle of *Sicily*. It was thought one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the Iſland; and moſt remarkable for its moſt beautiful Plains, fruitful Soil, and the great Number of Lakes and Springs, which watered its Territory. And laſtly, the Purity of its Water, which the Hiſtorians and Geographers ſo highly commend, has led Mr. *Bochart* to conjecture, that the Name of *Enna* was taken from the Word ENNAAM, or *Ennam*, which in the *Phœnician* Language ſignifies, a *Fountain of Pleaſure*. The Inhabitants had a fabulous Tradition among them, which they credited, that *Ceres* was born in this Diſtrict. They boaſted of having learnt Agriculture from her; and it was an Opinion generally received, that *Proſerpine* had been ran away with by *Pluto*, near the City of *Enna*, as ſhe was gathering Flowers in a Meadow. The *Ennæans*, who believed this Fable, ſhewed a large Gulph, which, they ſaid, opened of itſelf, to make the God a Way to Hell. Hence the Worſhip the *Sicilians* paid theſe two Divinities; the magnificent Temple, which *Gelo* erected to *Ceres* in this City; and the ſolemn Feſtivals, which the *Syracuſans* annually celebrated near the Fountain *Cyane*, which burſt out all at once, when the Earth opened under *Pluto*'s Feet. The Perſuaſion People entertained that *Ceres* had fixed her Abode in this Temple, made it reſpected even by Nations that were Enemies; and no Gold, or precious Stones were ſpared in adorning this ſtately Edifice. At the Entrance into it, were three Statues of the Goddeſs, one of Marble, another of Braſs, and a third, which held in its right Hand an Imago of Victory. *Triptolemus*'s

from the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians* had fortified 73 *Drepanum*, which had an excellent Port: and for fear the *Ericini* ſhould ſubmit to the *Romans*, the *Carthaginians* removed them to *Drepanum*; after having deſtroyed all their City, except the famous Temple of *Venus Ericina*, which *Æneas* built there, as he paſſed into *Italy*. But from the time that *Aquilius* appeared at the Head of the Armies, *Hamilcar* could make no farther Progreſs. The Campaign was now juſt at an end, and *Aquilius* therefore ought regularly to have returned to *Rome*, to aſſiſt at the Election of his Succeſſors: but he continued in the Field, all the Winter. Only *Cornelius* returned to *Rome*, where he received the Honours of a Triumph, for having ſubdued the Iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*.

Year of ROME CCCCXCIV. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, C. AQUILIUS FLORUS, Conſuls. *Dion. Sic. in Eclogis.* and *Tab. Triumph.*

As ſoon as the *Conſular* Year was expired, the *Centuries* choſe new *Conſuls*, and continued *Aquilius* in the Command of the Army in *Sicily*, with the Title of *Proconſul*. The Generals *Rome* choſe for the enſuing Year were, *A. Attilius* 74 *Calatinus*, and *C. Sulpicius Paterculus*. The Command of the Fleet fell to *Sulpicius*, and that of the Land-Forces to *Calatinus*. And before the *Conſuls* were ready to repair to their reſpective Commands, the *Proconſul* made his Country ample Amends, for the time he had been forced to loſe at *Rome*. He performed ſuch Exploits, during the little remains of his *Conſulſhip*, and in his *Proconſulate*, which did not laſt long, as to deſerve the Honours of a Triumph. In ſhort, he drove *Hamilcar* out of the Field, and laid Siege to *Myſiſtratum*. This was a City of Importance, which the *Romans* had ſeveral times endeavoured to reduce. The *Proconſul* ſeems to have carried on the Siege of it, with Vigour; and though it did not ſurrender till after the Arrival of the *Conſul Attilius*, who continued the Siege; yet it is probable, that *Aquilius* 75 had all the Honour of its Reduction. Without this, the Senate would ſcarce have granted a Triumph to the *Proconſul Aquilius*, at the ſame time, that they did not grant one to *Calatinus*, to whom the City ſurrendered; and though the Hiſtorians don't declare as much, yet it is but juſt to look on the triumphing Victor, as the chief Author of this fine Conqueſt. *Attilius* indeed continued the Siege, which the *Proconſul* had far advanced; and the Beſieged made their utmoſt Efforts againſt this new Commander: but they were at laſt forced to ſubmit. The Cries of the Women and Children affected the *Sicilian* Inhabitants of *Myſiſtratum* ſo much, that they forced the *Carthaginian* Garriſon to go out at one Gate of the City, whilſt they let in the *Roman* Soldiers at another, before they had made any Capitulation. And then great Baſeneſs and Barbarity enſued. Theſe unhappy People were treated with the utmoſt Rigour. In the firſt Sallies of their Fury, the Soldiers put all to the Sword, Men, Women, and Children. The *Conſul* was filled with Horror at this Sight, and thinking that the only Way to put a Stop to the Cruelty of his Soldiers, was to indulge their Avarice: he ſuffered them to make the Inhabitants of *Myſiſtratum* Slaves, and ſell them for their own Advantage; which put a Stop to this terrible Butchery. Clemency and Humanity, the ſo much boaſted Virtues of the *Romans* of that time, were not common among the meaner ſort of them. It was only the Governors, and Candidates for Offices, who made a Shew of theſe Virtues, and made them ſubſervient to their ambitious Views. After the Conqueror had ſubdued the City, he razed it, and we find it no more mentioned in Story.

Year of ROME CCCCXCV. A. ATTILIUS CALATINUS, C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS, Conſuls.

Tab. Triumph.

Zonaras B. 8. *c.* 11.

§. XIX. FROM *Myſiſtratum*, *Attilius* led his Army towards *Camarina*. *Hamilcar* waited to intercept him in his Paſſage, and ſhewed him, that there were *Caudian Forks* in *Sicily*, as well as *Italy*. The *Roman* Army deſcended into a deep Valley, and all on a ſudden was ſurrounded by *Carthaginians*, poſted upon the Hills all round it. There was no advancing, or retiring; all Avenues were ſtopped up. But it was in theſe Extremities, that the *Roman* Virtue ſhone out with the greateſt Luſtre.

mus's Statue was alſo there, and vied with that of *Ceres*. Theſe four Monuments, which were of exquiſite Workmanſhip, raiſed the Admiration of all Spectators. *Enna* is ſuppoſed to have ſtood, where *Caſtro Janni* now ſtands.

73 The Name of *Drepanum*, taken from the Greek Word Δρέπανος, was given this City; becauſe its Shore made a ſort of Elbow, or bending, which was like a Scythe. It is now called *Trapani*. The *Carthaginians* fortified it, and made it one of their Magazines for Arms. It ſtood a Mile from Mount *Eryx*, formerly ſo famous for the Temple dedicated to *Venus Erycina*. Near *Drepanum* was the little Iſland of *Columbaria*, which the Inhabitants now call *La Columbara*.

74 *Zonaras* has maimed the Surname of *Calatinus*, whom he calls *Latinus*. The *Faſti Capitolini* vary as to the *Prænomen* of *Sulpicius*. They here give him that of *Quintus*; and in the Account of the Triumphs, he is called *Caius*: which Variation may perhaps be owing to the Engraver. But be that as it will, it's certain, that all Authors agree in giving *Sulpicius* the *Prænomen* of *Caius*.

New

Year of ROME CCCCXCV.
A. ATTILIUS CALATINUS, C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS, Conſuls.
Zonaras B. 8. c. 12; Oroſius; Florus; Author of the Lives of Illuſt. Men; and *Livy Epit. B. 17.*

New *Decii* now appeared in the *Roman* Army, who themſelves to certain Death, to ſave their Country. They gloried in ſo doing, and from the bare Hopes that their Names would ſurvive them, they valued their Lives as nothing. Such was the Courage of an Officer in this *Conſular* Army; and it is ſurpriſing that the Hiſtorians ſhould differ ſo much, about his Name. Some call him *Cæditius*, others *Laberius*, but the greateſt Number, *M. Calpurnius Flamma*. A remarkable Proof of the Vanity of thoſe Men, who hazard every thing, only for an immortal Fame! Their very Names often die with them. *Calpurnius* was a *Legionary Tribune*, whoſe Reſolution can never be too much commended. He deſired the *Conſul* to give him three hundred choſen determined Men; promiſed to find the Enemy ſo much Employment with this ſmall Company, as ſhould oblige them to leave a Paſſage open for the *Roman* Army: and performed his Promiſe. He led his little Body of Men up to an Eminence, which he ſeized, and on which he entrenched himſelf. The *Carthaginians* being therefore jealous of his Deſigns, attacked him with Vigour, and he more vigorouſly defended himſelf. So that the *Carthaginian* Battalions came together from all Quarters to drive away theſe audacious *Romans*, who had ſeized ſo dangerous a Poſt: And even thoſe who guarded the Paſſes into the Valley, were willing to have their Share in the Victory. Then the *Conſul* took Advantage of the Diverſion, and drew his Army out of that bad Situation, into which he had imprudently brought it. Indeed, the three hundred *Romans* were all overpowered and killed by the Numbers of the Enemy. When the *Legions* were out of Danger, they were too late to relieve them; they only came ſoon enough to ſave the Bodies of theſe brave Men, from the Inſults of the *Carthaginian* Soldiers. They found them all in an Heap, in the Place, on which they had poſted themſelves; and which is very ſurpriſing, *Calpurnius* alone was found under an Heap of dead Bodies, ſtill breathing, but covered with Wounds; and it fortunately happened, that none of them proved mortal. They were dreſſed, cured, and the brave Officer, after this, did his Country very important Services. In any other State, but the Republick of *Rome*, great Riches and Honours would have been beſtowed, on the Author of ſo glorious an Action; but there a Crown of *Gramen* was thought a ſufficient Honour for *Calpurnius*, and he was ſatisfied with it. These Marks of Honour were greater Encouragements to the *Romans* to ſerve their Country, than the Hopes of more ſubſtantial Rewards: and indeed, as long as they acted upon no Motives but thoſe of Glory, and a Love of Duty, they deſerved to conquer the World.

Pliny B. 22. c. 6,

ATTILIUS being thus reſcued from ſuch imminent Danger, continued his March towards *Camarina*. This City was ſurrounded with ſtrong Walls, and had a numerous Garriſon: ſo that it was neceſſary to beſiege it in form. The *Conſul* therefore, who expected to have taken it immediately, was much embarraſſed. He had neither Rams, nor Galleries, nor wooden Towers, to make his Approaches. But the good King *Hiero*, who lived in Peace at *Syracuſe*, under the Protection of the *Romans*, ſupplied the Wants of his Allies. He ſent them by Sea, all ſorts of Machines, that were neceſſary for battering the Place: and it was at length carried, and the *Carthaginians* being made Priſoners of War, were ſold to the beſt Bidder. But the Inhabitants of *Enna* eſcaped the hard Fate of thoſe of *Camarina*. They betrayed the Garriſon, which defended the Town, and opened their Gates to the *Romans*, who put all the *Carthaginians* they found there to the Sword. *Sittana* 76 was taken by Aſſault, and the Army, which came to its Relief, put to flight. So that all the Cities in the Country were full of the Terror of the *Roman* Arms, and ſtrove who ſhould firſt ſubmit to the *Conſul*. From thence the Conqueror marched into the Country of the *Agrigentini*, got Poſſeſſion of *Camicus* 77, by the Treachery of the Citizens, and then came to attack *Erbeſſus*. This City, which was formerly unfaithful, was deſerted by thoſe, whom it had preferred to the *Romans*; and the *Conſul* making him-

Polyb. B. 1. c. 24. and *Diod. in Eclog.*

Florus B. 2.

75 The *Aquilian* Family, from which the *Proconſul Aquilius* deſcended, was partly *Plebeian*, and partly *Patrician*. The latter Branch was eminent in the Republick from her earlieſt Infancy. Among the Anceſtors of it were the *Aquilii*, who conſpired with the *Vitellii* to bring back *Tarquin the Proud*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Brutus* and *Collatinus*.

76 It is plain from *Polybius*, that the City of *Hyppane*, or *Sittane*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was ſituated between *Panormus* and *Myſiſtratum*; but it is not poſſible, to determine exactly where it ſtood.

77 The little City of *Camicus*, ſtood near a River of the ſame Name, now called *Cannaro*, in the Territory, in which *Siculiano* now ſtands.

ſelf

Year of ROME CCCCXCV.

A. ATTILIUS CALATINUS, C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS, Conſuls.

ſelf Maſter of it, drove the Enemy out of all the fruitful Territory of *Agrigentum*.

§. XX. *HAMILCAR* was not unactive all this while. He had ſurprized *Attilius* in a narrow Paſs, in the Road to *Camarina*, where the unparallelled Valour of the *Tribune Calpurnius* alone, had ſaved the *Roman* Army. But the *Carthaginian* General was more ſucceſsful in the Cheat he put upon the *Conſul* before *Lipara*. He had by ſome Addreſs or other diſcovered *Attilius*'s Deſign of beſieging that important City; and he knew the Raſhneſs of the *Conſul*, who was puffed up with his Succeſs. *Attilius* expected to meet with no more Reſiſtance any where: but *Hamilcar* conveyed himſelf privately into *Lipara*, with his Troops; and at the ſame time placed only ſome Citizens on the Ramparts, who were little able to defend the Place. The inconſiderate *Conſul* therefore ordered his Soldiers to march up to the Walls, and ſcale them; upon which *Hamilcar* inſtantly made a general Sally, at the Head of his Men. This the *Romans* did not expect; and being ſhamefully repulſed, found by Experience, that the *Carthaginians* were not utterly deſtitute of Commanders, who were able to diſpute a Victory with them. The Beſiegers had a conſiderable Number of Men killed, and wounded. So that *Attilius*'s Campaign in general, being a Mixture of good and bad Succeſs, it did not bring him much Honour. There was indeed room enough to reward his Courage, if his Imprudence had not deſerved Puniſhment. But *Rome* did not then grant him a Triumph, as ſhe had readily done the *Proconſul* his Predeceſſor.

As for *Sulpicius*, he commanded the Fleet like an able Admiral. Beſides that, he ſhared with his Collegue the Conqueſts of the maritime Cities, which he inveſted by Sea, whilſt *Attilius* beſieged them by Land; he harraſſed the *Carthaginians* which were left in the Iſlands of *Corſica*, and *Sardinia*. *Sulpicius* may be ſaid to have put the laſt Hand to this fine Conqueſt. Nor was this enough to ſatisfy the brave *Conſul*. He was very ambitious of ſignalizing his Campaign, by a naval Victory; but the *Carthaginian* Fleet did not appear at Sea. He therefore pretended that he would go even to *Africa* in queſt of it, and ſpread a Report, that he would burn it in the Ports. This News alarmed the People at *Carthage* ſo much, that they purſued raſh Meaſures. *Hannibal*, who had been deprived of his Admiralſhip by the Senate, then lived privately in the City; and the State had recourſe to him, to make Head againſt the *Conſul*, and ſuppreſs his Inſolence. *Carthage* thought ſhe might once more entruſt him with the Command of her Fleet; and prepared a conſiderable Armament. All the good Sea-officers, and skilful Rowers, which were to be found, were picked out to ſerve under *Hannibal*; and his Orders were not to go far from the Coaſts of *Africa*, but to hinder the *Romans* from landing, and making a Deſcent there. And indeed, the *Conſul*'s Fleet drew near the Coaſt, and ſeemed to threaten it. *Hannibal* had not far to go, in ſearch of the Enemy, and prepared to fight them; and the two Fleets were in ſight of one another, when a great Storm aroſe, and ſeparated them. Both were forced to give Way to the Tempeſt, and flying to different Ports for Shelter, *Sardinia* ſerved for a Refuge for them both. *Hannibal* was riding at Anchor there, when News was brought him, that *Sulpicius* was under Sail, going on ſome Expedition on the Coaſts of *Africa*, by Deſerters hired by the *Conſul*, who was very impatient to come to a Battel. Upon their Report therefore *Hannibal* left the Aſylum, where he was in Safety; and was ſcarce out of Port, when the *Roman* Fleet, already drawn up in Line of Battel, came full ſail, and as faſt as their Oars could drive them, and fell upon him. The *Carthaginian* had not time to draw up his Fleet, and then a Battel enſued, in which the *Romans* had all the Advantage. There was then ſo thick a Fog, that ſeveral of the *Carthaginian* Ships were ſunk, before *Hannibal* perceived that he was attacked; and the Terror this unexpected Shock ſpread among the *Carthaginians*, made them get to land as faſt as they could, and deſert their Gallies. So that being left to the Mercy of the Waves, and deſtitute of Soldiers and Rowers, they were taken by the *Romans*, who did the Enemy a great deal of Miſchief, without ſhedding much Blood. As for *Hannibal*, who either could not, or durſt not return to the Port, from whence he came, he fled to a little City [78] in *Sardinia* for

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 24.

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 12.

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 24.

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 12.

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 12.

78 This City, to which *Hannibal* fled for Refuge, is called *Sulci* by the Hiſtorians, and old Geographers. Hence the Name of *Promontorium Sulcenſe*, which was given to the moſt ſouthern Point of the Iſland of *Sardinia*. It is at preſent *La Punta dell' ulga*. The Natives to this Day, ſhew the Place where the City formerly ſtood, near *Palma di Sole*, over againſt the little Iſland of *Enoſis*, vulgarly called, *L'Iſola di Sant Antiocho*.

Year of ROME CCCCXCV. A. ATTILIUS CALATINUS, C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS, Conſuls. *Oroſius B.* 4. *c.* 8.

Refuge: and there he underwent the ſame Puniſhment which would have been inflicted on him, if he had returned to *Carthage*. The Seamen of his Fleet mutinied againſt their Commander, and in their Deſpair, ſeditiouſly pronounced Sentence againſt him, and crucified him. This was the end of *Old Hannibal*, as he is called by the Hiſtorians, to diſtinguiſh him from the ſecond *Hannibal*, who was ſo fatal to the *Romans*. *Sulpicius*, after his Victory, made a Deſcent on the Iſland of *Sardinia*, and gave his Soldiers Leave to live upon free Quarter there. Upon which, one *Hanno*, who ſeems to have been a Land-officer, put himſelf at the Head of a Body of *Carthaginians*, aud ſurprized the *Romans*, as they were buſy in plundering. So that the Conquerors met with a ſlight Check; but that did not prevent their General's having the Honours of a Triumph conferred upon him 79.

Year of ROME CCCCXCVI. C. ATTILIUS, CN. CORNELIUS, Conſuls.

§. XXI. The *Attilian* Family was then in great Credit at *Rome*; and the Deſcendants of it, very deſerving of the higheſt Honours. One *A. Attilius* had been *Conſul* the laſt Year; and another *Attilius*, whoſe *Prænomen* was *Caius*, was now choſen *Conſul*, with *Cn.* 80 *Cornelius Blaſio*: and the next Year, we ſhall ſee a third *Attilius* in this high Station. This Succeſſion of *Conſuls* of the ſame Name 81, has indeed, made a Confuſion among the Hiſtorians; but we ſhall endeavour to give each the Share of Glory he deſerved: and in order thereto, will diſtinguiſh them both by their *Prænomina*, and Surnames. The firſt *Conſul* was called *Aulus Attilius Calatinus*, the ſecond *Caius Attilius Regulus*, and the third *Marcus Attilius Regulus*. By the Agreement between their Surnames, the two laſt appear to have been of the ſame Branch of the *Attilian* Family; and the Hiſtorians tell us, that they were Brothers Children. And whatever that Branch of the Family was, from which the firſt *Attilius* deſcended, which ſeems to have been *Patrician*; it is certain, that of the *Reguli* was *Plebeian*. It was a common thing in *Rome*, for one Branch of the ſame Family to be noble, and the reſt not.

Plin. B. 8. and *Virg. B.* 6.

BUT to return to *Caius Attilius*, who was choſen *Conſul* for the preſent Year; his Merit alone raiſed him to the *Conſulſhip*, and no Intrigues were uſed to forward it. He retired into the Country, and cultivated his little Patrimony, and was actually *ſowing* his Land, when the Inſignia of the *Conſulſhip* 82 were brought him. From thence he had the Surname of *Serranus*, which was either aſſumed by him, or given him, and tranſmitted to his Poſterity; and this brave Citizen had already been *Conſul* once before, as well as his Collegue, who was a *Patrician*. They drew Lots for their Commands; and that of the Land-Forces in *Sicily* fell to *Cornelius*, that of the Fleet to *Serranus* 83. And at the ſame time that they were elected, the *Centuries* continued *A. Attilius*, with the Title of *Proconſul*, in the Command of the Army in *Sicily*, of which, as *Conſul*, he had been General the laſt Year. This was now become

79 This 495th Year of *Rome*, ended with the 36th *Luſtrum*, ſince *Servius Tullius*'s time. *Caius Duilius* performed the Ceremony of it. He was then *Cenſor*, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*; in which we don't find his Collegue's Name any more mentioned. Time has effaced it. Nevertheleſs, the Annaliſt *Pighius* joins him with *Appius Caudex*, the Brother of *Appius Cæcus*, in order to make up the Number of the *Seven Cenſors*, which *Suetonius*. in his *Life of Tiberius*, ſays, were of the *Claudian* Family.

80 *Zonaras* has omitted the two *Conſuls* for this Year 496; and *Polybius* mentions only *C. Attilius*. Nor is his Collegue's Name to be found in *The Capitoline Marbles*. But we have inſerted it in the *Faſti Conſulares*, upon the Authority of *Caſſiodorus*, who makes *Cneius Cornelius*, and *C. Attilius Serranus*, *Conſuls*, for this Year. The former has the Surname of *Blaſio* in the *Greek Tables*. This is the ſame Man, who had been promoted to the *Conſulſhip*, in the Year of *Rome* 483. *Marianus* is miſtaken in calling him *Blæſus*, inſtead of *Blaſio*. The former Surname, which we don't find uſed in the *Cornelian* Family, belonged to a Branch of the *Sempronii*. And the Annaliſt miſtakes likewiſe, in thinking this the firſt *Conſulſhip* of *Cneius Cornelius*, and the ſecond of *Caius Attilius*. We ought to ſay on the contrary, that the former was now *Conſul*, the ſecond time; and that the latter had never exerciſed that Office before.

81 The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, deceived by the Similitude of Names, robs *Caius Attilius* of the Honour of the Victory, he gained over *Hamilcar* at Sea; and aſcribes it to *Aulus Attilius*, who is ſaid, by the moſt venerable Hiſtorians, *Zonaras*, and *Polybius*, to have commanded the Land-Forces this Year.

82 *Cicero* makes uſe of *Attilius Serranus*'s Example, to ridicule *Erutius*'s Accuſation of *Roſcius*. The Accuſer had reproached the latter, with having left *Rome*, to apply himſelf wholly to a Country Life. Indeed, ſays the *Roman Orator*, you would have been thought mad, if you had made the ſame Reflection, in thoſe happy Days, when Men were raiſed from the Plough, to the Helm of Government. What would you have thought of the famous *Attilius*, who was howing his Field, when News was brought him, that he was choſen *Conſul*? Without doubt, you, who make it a Crime in *Roſcius*, to prefer the Pleaſure of taking care to cultivate a Man's own Eſtate, to the Hurry and Noiſe of the City, would have thought him a mean and contemptible Man.

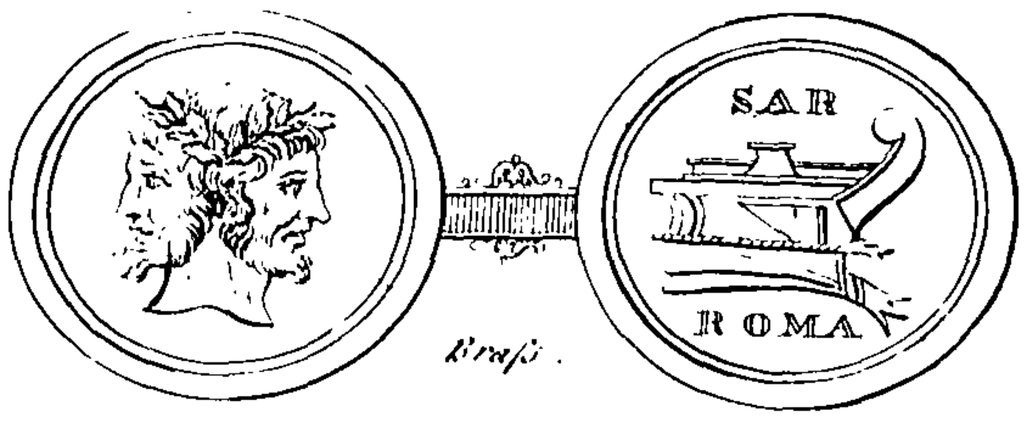
83 The Medals have *Saranus*, inſtead of *Serranus*,

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVI. C. ATTILIUS, CN. CORNELIUS, Conſuls.

come cuſtomary in the Republick. As ſhe now no longer made War in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, it was not proper to recall thoſe Generals from their Employments preciſely at the end of their Years, who engaged in Expeditions out of *Italy*, which required time to complete them. The *Conſulſhips* indeed were not prolonged; but the ſame Generals were continued in the Command of the Armies, with the Title of *Proconſuls*. In this quality, *A. Attilius* purſued the Reduction of *Sicily*; which he finiſhed with ſuch Rapidity, that he ſcarce left the *Conſul Cornelius* any thing to do there.

As for *C. Attilius*, who was Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet, he found ample Matter of Glory at Sea. *Tyndaris* was a maritime City in *Sicily*, on the North-ſide of the Iſland. The *Carthaginian* Fleet arrived off it, and did not keep themſelves in order of Battel, which was a common Fault with the *Carthaginians*. They knew how to build Ships, and diſcipline Rowers; and yet were very negligent in drawing up their Fleets in Line of Battel. But this was not the Caſe with the *Romans*. Ever ſince their firſt Expedition at Sea, they laid down for themſelves certain Rules, for placing their Gallies in order; and they always appeared regularly drawn up, whether they were only purſuing their Voyage, or ready to give Battel. *Attilius* [84] perceived that the *Carthaginian* Fleet lay in Diſorder over againſt *Tyndaris*, and reſolved to attack it. At the Head of a Squadron of only ten of his Gallies, he made the beſt of his Way to come up with the Enemy, and his Attack was a kind of prelude to the Battel. But the Number of the Attacked, was too much ſuperior to that of the Aſſailants. The *Roman* Squadron was inſtantly ſurrounded, and the Enemy ſtruck the *Roman* Ships ſo violently with their *Prows*, that in a few Hours, they ſunk ſome of them. The *Conſul* himſelf owed his Safety to the Strength of his Ship, and the Labours of his Crew. Theſe, by mere Strength of Arm, brought her back to the main Body of the Fleet, which was following the unfortunate Squadron, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, without breaking the Line, and ſailing in Diſorder. And as ſoon as it was within reach of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, the Succeſs of the *Conſul* was quite different. The formidable *Hamilcar* commanded the Enemy's Gallies; eight of which were ſunk, upon the firſt Onſet; and ſoon after ten more were taken, with all their Crews. So that the *Conſul* had his Revenge; and this Battel was deemed ſo complete [85] a Victory, that upon his return, he received the Honours of a Triumph. Two *Attilii* then entered *Rome* triumphantly, the *Proconſul*, and the Admiral. The former [86] for his Exploits at Land, during his *Conſulſhip*, and *Proconſulſhip*; the latter [87], for the Advantage he had gained over *Hamilcar* at Sea. *Cornelius Blaſio* was forgotten. The *Proconſul Attilius* prevented his having any Opportunity to ſignalize himſelf. But nevertheleſs, it is ſaid, that he plundered ſome open Villages, and went and

Zonar. B. 8. c. 12. and *Polyb. c.* 25.



anus, as that above has. On one ſide is *Janus*'s double Head. The *Prow* of the Ship on the other, makes it probable, that it was ſtruck in Memory of the Victory this *Conſul* gained over the *Carthaginians* at Sea.

84 According to ſome Authors, the two *Conſuls* were then buſy in carrying on the Siege of *Lipari*.

85 *Zonaras* adds one Circumſtance, of which *Polybius* was ignorant. He ſays, that after gaining the Battel, the *Romans*, flushed with their Succeſs, ventured to cruiſe round the Coaſts of *Lybia*, and appear in ſight of *Carthage*. But he does not ſay the Conquerors undertook any Expedition in *Africa*. They had probably no Deſign but to alarm and terrify the Enemy, in their own Country.

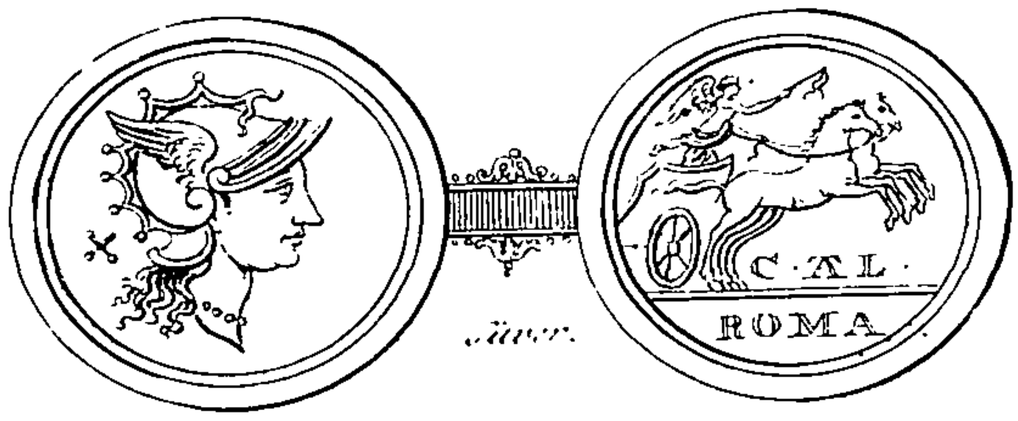
86 *Pighius* tells us, he had an old ſilver Medal, which proved the Triumph of *Aulus Attilius Calatinus*. The Face was the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet; and the reverſe a Chariot drawn by four Elephants, ſymbolically repreſenting the low Condition of *Carthage*. This Chariot was driven by a Victory, with a Crown in her Hand; and the Inſcription of the Medal, was this. A. ATIL. A. F. C. N. CALATINUS.

87 *Valer. Max. B.* 4. *c.* 4. *Pliny B.* 8. *c.* 5. and the *Faſti Capitolini*, all contradict the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, as to the Triumph granted

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVI. C. Attilius, Cn. Cornelius, Conſuls.

and pillaged the Iſland of *Malta* [88]. But theſe were too inconſiderable Exploits to deſerve a Triumph.

ROME was terrified with ſeveral Prodigies, during this Campaign. It was ſaid, that it rained Stones mixed with Hail; which was enough for the Senate to order Expiations: and the *Romans* thought themſelves obliged to renew the *Feriæ Latinæ* [89], which had been for ſome time neglected. *Q. Ogulnius* was choſen *Dictator* to preſide at them, and he made *M. Lætorius* his General of Horſe. The *Romans* had now enjoyed ſuch continual Peace at Home, and Succeſs Abroad for a long time together, that they had no Occaſion to nominate *Dictators*, for any but pacifick Offices.



granted to this *Conſul*. The firſt ſays, that it was a fine ſight to ſee *Caius Attilius* guide a triumphal Chariot, with the ſame Hand which had guided Oxen at Plough; and hold a Sceptre of Ivory, as the triumphant Victors uſually did, after holding a Plough. The Medal above bears the Name of *Caius Attilius*; and it is ſuppoſed to have been ſtruck in Honour to the triumphant Victor. It bears on one ſide the Head of *A Rome*, and on the other, a Chariot drawn by two Horſes.

88 The Iſland of *Melita* is now univerſally known by the Name of *Malta*; ever ſince it has been the Reſidence of the Grand Maſter, and *Knights of St. John of Jeruſalem*. It lies between *Tripoly* in *Barbary*, and *Sicily*; in the 39th Degree of Longitude, and 35th of Latitude. It is twenty Miles long; but not above twelve broad, in the wideſt Place; and is commonly reckoned to be ſixty thouſand geometrical Paces in Circumference. *Cluver* has omitted nothing to prove, That it was originally inhabited by *Phœacians*; That the *Phœnicians* afterwards ſeized it, and planted *Colonies* in it, having firſt forced the Natives to retire to the Iſland of *Corcyra*: And laſtly, That the *Carthaginians* ſubdued it. The Ancients much commend the Cotton this Iſland produces; and above all, its exceeding fine Honey. Hence, ſay ſome, it had the Name of *Melita*. It is ſurpriſing that *Ovid* ſhould ſay it was a fruitful Country. It is notorious, that the whole Iſland is nothing but one Rock of ſandy Stone, covered with a very light Earth, which nevertheleſs bears excellent Fruits. The Temple of *Juno* was one of the greateſt Ornaments of *Malta*, for its Antiquity and Riches. *Verres* had plundered it, of all that was moſt valuable in it, as *Cicero* reproaches him, in his *de Signis*.

89 See the Ceremonies of the *Feriæ Latinæ* deſcribed, *B.* 4. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 168; and *B.* 7. *Vol.* 1. *p.* 292. *Note* 57.

THE

A MAP OF AFRICA PROPRIA, AND NUMIDIA

THE SEA OF AFRICA

THE SEA OF LIBYA

THE

MAURITANIA

NUMIDIA

GETULIA

ZEUGITANA

BYZACIUM

THE LITTLE SYRTIS

TRIPOLITANA

SICILY

Ægades Isles

Maritim I.

Drepanum

Mount Eryx

Panormus

Colony

Hyccara

Cephaloedis

Solus

Alæsa

Himera

Thermæ on Himera Colony

Selinus

Thermæ Col.

Heraclea Col.

Promontory of Mercury

Agrigentum Col.

Enna

Centuripe

Gela

Camera R.

Ægusa I.

Lopaduja I.

Gaulos I.

Melita or Malta

Isle of Malta

Cossura I.

Aspis or Clypea

Curubis

Neapolis Colony

Pulpud

Diagul

Aphrodisium

Horrea Cælia

Adrumetum Col.

Leptis

Thapsa

Subtecti

Hannibal's Tower

Acolla

Ruspæ

Tysdrum Col.

Uzecia

Cercinitis I.

Cercina Island and City

Macomadæ Municipium

Usula

Thenæ

Taphora

Muroi

Byzacia

Nara

Hadrumetum

Tuburbis

Membressa

Coreva

Vacaria

Simittu Col.

Thunusda

Tunis

Utica

Carthage Colony

Cap. of Apollo

G. of Carthage

Egimur I.

Hippo Diarrhytos Colony

The Fair Promontory

Galata I.

The Altar of Neptune

The Temple of Apollo

Thinissa

Utica

Tabraca Colony

Uthina Col.

Castra Cornelia

Theuda

Saphira

Sicilibba

Little Tuburbis Col.

Vepheris

Casula

Maxulla Col.

Vallis Quinia Col.

Vina

Hippo Royal Colony

Nalpotes

Madaura

Onellaba

Thurburnica Colony

Rusicada Colony

Tacatua

Paratianæ

Sullucitana

Aphrodisium

Cullucitana

Tretum Promontory

Cullu Mun.

Vaga

Gazaufula

Cullu Col.

Tucca

Tagaste Mun.

Cirta Col.

Idicra

Cuiculum

Milevis Colony

Sigus

Irmua

Tipasa

Tagura

Narangara

Bulla Regia

Simittu Col.

Vacaria

Membressa

Coreva

Tuburbis

Aphrodisium

Horrea Cælia

Jupiter's Mount

Musti

Azuritanum

Maconadæ

Royal Lake

Gemella

Nova Sparsa

Zarai

Marcimenum

Sicca Col.

Tibiga Col.

Thunudronum Colony

Tamugada

Tuburnica

Lambasba

Taduti

Justi

Mount Thambes

Lares Colon.

Altaba

Ammiedera Colony

Masaula

Glaudi

Lambesa

Megesela

Tinphadi

Altiburus

Sufes

Mascliana

Germaniciana Col.

Tevesta Colony

Vegesela

Sufetula

Amudasa

Ovisca

Mount Aurasius

Mount Hampsaras

Cilio

Nara

Byzacia

Zama Colony

Menegere

Hadrumetum

Septimunicia

Telepte Col.

Tasbalta

Lotophagitis Island

Tacape Col.

Menina

Gita. Mun.

Acma

Zugar

Tritonis Lake

The Waters of Tacape

Tasarta

Gemella

Gremella

Capsa Colony

Putea

Artava

Mount Gallitus

Pontezita Municipium

Sabrita Colony

Tisurus

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XXIV.

§. I. THE War with *Carthage* had now laſted eight Years. The *Romans* had already extended their Conqueſts almoſt to *Africa*; and the great Iſlands, which were a Barrier for the *Africans* againſt *Italy*, and which in ſome Meaſure, covered *Lybia*, were already ſubdued. The *Carthaginians* had juſt been driven out of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, and the Republick could almoſt reckon *Sicily* one of her *Provinces*. Except *Lilybæum*, *Panormus*, and ſome Ports, in that Neighbourhood, it had wholly ſhaken off the *Carthaginian* Yoke. The *Syracuſans* and *Mamertini*, formerly ſuch inveterate Rivals, now joined in labouring to aggrandize *Rome*. In ſhort, under the Shelter of ſo glorious an Alliance, they thought of nothing but enjoying Peace, or helping to carry on a War, which delivered them from their *African* Tyrants. And *Sicily* had indeed long ſeemed to be the utmoſt Limits of the Ambition of the *Romans*: But can Conquerors ſet any Bounds to their Deſires?

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVII. L. MANLIUS VULSO, Q. CÆDICIUS, Conſuls.

AFTER having tried and ſurmounted the Dangers of the Sea, nothing could probably ſtop the Progreſs of the *Romans*. The next thing therefore was to diſpute the Empire of the Seas, with the *Carthaginians*; and *Carthage* itſelf ſeemed to be a worthy Object of their Ambition. With theſe Views, they ordered both the new *Conſuls* jointly to command the Fleet, without dividing them as formerly, and appointing one to the Land, the other to the Sea-Service. Theſe *Conſuls* were *L. Manlius*, ſurnamed *Vulſo*, and *Q. Cædicius* [1]; but the latter did not long enjoy his new Dignity. He died a few Days after his Election; and the Republick ſubſtituted a Man in his room, whoſe Name will live for ever, as one who ſignalized himſelf more by his Conſtancy, than the greateſt Generals ever did, by their Conqueſts. This was the famous *M. Attilius Regulus*. The few Defects he had were abundantly compenſated by the Eminence of his Virtues. He was a great Soldier; had conquered the *Salentini*, in his firſt *Conſulſhip*, and by his Victory merited a Triumph. He was a ſagacious Politician; carried his Views farther, during his Captivity, than the whole Senate; and by his Capacity and Penetration, changed the Dejection of the *Romans*, into Conſtancy and Magnanimity. Conſidered in his private Capacity, he was a frugal and temperate Man, and was always contented with his ſeven Acres of Land, for the Subſiſtence of himſelf and his Family. He was ſo ſtrictly obſervant of the Laws, that he looked upon himſelf as a Stranger, even to his own Country, from the time that he became a Priſoner at *Carthage*; and he would not enter into *Rome*, without the Conſent of his new Maſters. He was ſo faithful to his Oaths, as to chuſe rather to expoſe himſelf to all the Rage of the *Carthaginians*, than ſave his Life by

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVII. L. MANLIUS VULSO, M. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

[1] The *Faſti Capitolini*, which are of unqueſtionable Authority, have been of great uſe to us, in enabling us to rectify the Miſtakes, and Omiſſions, of the Hiſtorians and Annaliſts, who have written the Hiſtory of this *Conſular* Year 497. *Caſſiodorus* and *Marianus Scotus* ſay nothing of the Death of *Quintus Cædicius*, or of his Succeſſor. They falſely ſuppoſed, that he lived till his Office expired. And *The Greek Tables*, and thoſe of *Cuſpinian*, are as defective, in this Particular. *Polybius*, *Zonaras*, and *Eutropius*, on the contrary, make no mention at all of *Cædicius*, and allow of no *Conſuls* for this Year, but *Lucius Manlius*, and *Marcus Attilius*. Theſe Differences therefore cauſed great Confuſion in Chronology, and the Order of the *Conſuls*, till the happy Diſcovery of *The Capitoline Tables*, which removed the Difficulty, which learned Men had before in vain endeavoured to clear up, for ſeveral Ages. Upon the Credit of a Monument of ſuch deciſive Authority, we ought alſo to correct an Error, which is crept into the 41*ſt* Book of *Juſtin*. He ſays, the *Parthians* revolted from *Seleucus*, in the time of the firſt *Punic* War, when *Attilius Regulus*, and *Manlius Piſo* were *Conſuls*. He has by Miſtake put *Manlius Piſo*, for *Manlius Vulſo*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVII. L. Manlius Vulso, M. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls.

Perjury. Nevertheleſs, he is reproached with being too ambitious of Honours in his Republick, too confident and preſumptuous after Victory, and too haughty and ſevere to the Vanquiſhed. And indeed, it may truly be ſaid of him in general, that he ſhewed more of the Hero in Adverſity, than in Proſperity.

This great Man was appointed, with his Collegue *Manlius*, to extend the Dominion of *Rome* into a Country, hitherto unknown to the *Romans*. The two *Conſuls* had Orders to endeavour to paſs over into *Africa*, and make that the Seat of War, for the future. They firſt croſſed the Streights of *Sicily*, and landed at *Meſſina*. Their Fleet was the ſtrongeſt the *Romans* ever yet had at Sea; and conſiſted of three hundred and thirty Ships of different Sizes. From *Meſſina*, the *Conſuls* ſent their Orders into *Italy*, to all the Cities in Alliance with *Rome*, or ſubject to her, and ſettled the Affairs of the *Provinces*, before their Departure. Then they doubled Cape *Pachynum*, with Deſign to take on board the Land-Forces, which were poſted in that [2] Neighbourhood. As for the *Carthaginian* Fleet, it was more formidable, with reſpect to the Number of the Gallies, than the *Roman*. It conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty Sail. Two *Conſuls* commanded the former, two Admirals the latter. One of theſe was the brave *Hamilcar*, and the other *Hanno*; both Generals of great Eſteem in their Republick. Theſe two Commanders had ſet out from *Africa* with powerful Forces, and were arrived in the Port of *Heraclea*, in *Sicily*; where they watched the Motions of the *Romans*, with full Reſolution to oppoſe their making a Deſcent in *Lybia*.

The *Conſuls* were not ignorant of the Enemy's Deſign, but prepared, at all Events, either to come to a Sea-fight, or to make a Deſcent, in ſome convenient part of *Africa*. The Troops they were to land, were three *Legions*, that is, one fourth part leſs than two *Conſular* Armies, excluſive of the Ships Crews, and the Auxiliaries. They divided this Multitude into four Parts, and embarked them on four Squadrons, which all made but one Army. The firſt *Legion* was embarked on the firſt Squadron; the ſecond, on the ſecond; the third, on the third; and the *Triarii* were poſted, as at Land, in the Rear-guard, and embarked on the fourth Squadron. They were a *Corps-de-reſerve*, for the Fleet. The *Triremes*, generally ſpeaking, were all much of the ſame Size, and therefore an equal Number of Soldiers, that is, ſix-ſcore, were put on board each of them. Theſe, with the three hundred Rowers in each Galley, made four hundred and twenty Men: ſo that, upon the whole, this *Roman* Armament conſiſted of about 140000 Men, Legionaries, Auxiliaries, and Rowers, all included. Nevertheleſs, as the *Carthaginians* exceeded the *Romans* in the Number of their Ships, ſo they had more Men on board. They were reckoned to be at leaſt 150000. The *Africans* looked upon it as a Matter of the laſt Conſequence, to keep the *Romans* at a Diſtance from *Africa*, and confine them to *Sicily*. Both Nations were now going to expoſe all their Forces to the Hazards of one Battel; and the Conquered were to expect nothing but to ſee their Coaſts laid waſte, and their Ports taken, or inſulted by the Victors. Out of Emulation therefore the two Republicks, which were Rivals for Glory, and deſperately bent, on deſtroying each other, exerted themſelves to the utmoſt. The *Carthaginians* were in Pain for their Capital, and thought nothing ought to be neglected, to ſave their native City from Deſtruction. The *Romans* were afraid of a Battel in the high Seas, where the Lightneſs of the Enemy's Gallies might prove fatal to them. As for the *Carthaginian* Troops, they deſpiſed them, and promiſed themſelves all the Succeſs they could wiſh for, if they could but board them. The main Point, on both ſides, was to draw up their Ships in good Order, and range them in ſuch a manner, as that they ſhould mutually ſupport each other. To this end, *Regulus* and his Collegue formed this Scheme. Each *Conſul* went on board an *Hexaremis*, that is, a Galley with ſix Rows of Rowers, which was twice as long, and twice as wide, as the *Triremis*. Theſe two enormous Ships were placed ſide by ſide, at the Head, or rather, at the Point of the Fleet, and no more Space left between them, than was neceſſary for working them. To the right, on the ſide of *Manlius*, the firſt Squadron was drawn up in a ſloping Line, and preſented their Prows to the Enemy. To the left, on the ſide of *Regulus*, the ſecond Squadron was drawn out alſo in a Line, the Ships all

Polybius B. 1. c. 26.

2 According to *Polybius*, the Troops encamped in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Ecnomus*, a Mountain in *Sicily*, now called *Monte d'Alicata*, or *di Licata*, at the Mount of the River *Himera*, which the *Sicilians* now call *Salſi*.

at

Year of ROME CCCCXCVII
L. MANLIUS VULSO, M. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

at equal Diſtances: So that the two firſt Squadrons made two ſides, of an acute angled Triangle. The Space in the middle was left empty; and the third Squadron made the Baſe of the Triangle, and extended a large Front towards the Enemy. Behind, were the Ships of Burden; and theſe unwieldy Veſſels, which ſerved for tranſporting the Cavalry, were faſtened with Cables to the Rear of the Gallies, which ſailed before them, that they might be towed along, if there was Occaſion. The Diſpoſition cloſed with the *Triarii*, who were poſted in the Rear-guard, and made a wider Front, than the Baſe of the Triangle, ſo that ſome of their Ships jetted out on both ſides. In ſhort, the whole *Roman* Fleet was like a Wedge, to cleave Wood; in which Form the *Romans* often drew up their Armies, by Land.

IN this fine Order, the *Conſular* Fleet appeared off *Heraclea* in *Sicily*, reſolving to go farther, and continue their Courſe towards *Africa*, if the Enemy declined fighting. But *Hamilcar* and *Hanno*, the two *Carthaginian* Generals, were too nearly concerned in Intereſt to give Battel, to refuſe the Challenge. Their Fleet was yet riding at Anchor in the Port; and they inſtantly aſſembled their Troops, and Crews. *Friends*, ſaid they, *the time is now come, when we muſt either re-eſtabliſh our ſelves in* Sicily, *or expect to ſee the Walls of* Carthage *overturned. If we come off victorious, we ſhall recover the Dominion of an Iſland, which has coſt our Fathers ſo much Blood. If the Enemy prevail, we muſt look on our Wives, Children, and Eſtates, as utterly loſt. It is therefore of the utmoſt Conſequence to us, to conquer now; and it is dangerous to the laſt Degree, not to endeavour at leaſt to ſtop the Enemy in their career. So that the Gods have this Day put into your Hands, the Fate of* Sicily, *and of* Carthage. At theſe Words, there aroſe a great Murmur among the *Carthaginian* Soldiers; and their Ardour for fighting was viſible in their Faces. They inſtantly got ready, weighed Anchor, and put out to Sea. And the Order of the *Romans*, was a Rule for the *Carthaginians* to range their Ships by. They alſo drew up their Fleet in three Lines. The firſt, which *Hanno* commanded (doubtleſs as eldeſt Admiral, for he had loſt a little of his Reputation, ſince the Affair of *Agrigentum)* advanced far out to Sea, as if with Deſign to ſurround the Enemy; and therefore the lighteſt *Triremes*, and *Quinqueremes*, in the Fleet, were in this Squadron. *Hamilcar*, who had a greater Character as a General, commanded the two other Lines, and placed himſelf in the Center of his Gallies. His Squadron, which was nearer to Land than *Hanno*'s, was drawn up in form of a *Tenaille*, whoſe ſides are joined at one end. The *Romans* moved firſt, and attacked the Enemy's Gallies, with the Point of their Fleet; and then *Hamilcar* made uſe of a Stratagem, which might have utterly deſtroyed the *Roman* Army, if it had ſucceeded. He ordered the Line in the middle to give Way, and by a feigned Flight, make the *Romans* to purſue them; who perhaps might let their Courage carry them too far, ſo to be eaſily ſurrounded by the Lines, on the right and left. And indeed, the two Squadrons which followed the *Conſuls Hexaremes* purſued the Fugitives with too much Ardour; and the two ſides of their Triangle, were neither followed by the third Squadron, which was in the Baſe of it, nor by the Tranſports, which muſt have been towed, nor by the *Triarii*, which covered them in the Rear. As ſoon therefore as *Hamilcar* ſaw, that the two Squadrons which followed the *Conſuls* were advanced far enough between two of his Lines, he gave the Signal for the Battel. Then the Fugitives tacked about, and preſented their *Prows* to the Enemy: and the Battel quicky became very fierce, and the Victory was long diſputed. The *Carthaginians* took Advantage of the Lightneſs of their Ships, and threw Showers of Darts from them upon the *Romans*. Theſe, on the other hand, as ſoon as they came to grapple with one of the Enemy's Ships, by the help of their *Corvi*, immediately made themſelves Maſters of it, and made a great Slaughter in it. The former fought flying, if I may ſo ſpeak; the latter ſtanding ſtill, whenever they could join the Enemy. The *Romans* fought in the ſight of both their *Conſuls*; and never ſhewed more Intrepidity.

IN the mean time *Hanno*, who commanded the Squadron of the *Carthaginians*, which was to the left, and was farther out at Sea, inſtead of falling upon the two *Conſular* Squadrons, in order to ſurround them on all ſides, took a Compaſs, and came and fell on the *Triarii*. His Attack was violent; and this fourth *Roman* Squadron already ſuffered very much, when the *Carthaginian* Squadron, which was neareſt the Land, changed its Order all on a ſudden. It extended itſelf in one ſtrait Line, Frontways, and came and fell upon the third *Roman* Squadron, to the Gallies of

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVII. L. MANLIUS VULSO, M. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

of which the Tranſports were faſtened, that they might be towed along. Then the latter inſtantly cut off the Cables that faſtened them, and fought with a great deal of Bravery. So that there were then in a manner three Sea-Engagements at the ſame time, and at ſome Diſtance from each other. The Attack was long continued on all ſides, without any great Advantage on either. Till at length *Hamilcar*, who fought in the middle Squadron, was firſt obliged to leave off. Being vigorouſly preſſed by the *Conſuls*, and the two Squadrons which followed them, he fled, and recovered the Port. Thus the Victory began to declare itſelf for thoſe, who had begun the Battel, with an attack, which was rather fortunate, than prudent. After it was over, the *Conſul Manlius* made it his Buſineſs to gather together the Ships which had been taken from the Enemy, and faſten them to his own: whilſt *Regulus* fell upon *Hanno*, who preſſed hard upon the *Triarii* of the Rear-guard of the *Romans*, which was already broken. But, at ſight of the *Conſul*, the *Triarii* recovered their Courage, and *Hanno*'s Squadron loſt theirs. It was attacked by the *Triarii* in Front, and by *Regulus* in the Rear. The *Carthaginians* were in imminent Danger, and their Defeat ſeemed certain; but the Lightneſs of their Ships ſaved them. By the help of their Sails and Oars, they diſengaged themſelves, and drove out into the main Sea with ſuch Expedition, that they were ſoon out of ſight. The only remaining Combatants on the *Roman* ſide, was now their third Squadron, which was ſtill fighting with one of the Squadrons of the *Carthaginian* Fleet; and being worſe treated even than the *Triarii*, and driven near the Shore, it was in danger of running a-ground. But *Manlius* came very ſeaſonably to its Relief; and *Regulus* himſelf, after he had ſecured the *Triarii* and the Tranſports, rowed up to him, to ſhare this laſt Victory with him. Then the unfortunate remains of the *Carthaginian* Fleet was immediately ſurrounded on all ſides, and taken as it were in a Net. In ſhort, this whole Squadron was entirely defeated: and the *Romans* took fifty Gallies of it, with all their Rigging and Crews. Only a ſmall Number of them eſcaped, by the help of the Coaſt, where the Water was deep enough to afford them a Paſſage. Such was the Battel of *Heraclea*, which will never be forgotten, as long as any Monuments of old *Rome* ſhall remain. *Hamilcar* occaſioned the Loſs of it by his flight. The *Conſuls* gained it by an exceſs of Bravery, and good Fortune. In the whole Action, *Rome* loſt but four and twenty Gallies, which were all ſunk; the Enemy did not take one. The *Carthaginians* had thirty ſunk, and ſixty four taken.

Orofius B. 4. *c.* 8. and *Polybius B.* 1. *c.* 28.

§. II. THIS complete Victory removed all Obſtacles in the Way, of their making a Deſcent in *Lybia*; and the *Conſuls* therefore prepared for one. They returned into the Ports of *Sicily*, took in freſh Proviſions, and embarked new Troops. But during their ſtay here, *Hamilcar* thought to have amuſed them, with Conferences about a Peace. His Deſign was to prolong the Departure of the victorious Fleet, till ſuch time as he could get new Succours from *Carthage*, in order to venture a ſecond Battel. Nay, *Hanno* had the Boldneſs to come to the *Roman* Generals, upon a pretended Deputation from his Republick. Had he then forgotten *Hannibal*'s Treachery, who, five Years before, had perſuaded the *Conſul*, *Cornelius Arvina*, to come on board him, under pretence of an Interview, and had carried him in Irons to *Carthage*? If he did not remember this, the *Romans* did; and as ſoon as *Hanno* was come to the *Conſuls*, the Multitude cried out, *We ought to make Repriſals, and treat a* Carthaginian *General, as the* Carthaginians *treated a* Roman Conſul. But tho' theſe Clamours alarmed *Hanno*, they did not diſcompoſe him. He, with an Air of great Confidence, made this artful flattering Reply; *What Advantage will it be to you* Romans, *to be as perfidious as we were? It will then be ſaid, that* Rome *has produced as bad Men, as* Carthage. And this artful Speech ſtruck the *Conſuls*. They piqued themſelves upon their Honour, and ſuffered the Deputy to return to his Army. *It is for the perfidious* Carthaginians, ſaid they, *to violate the Laws of Nations. But it becomes the Probity of* Romans, *to obſerve them, even with Traitors.* As for a Peace, neither Party had any great Deſires to conclude one. *Hanno* did not much inſiſt on a Treaty; and the *Conſuls* haſtened their Departure. But before they had finiſhed their Embarkation, *Hanno* carried the News of their ſpeedy coming, to *Carthage*. This gave a general Alarm, to all the Coaſts of *Lybia*; and People in vain hoped, that *Hamilcar* would make a freſh Attempt to keep off the *Conſuls*, with the reſt of his Fleet. He continued unactive in *Heraclea*.

Zonaras B. 8. *c.* 12. and *Polyb. B.* 1. *c.* 29.

BUT there were ſome fearful Perſons among the *Roman* Troops, who were more af-

frighte

frighted at the bare Name of *Africa*, than at the ſight of an Enemy. *The* Conſuls, ſaid they, *are going to carry us to a Country of Monſters. We are not going to fight with Men, but frightful Serpents and Crocodiles.* And theſe Diſcourſes, in the Port, filled the Minds of the Soldiers with Terror. However, *Regulus* was not a Man, to ſuffer theſe ſeditious Murmurs to eſcape unpuniſhed; which had already made an Impreſſion on a *Legionary Tribune*, named *Manius.* He refuſed to embark, and diſobeyed the *Conſul*'s Orders: But a greater Fear in him got the better of a leſs. He was threatened with the Rods and Axes of the *Lictors*; and this made him more afraid of preſent Death, than of his own chimerical Monſters.

Year of ROME CCCCXCVII. L. MANLIUS VULSO, M. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls. *Polyb. B.* 1 *c.* 29.

THE Weather being favourable, the *Conſuls* put out to Sea; and had a moſt fortunate Paſſage. The firſt Land in *Africa* they ſet their Eyes on, was Cape *Hermæa:* and there the Fleet lay at Anchor for ſome time, waiting till all the *Roman* Gallies came up. From thence they coaſted along, till they came before *Clypea*, a City on the Eaſt of *Carthage*, at a little Diſtance from Cape *Hermæa* [3], and there they made their firſt Deſcent in *Africa.* They ſummoned *Clypea* [4] to ſurrender, which was a very advantageous Poſt, for a Magazine for Arms; and there were near it ſeveral Ports, which lay very conveniently for ſheltering the Ships, which ſhould come from *Italy.* In a Neck of this Coaſt, the *Romans* laid up their Fleet, and defended this new Port, on the Land-ſide, with a Rampart, and large Ditch, to guard it againſt any Irruption of the *Africans.* And now the *Conſuls* were wholly bent, on laying Siege to a City, which would not ſubmit. Whether *Clypea* ſurrendered to the *Romans* by Capitulation, or was deſerted by its Inhabitants, the Hiſtorians are not agreed; but all affirm, the *Conſuls* made themſelves Maſters of it. This important Conqueſt ſpread inexpreſſible Terror in *Carthage*; though after all, the *Carthaginians* did not ſuffer ſo much as they had expected. They imagined, That the Fleet would ſail directly to *Carthage*, and That the *Romans* would make the Capital of *Africa*, their firſt Conqueſt. Being therefore a little recovered from their Fright, they made it their principal Buſineſs to increaſe the Number of their Troops, aſſemble them together from all Parts, and cover the Country round *Carthage.* The *Conſuls*, on the other hand, continued pretty quiet in their new Poſt, without advancing far up into the Country. Before they could do that, it was neceſſary they ſhould have freſh Orders from the Senate. So dependent were the *Conſuls* at that time, that all their Expeditions were pointed out to them, and nothing left to them, but the Execution. And they ſucceeded the better for it. No body of Men in the World, was more able to direct their Generals what Steps to take, than the *Roman* Senate. It almoſt wholly conſiſted of experienced Officers, who had formerly commanded Armies; and whoſe Ability ſupplied the Defects, which might ariſe from the Raſhneſs or Ignorance of the *Conſuls.* *Manlius* and *Regulus* therefore diſpatched a Courier to *Rome*, to give the Senate and People an Account of the Situation of their Affairs in *Africa*; and till the Meſſenger returned, they employed their Soldiers in fortifying *Clypea*, after the *Roman* manner. This was to be, for the future, the general *Rendezvous* of the *Italian* Fleets, and a Key to *Africa* for the *Romans.* However, the *Conſuls*, tho' very quiet, were not totally unactive. They ſuffered their Troops to make ſome Incurſions along the Coaſts; and they ravaged theſe fruitful Plains, where no Enemy had long appeared. What Booties did the Soldiers take out of thoſe fine Country-houſes, which the *Carthaginian* Lords had built upon the Sea-ſhore! How many Slaves did they carry away from their Maſters! It is pretended, and with ſome probability, that the *Conſul Cornelius Arvina*, who had been treacherouſly taken, was then delivered from his Captivity at *Carthage*, in order to be carried to *Rome.* He had been forced to drive a Plough; but the Republick ſoon reſtored him the *Conſular Faſces.* In ſhort, the *Romans* took from the *Carthaginians* above twenty thouſand Priſoners, whom they made Slaves: and whilſt the *Conſuls* were thus living at Diſcre-

Polyb. B. 1. *c.* 29.

3 See what we have ſaid of Cape *Hermæa*, or *The Promontory of Mercury*, *B.* 15. *p.* 125. of this *Vol. Note* 96. It is now called *Cape Bon*, or *Bona*, or *The Good Cape.*

4 This City, which the ancient *Greeks* call *Aſpis*, and the *Latins*, *Clypea*, or *Clupea*, was ſo called, becauſe it ſtood on an Hill, which was like a *Buckler.* *Strabo*, *B.* 17. and *Solinus*, *c.* 27. tell us, that the *Sicilians* founded it. The former ſays, it was built by *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Sicily*, whilſt he was making War with the *Carthaginians*; who ſoon after ſeized it. The old Geographers differ, as to the Situation of this City. Whatever *Pliny* may ſay to the contrary, it is certain, it did not ſtand on *The Promontory of Mercury.* *Polybius*, *Strabo*, and *Hirtius*, in the ſecond Chapter of his *African War*, place it beyond that Promontory, more towards the ſouthern Coaſt, which now belongs to the Kingdom of *Tunis.*

Year of ROME CCCCXCVII. L. Manlius Vulso, M. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls.

tion, in an Enemy's Country, the Meſſenger returned from *Rome*, with new Orders from the Senate. They commanded *Manlius* to return into *Italy*, and bring back the Fleet with him: And *Africa* was appointed to be *Regulus*'s Province, in which he was ordered to continue the War. Add to this, that the latter was empowered to keep as many Troops and Ships with him, as he thought proper for the Service of the Publick. But *Regulus*, as ſtrange as it may appear, was diſſatisfied with this new Appointment. Whether out of ſome ſecret Forebodings of the Misfortunes, which were preparing for him; or, as ſome maliciouſly ſuggeſted, becauſe he wanted to receive the Honours of a Triumph; whatever were his Motives, he was very deſirous of returning Home. At leaſt, he prayed to be recalled, upon a Pretence, which would now be thought a very trifling one; but which ſhews the Character and Manners of the *Romans*, in his time. He repreſented to the Senate, That the Farmer, who had taken the little piece of Ground of ſeven Acres, which he had in the *Pupinian* 5 *Tribe*, was dead; That he had hired a Man to take care of his Farm, in his room; That this Man had utterly neglected to manure it, and carried off his Cattle and Utenſils from the Eſtate; and laſtly, That his Preſence was therefore neceſſary, to work for the Subſiſtence of his Wife and Children. The Republick therefore had Regard to the Wants of his Family; and ordered, that *Marcia* his Wife, and his Children, ſhould be maintained at the Expence of the Publick. But as for *Regulus*, he was ordered to continue in *Africa*, and to command the Army there, with the Title of *Proconſul*, as ſoon as his *Conſulſhip* ſhould expire. *Manlius* his Collegue ſet out from *Clypea*, returned to *Rome* [6], and there 7 triumphed. An Honour, which doubtleſs was deſigned for *Regulus* alſo, after his Return; but his change of Fortune, procured him a much more laſting Glory, than a tranſient Proceſſion.

Val. Max. B. 4. c. 4. §. 6.

Fab. Triumph.

§. III. When *Manlius* left him, he embarked 27000 Priſoners, which had been taken in Fights at Sea, or on the Continent, on board his Fleet; and it is probable, that *Regulus* kept the reſt in his Troops. The Forces he kept for himſelf were 15000 *Legionaries*, 500 Horſe, and a much greater Number of Auxiliaries. All his Fleet conſiſted of but forty Sail. He ſoon changed his Title of *Conſul*, into that of *Proconſul*; for the Republick choſe *Ser. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, to be the new *Conſuls*; and they continued for ſome time unactive in *Italy*. The whole Attention of the Publick was fixed on *Regulus* only. Nothing was thought of, or talked of, but him. And indeed, this great Man carried on this Conqueſts with ſurpriſing Rapidity. *Carthage* was terrified at it; and choſe out three of her moſt famous Generals, to put a Stop to the Progreſs of this formidable Enemy. *Hamilcar* was brought from *Sicily*, who, notwithſtanding the laſt Defeat of the Fleet, ſtill preſerved ſome Reputation; and with him were joined *Boſtar* and *Aſdrubal*, two Men in Eſteem among the *African* Troops. Theſe Chiefs held a Council together, in which they reſolved to take the Field, and not to wait in their Cities for the Enemy any longer. *It is our own Inaction*, ſaid they, *which has occaſioned the Devaſtation of our Plains, and the taking of our Cities and Towns. We have left the* Romans *at Liberty to do any thing; and this has encouraged them to attempt every thing.* As ſoon as this Reſolution was taken, and the Deſign was put in execution, *Hamilcar* put himſelf at the Head of the Army he had brought from *Sicily*, which was exactly equal to that *Regulus* commanded. His Army conſiſted of 15000 Foot, and 500 Horſe. *Boſtar* and *Aſdrubal* commanded ſeparate Bodies, which were always ready to join their Captain-General. In the mean time, as *Regulus* was purſuing his Conqueſts, he arrived on the Banks of the *Bagrada* [8]. This River was then in the Territory of the *Carthaginians*, and emptied itſelf into the Sea, at a little Diſtance from their Capital. There *Regulus*, and his Army, had a Monſter to contend with; which the *Latin* Hiſtorians have taken great Pleaſure in deſcribing, in too lively Colours. They have all employed ſo much Art and Eloquence in the

Oroſ. B. 4. c. 8.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 30. Florus B. 2. Zonaras B. 8. c. 13; Oroſius; Florus; Val. Max. B. 1. c. 8, Extern. 19. Oroſius, B. 4. c. 8. A. Gel. B. 6. c. 3; Pliny B. 8. c. 14.

Year of ROME CCCCXCVIII. Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior, M. Æmilius Paulus, Conſuls.

5 *The Pupinian Tribe* lay in *Latium*, on this ſide the *Tyber*, not far from *Rome*, according to *Livy*, *B.* 26; and near *Tuſculum*, according to *Feſtus*.

6 *Oroſius* and *Eutropius* reckon up a conſiderable Number of *Carthaginian* Priſoners, which *Manlius* carried to *Rome*; and they ſay, he himſelf returned thither, enriched with the Booty, and valuable Spoils of the Enemy. According to *Florus*, the *Conſul*, *Marcus Attilius*, embarked all his Riches on a part of the Fleet, which entered triumphantly, into the Port of *Rome*.

7 Only the *Faſti Capitolini* mention this Triumph; the Ancients all paſs it over in Silence.

8 The River *Bagrada* is now called the *Megrada*, or *Magrida*.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVII. SIR FULVIUS PÆTITUS NOBILIOR, M. *Æ*MILIUS PAULUS, Conſuls.

Deſcription, every one in his own Way, that it is difficult to believe they have not exceeded Nature. They ſay, this Monſter was a Serpent, of an immenſe Bigneſs; which he infected the River, and made its Banks uninhabitable. He poiſoned the Air, and killed Animals with his Breath alone; and the *Romans*, who encamped on the *Bagrada*, found him to be a more formidable Enemy, than the *Carthaginians*. When they went to fetch Water, this frightful Dragon attacked them, twiſted himſelf round them, and ſometimes ſwallowed them whole, down his wide Throat. It was therefore neceſſary to diſpute the Poſſeſſion of the River with this furious Monſter, and to fight him in form. The *Romans* threw Showers of Darts at him, and attacked him with their Arrows. But his Skin was ſo hard, and his Scales ſo thick, that the *Romans* could not penetrate him with their Arms. So that it was neceſſary to make uſe of thoſe Machines againſt him, which the Ancients call *Baliſtæ*, and which were employed in Sieges, for throwing great Stones to beat down Walls. They ſupplied the Place of Cannon among the Ancients: And the Beaſt was therefore attacked like a ſtrong Citadel. Nay, it was a great while before the *Baliſtæ* could reach him; but at length, a great Stone fell ſo heavily upon his Body, that it broke his Back-bone. Then he could no longer make his Windings and Twiſtings without Pain; and being thereby become more acceſſible, he was at length ſubdued and killed; but the Stink of his Carcaſe amply revenged his Death. It corrupted the Air, and the Water of the River, and ſpread ſo great an Infection all over the Country, that the *Romans* were obliged to decamp. To which I will not add, with the ſame Emphaſis, which ſome Hiſtorians do, that the Goddeſs of *Africa* brought this frightful Monſter there, to drive back the *Romans*. This Story, which has more of Imagination than of Truth in it; has either been totally omitted, or very prudently qualified by many *Greek* Hiſtorians. If I may be allowed to gueſs what this Monſter was, I ſhall take it to be a Crocodile, a Water Animal, common enough in *Africa*. As the *Romans* had never yet ſeen any, and as he might beſides do ſome Damage to their Soldiers, they magnified the Figure and Fury of it in their Imaginations; and their Hiſtorians took their Deſcriptions from unfaithful Accounts of it. Nevertheleſs it is affirmed, That *Regulus* ſent the Skin of this frightful Beaſt to *Rome*, which was a hundred and twenty Foot long; That it was hung up in a Temple; and That it was preſerved there, to the time of the War of *Numantium*. And without denying this Fact, which is taken from a *Greek* Author, we may allow, That the Serpent was exceeding long, and at the ſame time not believe, that he did ſo much Miſchief in the *Roman* Army, as is pretended.

§. IV. *REGULUS* having conquered the Dragon, marched on further, in ſearch of Matter for more ſubſtantial Victories. He formed the Deſign of beſieging *Adis* 9, a City on the Continent, ſubject to the *Carthaginians*; and in his Way thither, pillaged Caſtles, overturned Villages, and ſpread Deſolation, wherever he came. At length the City of *Adis* was inveſted, and beſieged in form. But the *Proconſul* wanted *Galleries*, and *Mantelets*, to make his Approaches to it, and Machines to batter it; and whilſt the *Roman* Army was buſy about theſe laborious Works, the *Carthaginian* Army approached to relieve the Place. It came at length within reach of the *Roman*, and poſted itſelf on an Hill, which overlooked the Enemy's Camp. This Hill was uneven, and encumbered with Buſhes, and Points of Rocks: and by the Situation of the Place, on which the *Carthaginians* were encamped, *Regulus* judged, that they would be conquered upon the firſt Attack. Only the Infantry could act in ſuch uneven Ground; and that of the *Carthaginians* was as weak, as that of the *Romans* was brave and warlike. The whole Strength of the *Africans* conſiſted in their Elephants, which the Rocks and Buſhes would hinder from having any Share in the Battel. Theſe Conſiderations determined the *Proconſul* to give Battel, on the very Ground, on which *Hamilcar* was poſted. To this end, he marched directly to the Enemy's Camp, without giving them time to conſider the Diſadvantages of the Ground, on which they ſtood. The *Roman* Army was in full march before Day-break; was upon the Hill, before it was Light; and this Confidence ſurprized the *Carthaginians*. They were infinitely ſuperior in Number; but they found that their Elephants would only embarraſs them in the Action, and they began to doubt of the Succeſs of it. *Polybius B.* 1. *c.* 30.

9 The City of *Adis* is no longer in being; nor do we know its ancient Situation. It ſeems not to have been far from *Carthage*.

Beſides,

Year of ROME CCCCXCVIII. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR, M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Conſuls.

Beſides, as they had been ſurprized, great Numbers of their Men were in Bed, when the Charge was ſounded: and it ſeems plain, that the *Carthaginians* had not yet learnt the Art, of ſhutting themſelves up in good Entrenchments, in the Night. The *Romans* entered their Camp without Difficulty, killed thoſe whom they found aſleep, purſued thoſe that fled, and ſtrewed the Ground with a great Number of dead Bodies. But the Reſiſtance was greater on the ſide where the *Spaniſh* Mercenaries, and *Gauls*, had their Quarters. They behaved themſelves with more Bravery, than the native *Africans*. They defended themſelves with ſuch Vigour, that they put the firſt *Roman Legion* into Diſorder. It was repulſed, and retreating with Loſs, when *Regulus* ordered ſome *Manipuli* to attack the Enemy in the Rear. Then the broken *Legion* took Courage again, the Fugitives rallied under their Colours; and the brave Foreigners were ſurrounded on all ſides; but ſold their Lives very dear, and died Sword in Hand. After this, all the *Africans* which were left in the Camp, were in great haſte to get out of it. They took care to ſave all the Elephants they could, and drove them as faſt as they would go, when they had once got them down into the Plain. The *Romans* being tired with following them, returned to the Enemy's Camp to plunder it: and how much this Battel weakened the *Carthaginians*, is not to be expreſſed. Seventeen thouſand of their Men were killed, five thouſand made Priſoners of War, and eighteen Elephants taken.

Zonaras B. 8. c. 13. and Polyb. c. 30.

Orſius B. 4. c. 8. Eutrop. B. 2.

THEN the Terror of the *Roman* Arms, ſpread far into *Africa*. Both from the neighbouring Provinces, and diſtant Regions, the People came in Crouds to make their Submiſſion to the Conquerors. Fourſcore Cities ſurrendered to the *Proconſul* in a few Days; and among the reſt, the Town and Port of *Utica* were delivered up with its Caſtle and Port. This increaſed the Alarm in *Carthage*, which is ſaid to have been reduced to deſpair, when *Regulus* laid Siege to *Tunis*. This great City was but about nine Miles from the Capital; and it being ſituated in a Plain, all the Operations of the Siege could be ſeen from the Walls of *Carthage*. However, the Place was taken in ſight of the *Carthaginians*, who had neither Courage, nor Strength enough, to relieve it. And to complete their Misfortunes, the *Numidians*, their eternal Enemies, and neareſt Neighbours, took up Arms againſt them, entered their Provinces, and deſtroyed all with Fire and Sword. The *Numidians* were more cruel than the *Romans*; their Fury had no Bounds. They laid the Fields waſte, and forced the Peaſants to fly to the Capital for Refuge. And then as fertile as the Country was, and as many Magazines as there were in *Carthage*, ſo many Mouths ſoon conſumed the Proviſions there. What remained was carefully concealed, and hid by the Owners. In a City full of ſelfiſh Merchants, every one took Advantage of the publick Diſtreſs, and ſold his Proviſions at an exceſſive Price. So that Famine, and the Evils that attend it, were additional Misfortunes to *Carthage*. The *Romans* were ſet down before her Gates; but *Regulus* did no more there, than *Hannibal* afterwards did, before *Rome*.

§. V. IN this Extremity, to which the *Carthaginians* were reduced, they received the Deputies ſent to them by the *Proconſul* to treat of a Peace, with Joy. It may ſeem ſtrange, that *Regulus* ſhould have ſo much Indulgence for a Republick, which rivalled his own, at a time, when one ſingle Stroke more would, in all Probability, have ſubdued her; and it muſt be granted, that though the *Proconſul* loved his Country, he alſo loved Reputation and Glory. He conſidered, That his *Proconſulſhip* was ready to expire; That, at the end of the Year, *Rome* would, according to her Laws, appoint him a Succeſſor; That this new General, whoever he was, would rob him of the Glory of a Conqueſt, the beginnings of which, had coſt him a great deal of Labour and Fatigue; and That at *Rome*, thoſe who put the laſt Hand to great Enterpriſes, were much more regarded, than thoſe who had happily begun them. Beſides, if his Army had been numerous enough to have attempted the Reduction of *Carthage*, he would not have once heſitated, about finiſhing his Expedition, with ſo fine a Conqueſt. But the Caſe being otherwiſe, he reſolved to conclude the War, to his own Glory, and the Benefit of his Republick, by ſo advantageous a Peace, as ſhould ever be an Honour to his Memory. With theſe Views, he purpoſed to ſpend the reſt of the Campaign in Negotiations. The Deputies he ſent to *Carthage*, propoſed the moſt hard Conditions to the Senate; and that not by way of asking more than he intended to inſiſt upon. *Regulus* was determined to abate nothing. They demanded, *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould relinquiſh all claims to* Sardinia *and* Sicily; *That*

Zonaras B. 8. c. 13.

Year of ROME CCCCXCVIII.
SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR, M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Conſuls.

they ſhould reſtore the Romans *all the Priſoners they had taken from them ever ſince the beginning of the War, without Ranſom; That if they would redeem any of their own Priſoners, they ſhould pay ſo much* per *Head for them; That they ſhould pay* Rome *all the Expences of the War; and laſtly, That they ſhould for ever pay the* Romans *an annual Tribute.* Theſe Conditions, the *African* Republick thought intolerable; as much reduced as ſhe was, ſhe preferred a forced Slavery, to a voluntary one; and the Indignation of the Senators increaſed, upon the Deputies adding two new Articles, which, as they pretended, were only Conſequences of the principal one. 1. *That the* Carthaginians *ſhould for the future never fit out more than one Ship of War for their own Uſe.* 2. *That, if required by any future* Conſuls, *they ſhould equip fifty* Triremes, *at their own Expence, to ſerve in the* Roman *Fleets.* Theſe extravagant Demands provoked the Senators. They loudly and unanimouſly rejected them, and inſiſted on ſome Mitigations. But the Deputies had Orders to abate nothing. So that when they went out of the Aſſembly, they plainly told the Senate, *They muſt either conquer the* Romans, *or obey them:* and after this formal Declaration, the *Carthaginians* had nothing to do but to die with Honour. But they ſoon found by Experience, that Heaven is often pleaſed to humble the Pride of Conquerors, who have no Pity. Before ſhe treated with *Regulus*, the *Carthaginian* Republick had taken the Precaution to ſend to *Greece* to hire Mercenaries, to ſupply the Place of thoſe brave *Gauls* and *Spaniards*, which ſhe had loſt before *Adis:* and this Reinforcement arrived, when moſt wanted. With the Fleet which brought theſe Succours, there came a *Lacedæmonian* of great perſonal Bravery, and who was a much better Soldier, than he had ever yet ſhewn himſelf to be. His Name was *Xanthippus*; and as he was much lower of Stature, than Men uſually are, this diſadvantageous Figure did not promiſe ſo much Valour and Wit, as Nature had given him. *Xanthippus* had ſtudied the Theory of the Art of War from his Youth; and by Experience in Armies, had perfected what Knowledge he had acquired of it, by Reading and Meditation. Nevertheleſs we don't find that this Great Man had any conſiderable Poſt in the Troops of his own Country. He was one of thoſe Subalterns, who are often more able Soldiers than their Generals, and want only an Opportunity to ſhew themſelves. His Diſcourſes made him known to the *Carthaginians*. After he had informed himſelf of the Particulars of the Battels in which they had failed, he immediately ſaw what Miſconduct had occaſioned their Misfortunes; and ſaid to them, *You have not ſo much been conquered by the* Romans, *as by your ſelves. You have not been made a Prey to your Enemies, by the Ability of the* Proconſul, *but by your own Inſufficiency.* Theſe Words made an Impreſſion on the People, and being reported to the Senators, they were curious to know the Man who ſpoke them. *Xanthippus* was therefore introduced into their Aſſembly, and there ſpoke ſo judiciouſly, and ſo clearly explained the Cauſes of the preſent Calamities of the Republick, that all confeſſed his profound Knowledge in the Art of War. Even the Generals of the Armies, *Hamilcar*, *Boſtar*, and *Aſdrubal*, commended the able *Lacedæmonian*. *You have not had any Regard to your own Advantages*, ſaid he to them, *either in your Marches, your Encampments, or the Places on which you have choſen to give Battel. You poſted your ſelves and engaged upon hilly Ground, and thereby leſſened the Strength of your own Armies. If you will truſt to me, I dare promiſe to ſecure your Cities, and procure you a certain Victory.* All conceived great Hopes from theſe Promiſes; and the *Carthaginian* Generals themſelves reſigned their Commands to him, which was confirmed by a Decree of the Senate. *Xanthippus* applied himſelf firſt to diſcipline the *Carthaginian* Troops. He exerciſed them every Day; taught them to obey the Word of Command; and inſtructed them how to move. The *Africans* were capable of Diſcipline; they only wanted a Maſter to inſtruct them. They ſoon learnt to cloſe and widen their Ranks, and to rally under their proper Colours; and then theſe Troops thought themſelves invincible, and their Confidence gave their new Commander ſome hopes of Victory. The old Generals were for taking the Field without delay; and when they exhorted their Soldiers, they encouraged them to fear nothing under the Command of the new Generaliſſimo. The *Carthaginian* Army conſiſted of 12000 Foot, 4000 Horſe, and about 100 Elephants. The *Romans* were ſurprized to ſee ſo ſudden an Alteration in their Marches, and Encampments. They did every thing by Rule; their Motions were regular; and their Camps guarded. But nevertheleſs, *Regulus* was not the leſs haughty, or the leſs enterpriſing. He now diſco-

Diod. Sicul. in Eclog.

Silius. Stat. B. 6.

Polybius B. 1. c. 32.

Zonaras B. 8. c. 13.

Polybius B. 1. c. 32.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVIII. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR, M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Conſuls.

diſcovered as much Audacioufneſs, and even Inſolence, in his Proſperity, as we ſhall ſee him ſhew Temper and Moderation in his Adverſity. He looked on *Xanthippus* as a contemptible *Greek*, a mere Adventurer, of no Character or Reſolution, whoſe Experience reached no farther, than to ſome trifling Obſervations on Diſcipline. And being puffed up with his Succeſs, the *Proconſul* wrote to *Rome* about him, giving much the ſame Account of him, and enumerating his own Exploits, and Victories. *After having firſt conquered at Sea, I carried the War into* Africa, ſaid he to the Senate, *which no* Roman *ever did before me. My Conqueſts there, are almoſt as numerous as the Cities* [10], Carthage *formerly had under her Dominion. The Capital itſelf is ready to be ſubdued; I am now ſet down before the Gates of it. The Vanquiſhed in vain endeavour to obtain a Peace on tolerable Conditions. Either they ſhall be reduced to Slavery by the Terms I have propoſed to them; or your Troops ſhall complete their Deſtruction.* But the Succeſs did not anſwer the Confidence of the *Roman*, which proved his Ruin.

§. VI. THIS *Greek*, this deſpiſed *Xanthippus*, made a good Appearance, in ſight of the *Roman* Army. He did not encamp on Eminences, but on the vaſt Plains, which lay on the Sea-ſhore. His Elephants had room enough there to extend themſelves, and his Cavalry, which was much ſuperior to that of the *Romans*, could make their Revolutions freely. *Regulus* plainly ſaw, that the new General took his Advantages with more Caution, than his Predeceſſors: but he could not perſuade himſelf, that he could in an Action, equal the Experience of a victorious *Roman*, and the Valour of an Infantry hitherto invincible. He therefore not only marched down into the Plain, but boldly paſſed a River, which ran between his Army, and the Enemy's Camp; and as if he had been ſure of Conqueſt, left his Troops no Way to retreat, in caſe of a Repulſe. This was exactly what *Xanthippus* expected: And as ſoon as he ſaw the *Proconſul* in his Snares, the *Lacedemonian* cried out; *The Gods favour me*; Regulus *himſelf is come to give me an Opportunity of performing my Promiſes:* and he immediately marched out his Troops to draw them up, in order of Battel. The *Roman* Army had halted about 1200 Paces from the Enemy's Camp. It was fatigued with its long March, and did not come up with the *Carthaginians*, till near Sun-ſet. The Circumſtances of Time, Place, and the Fatigue of the *Romans*, all favoured *Xanthippus*. As the Action probably could not end till it was dark, the *Carthaginians*, who were acquainted with the Roads, could eaſily eſcape, by the help of the Night, in caſe of any ill Succeſs. But if Fortune favoured them, it was difficult for the *Romans* to recover their Camp, and make a regular Retreat. Theſe Conſiderations made the *Lacedæmonian* exceedingly rejoice; his Joy was painted upon his Face, and his Confidence communicated itſelf to his Troops. They unanimouſly made the Air ring with the Name of *Xanthippus*, and with an unuſual Chearfulneſs, deſired him to lead them on to the Enemy. He drew up his Army in this manner. In the firſt Line, he placed his Dart-men, with Orders to retire into the Spaces between the Battalions, as ſoon as they had made their Diſcharge. Behind them, but at ſome Diſtance from them, were placed the Elephants, in a long Front, carrying wooden Towers, full of Soldiers. Behind them was the *Carthaginian Phalanx*, conſiſting of the beſt Infantry in the Army; and theſe were the main Body. As for the Wings, *Xanthippus* had poſted his light-armed Troops in the left, and the Mercenaries in the right. Theſe two Wings were both ſupported by the *African* Cavalry, which had full room to act and ſpread themſelves in this vaſt Plain; and *Xanthippus* had, like an able General, taken Advantage of the Ground, and extended his Troops.

Appianus in Punicis.

Frontin. B. 2. c. 8. and Polyb. B. 1. c. 33.

REGULUS, on the other hand, drew up his Troops after the *Roman* manner; but was guilty of a great Fault. He made his main Body too narrow, and two deep, which expoſed it to the Danger of being ſurrounded. He foreſaw, that the Enemy's Elephants would be placed in the firſt Line, and therefore poſted his Slingers, Dart-men, and all the light-armed Soldiers he had, to oppoſe them. The *Roman* Horſe were poſted in the Wings. By making his main Body ſo ſtrong, he indeed guarded againſt the Elephants breaking in upon them; but he did not foreſee, that the *African* Cavalry might come and attack his Infantry in Flank, and thereby harraſs them exceedingly, during the Action. *Xanthippus* began the Attack. He ordered the Maſters of the Elephants to advance with them againſt the Enemy's firſt Line. Then

10 *Oroſius* tell us, That *Regulus* took no leſs than three hundred Caſtles, or ſtrong Places, from the *Carthaginians*; and That he brought eighty two Cities into Subjection to the *Romans*. But *Eutropius* makes the latter to have been no more than ſeventy three.

the *Romans* moved forwards, and came to meet theſe Animals. At the ſame time the *Roman* Cavalry charged the *Carthaginian*, which was infinitely ſuperior in Number: So that the former were overpowered, put into Diſorder, and forced to fly. An unfortunate Prelude, which determined the Fate of the Battel. In the mean time, *Regulus*'s left Wing fell upon the Mercenaries, which *Xanthippus* had poſted in his right; and not only avoided being broken by the Elephants, but routed the Foreigners in the *Carthaginian* Army, who being hotly purſued, retired in Diſorder to their Camp. But this was not the Caſe with the main Body, which *Regulus* commanded in Perſon. It was broken by the Elephants, which penetrated into it, and with their heavy Bodies, bore down every thing that oppoſed them. The firſt Lines of the *Romans* were trodden under Foot by theſe monſtrous Animals, whoſe Fury made every thing give Way. Nevertheleſs, the main Body was ſo thick, and ſo deep, and the Ranks ſo well cloſed, that the laſt Lines were not yet diſordered. They ſtill reſiſted; and ſome *Manipuli*, which eſcaped between the Elephants, maintained their Ground againſt the Enemy. Till at length, the *African* Horſe ſurrounded them, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Thoſe who fled, were eaſily overtaken by the Elephants, and Horſemen, and fared no better than thoſe, who loſt their Lives in the Battel. Of all the *Roman* Army, only thoſe two thouſand Men, who ſo furiouſly purſued the Mercenaries, eſcaped; and they arrived ſafe at *Clypea*, after many Fatigues, and Dangers. As for *Regulus*, he did not diſhonour himſelf by a ſhameful Flight; but being guarded by five hundred Men, who kept conſtantly about him, he was inveſted, and taken on the Field of Battel, with his Company. An Accident never before heard of, ſince the Foundation of *Rome*, that a *Roman* General ſhould be taken alive, in Battel, by the Enemy! *Regulus* followed his Conquerors to *Carthage*, after he had loſt about thirty thouſand Men in the Action; whereas, the Hiſtorians ſay, that the Loſs of the *Carthaginians* was ſcarce above eight hundred of thoſe foreign Mercenaries, in their right Wing, who had been routed.

Year of ROME CCCCXCVIII. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR, M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Conſuls. *Frontin. B. 2. c. 1.*

Polybius B. 1. c. 34.

Florus, B. 2.

THE victorious Army returned to the Capital of *Africa*, and *Xanthippus* entered it, as it were in Triumph. The Applauſes of the People were proportionable to their Gratitude: in theſe firſt Tranſports of Joy, they could not contain themſelves. All the People in *Carthage* ran to meet the Conqueror, and could ſcarce believe their own Eyes. The greater their Conſternation and Deſpair had been, the more exulting was their Joy now. A few Hours before, they had been in dread of ſeeing their Temples, Houſes, and City demoliſhed: And they were now delivered from all theſe Apprehenſions, by a Foreigner. They looked ſometimes on *Xanthippus*, and ſometimes on *Regulus*. The one appeared like ſome Genius, ſent by the Gods, to reſcue a miſerable People from Oppreſſion. The other, under this Cloud, renewed the Remembrance of his paſt Victories: And the Compariſon they made of the two Commanders, turned much to the Honour of the *Lacedæmonian*. *The one*, ſaid they, *was the Scourge of* Africa, *and the Terror of* Carthage. *The other has only ſhewed himſelf yet. One ſingle Battel has raiſed him above the Conqueror of our Provinces. A* Roman Proconſul, *is become the Slave of a Soldier of Fortune. How great a Man is* Xanthippus, *who can ſubdue the moſt famous Conquerors!* Praiſes, which were the Expreſſions of the real Sentiments of the People of *Carthage*; but they, in the end, proved fatal to their Deliverer. The *Carthaginian* Generals could not hear them without Pain. They thought this was robbing them of as much Applauſe, as was given to a Foreigner. Their Love for their Country, had made them conſent to place *Xanthippus* at the Head of the Troops, in a time of imminent Danger; but as ſoon as that was paſt, Self-love recovered its Aſcendant, and Jealouſy prevailed over Gratitude. The *Greek* had too much Penetration not to ſee into the ſecret Plots of thoſe that envied him; and too much Wiſdom, to expoſe himſelf long to the Treachery of the *Carthaginians*. He gave Way to the Stream, which was ready to overflow; and content with the Glory, which ſo fine an Action brought with it, and without expecting any other Reward, reſolved to return to *Lacedæmon*. *Here*, ſaid he to himſelf, *my Hopes are uncertain, and the Dangers I run are ſure*. So that being a ſagacious Politician, as well as prudent Commander, he thought to have avoided the Storm which threatened him, by flight. But he found that Envy will go far in the Purſuit of thoſe who ſeek to eſcape it. His Adventure is differently told, but every Way to the Shame of the *Carthaginians*. Some ſay, that thoſe who were jealous of his Glory, embarked ſome Aſſaſſins in the ſame Ship with him, who threw him

Diod. Sic. in Edog.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 36.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 13. Appian. in Punicis.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVIII. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR, M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Conſuls.

him into the *Sea*, and drowned him. Others affirm, that an old Ship, which leeked in all Parts, was got ready for him, and pretended to be a new one, after it had been a little calked: And they add, that the artful *Greek* foreſeeing the malicious Deſigns of his Enemies, went on board another Galley. But which Account ſoever be the right, neither *Xanthippus*'s Victory, nor the Ingratitude of the *Carthaginians*, will ever be forgotten.

IN the mean time, *Regulus* endured the Hardſhips of the ſevereſt Captivity. Though his Companions in his Misfortunes were treated with ſome Humanity at *Carthage*, no manner of Regard was ſhewn to a General, who had been ſo much dreaded. The Senate remembred the hard Terms he had required of them, as the only Conditions of a Peace. The People were enraged at the Sight of him, who had laid their Lands waſte, and plundered them; and therefore treated him with all the Cruelty, that Revenge could inſpire them with. They gave him Food, only to increaſe his Miſeries, by prolonging his Life. They ſhewed him as a Sight, to the meaneſt of the Populace, who inſulted him. To prevent his taking any reſt, they always kept a furious Elephant by him, which threatened him with his Trunk, and kept him awake with his Cries. And after *Regulus* had long been made the Sport of the Multitude, he was ſhut up in a publick Priſon. All this ill Treatment thereſore increaſed his Hatred for the *Carthaginians*; but did not at all abate that *Roman* Pride, which was then honoured with the Names of Conſtancy, and Magnanimity.

§. VII. As for *Rome*, the Defeat and Impriſonment of *Regulus*, cauſed as much Grief there, as Joy in *Carthage*. But the *Romans* were no farther fearful, than to take prudent Precautions. They feared the *Carthaginians*, elated with their Succeſs, would come and fall upon *Italy*, and return upon *Rome* the Devaſtations which the *Proconſul* had committed in their Country. To prevent this, they ordered the two *Conſuls* for the Year, *Servius Fulvius*, and *M. Æmilius Paulus*, to watch the Coaſts of *Italy*, to place good Garriſons in all the Sea-port Towns, to go over into *Sicily* with a Fleet, and from thence, if they judged proper, to ſail to *Africa*, to ſave the Remains of *Regulus*'s Army, and Conqueſts; and laſtly, to keep the Enemy employed in the Defence of their own Country. But their Fears about *Italy* were vain. The *Carthaginians* choſe rather to recover the Cities which had been taken from them; and wholly applying themſelves to it, they eaſily recovered the Towns on the Frontiers of *Numidia*, which had revolted from them; but did not find it ſo eaſy, to regain thoſe on the Sea-ſhore. They beſieged *Clypea* in vain. The *Romans* defended it with ſo much Courage, that they forced the Beſiegers to retire. From thence they turned their Arms againſt *Utica*, and inveſted it; but the News which was brought from *Italy*, forced them to put a Stop to the Siege which they had begun. It was reported in *Africa*, that the *Roman Conſuls* were equipping a Fleet of 350 Gallies; and indeed, this formidable Armament was ready, before the end of the Summer. *Carthage* therefore was wholly taken up with refitting her old Gallies, and building new ones. The whole Army, which had ſate down before *Utica*, was employed in this new Work. The main Point of the *Carthaginians* was, to defend their Coaſts, and hinder the *Romans* from landing.

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 36.

IN the mean time the *Conſuls* weighed Anchor, paſſed the *Streights*, and landed in *Sicily*. All was quiet there, and the Alarm, which the Rout of *Regulus* in *Africa*, had given the *Sicilians*, had not at all diminiſhed their Fidelity. The *Romans* therefore left ſome Land-Forces in *Sicily*, to defend it, and immediately ſailed for *Africa*. A great Storm drove them upon the Iſland of *Coſſura* [11], which is not above thirty Miles round. But as there were then in it a convenient Port, and a pretty large City, which was ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, the *Conſuls* detached ſome Troops to ſeize the Port, and the Town, and laid the whole Iſland waſte. The Weather growing more mild, the *Conſuls* ſet ſail again, and appeared off Cape *Hermæa*, where

Zonaras, B. 8. *c.* 14.

11 The little Iſland of *Coſſura*, or *Coſſyra*, is ſo near *Sicily*, that *Scylax* reckoned it to be but one Day's ſail, from thence to *The Promontory of Lilybæum*. But *Ptolomy* reckons it among the Iſlands, which belonged to *Africa*, as he does *Malta*, which lies 130 Miles North of *Africa*. *Coſſura* is generally reckoned to be 15000 geometrical Paces in Circumference; and it is now known by the Name of *Pantalearia*. The Ancients call it *Coſyrus*, and *Coſyra*; and this Difference of the Names cauſed the Miſtake of *Stephen of Byzantium*, or his Abridger. One, or t'other, thought, that theſe two were the Names of two different Iſlands; *Coſyrus*, of one which belonged to *Sicily*; and *Coſyra*, of one which belonged to *Africa*.

they found the *Carthaginian* Gallies ready to receive them. They were drawn up in Line of Battel, reſolving to hinder the *Romans* from landing. Cape *Hermæa* was at an equal Diſtance from *Carthage* to the Weſt, and from *Clypea* to the Eaſt; and the Battel was no ſooner begun, but the *Romans* in *Clypea* ſent their forty Ships to aſſiſt the *Conſular* Fleet. With this Reinforcement therefore, the *Conſuls* made every thing fly before them; and the Loſs the *Carthaginians* ſuſtained, was much greater, than the Advantage they had gained over *Regulus*. An hundred and four of their Ships were ſunk; thirty taken; and fifteen thouſand of their Soldiers, or Rowers, killed in the Action. Whereas, the *Romans* had only nine Gallies ſunk, and no more than 1100 Men killed. But ſtill this fine Victory did not recover them their *Regulus*: and a General of theirs in Chains, was ſuch a Reproach, as they could ſcarce bear. Nothing now retarded the Conquerors; they landed near *Clypea*, and encamped there. And whilſt they were recovering their Fatigues at Sea, and thoſe of the Battel, the *Carthaginians* were in haſte to come and attack them in their Camp. But *Xanthippus* was no longer at the Head of them. The two *Hanno*'s, Father and Son, commanded the *Carthaginian* Land-Forces; and notwithſtanding the new Diſcipline, the *Greek* had taught them, they were not able to withſtand the Valour of the *Romans*. They were routed, and loſt nine thouſand Men. And what grieved them moſt, was the Loſs of a good Number of their chief Lords, whom the *Romans* made Priſoners of War, and carefully kept in order to exchange them for *Regulus*. Some pretend indeed, that the *Romans* did not yet underſtand how to make War, and mention their Overthrow by *Xanthippus*, as a Proof of it. The *Greeks*, ſay they, were vaſtly ſuperior to them. As if the ſingle Misfortune, or Miſconduct of one of their Generals, was ſufficient to determine it. Whereas, they had ſufficiently ſhewn, in their Wars with *Pyrrhus*, that even the Diſciples and Imitators of *Alexander*, could not withſtand the Valour of the *Roman* Troops, and the Skill of their Generals.

Year of ROME CCCCXCVIII. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR, M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Conſuls.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 14.

AFTER theſe two ſignal Victories, the *Conſuls* deliberated, whether they ſhould carry on their *African* Expedition any farther, or drop it. Every thing inclined them to purſue the vaſt Deſigns of *Regulus*, except one ſingle Conſideration. This fruitful Coaſt had been ſo much laid waſte, that the *Carthaginians* themſelves were in want, and could no longer ſubſiſt upon it. How then ſhould foreign Troops be ſupported in a ruined Country? or whence could Proviſions be brought them? Every Corn-veſſel, beſides the Dangers of the Sea, would be liable to be taken by the Enemy. And a Reſolution was therefore taken, to quit *Clypea* and *Utica*, and carry all the *Romans* out of *Africa*. They were embarked on the victorious Fleet, which ſailed for *Sicily*; and ſo far they had a good Voyage: But *Fortune* has her Humours. The *Conſuls* were too greedy of Conqueſt, and too imprudent, to avoid a Bait which tempted them. Many of the maritime Cities, on the northern Coaſt of *Sicily*, ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*. To appear before them with a Fleet, and a formidable Army, at the ſame time, ſeemed to be enough to make them immediately ſubmit; and this had been a good Project, if the Year had not been ſo far advanced. But the *Conſuls* had begun their Campaign late; and the Seaſon was now dangerous for ſailing. Nevertheleſs, the Pilots in vain repreſented to theſe Conquerors, That they were too intent upon Expeditions, which might as well be poſtponed; That from the time of the riſing of *Orion* [12], to that of *The Dog-ſtar*, Ships could not live

12 In order to underſtand what part of the Year *Polybius* means, by the time between the riſing of *Orion*, and that of *The Dog-ſtar*, it muſt be obſerved, that the riſing and ſetting of the Stars, are to be conſidered, either with reſpect to the Horizon, or to the Sun's Motion in our Hemiſphere. With regard to our Horizon, the Stars riſe and ſet every Day; that is, they every Day riſe above, and ſink below, the Horizon, as they move with the whole Firmament. But it is certain, that when *Polybius* ſpeaks of the riſing of *Orion*, and of *The Dog-ſtar*, he did not allude to this daily Motion, which is from Eaſt to Weſt. If he did, his Words would be Nonſenſe; and every Day would foretell Tempeſts, ſince *Orion* and *The Dog-ſtar* riſe, and ſet every Day, in this Senſe. We muſt therefore explain the riſing and ſetting of *Orion*, and *The Dog-ſtar*, by their Diſtance from, or Approaches to, the Sun. And in order to do this, which was what *Polybius* had in view, we muſt diſtinguiſh three ſorts of Riſings, and Settings, of the Stars. The *Coſmical*, *Acronical*, and *Heliacal*. The *Coſmical* riſing and ſetting of a Star, is, when it riſes with the Sun. By the *Acronical* riſing of a Star, is meant, its riſing above the Horizon, when the Sun ſets; and the *Acronical* ſetting of a Star is, when it diſappears at the ſame time the Sun riſes. The *Heliacal* riſing of a Star, is its Appearance immediately after it is emerged out of the Rays of the Sun; the *Heliacal* ſetting, is its Immerſion into, or Conjunction with, the Sun. Being then, as it were, ſwallowed up and drowned in the Rays of the Sun, it diſappears. This being ſuppoſed, it is certain, that *Polybius* can only be underſtood of the time between

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCVIII. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR, M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, Conſuls.

live in the *African* Sea; and That it was therefore neceſſary to ſeize the firſt Interval of fine Weather, for their return. The *Conſuls* were earneſt to ſignalize the remaining part of their Year by Conqueſts, which would do them Honour; and their Delay in returning Home, did the Republick more Prejudice, than the moſt important Conqueſts could have done her Service. At the Time foretold, a Storm aroſe, which was as violent as any which had been known, within the Memory of Man: and the Fleet was ſo ſhattered with the Waves and Winds, that it may be ſaid to have been entirely deſtroyed. How great therefore muſt have been the Misfortune! how immenſe the Loſs! Beſides their own Crews, theſe Ships had a great Army of Land-Forces on board. Almoſt all the Riches of *Africa*, which *Regulus* had amaſſed together, had been depoſited in *Clypea*, and were now tranſporting from thence to *Rome*. But the Sea ſwallowed them all. From *Camarina* to Cape *Pachinum*, the Sea was covered with the dead Bodies of Men, and other Animals, and the Wrecks of the Gallies. In ſhort, of the four hundred Ships, or thereabouts, ſcarce fourſcore eſcaped. And then the *Romans* experienced the conſtant Friendſhip of King *Hiero*. Thoſe, who by ſwimming, or on the Wrecks, or in Skiffs, eſcaped the Shipwreck, had recourſe to this Good King, who aſſiſted them in their Diſtreſs: and after he had ſupplied them with Proviſions, Cloaths, and Ships, ſent them to *Meſſana*. However, the Misfortune which befel the Fleet, did not affect the *Conſuls*. The Republick did not make them reſponſible for Accidents by Sea, and Tempeſts. She had Regard to their Merit, at the next Election; and did not refuſe them a Triumph, but only poſtponed it.

Eutrop. B. 2. and *Polyb. B. 1. c. 37.*

Diod. Sic. in Eclog.

Year of *ROME* CCCCXC X. CN. CORNELIUS ASINA, A. ATTILIUS CALATINUS, Conſuls.

§. VIII. IN the *Comitia by Centuries*, which were then held in the *Campus Martius*, there happened a remarkable Inſtance of the Viciſſitudes of Fortune. A Man, who, a little before, had been treacherouſly made a Priſoner, and carried to *Carthage*, was nominated to the *Conſulſhip*. This was *Cn. Cornelius*, ſurnamed *Aſina*, who had been *Conſul* once before; and his Collegue was *A. Attilius Calatinus*, who had likewiſe been promoted to that Honour already. The *Conſuls* for the laſt Year, were continued each in the Command of an Army, with the Title of *Proconſul*, notwithſtanding the Accident of the Tempeſt; and though the *Romans* had left off making War in *Africa*, the *Carthaginians* renewed it in *Sicily*, with freſh Fury. One of their Armies, commanded by *Carthalo*, had already taken, and demoliſhed *Agrigentum*. Moſt of the *Romans*, who defended it, were killed, or reduced to Slavery. And thoſe who eſcaped the Fury of the *Carthaginians*, ſeized a Poſt, which had been called *Jupiter Olympius*, from a Temple [13] there, in which that God was worſhiped. And now, ſince *Regulus*'s Defeat, and the Shipwreck of the *Roman* Fleet, as *Sicily* was left defenceleſs, it ſeemed moſt probable, that it would entirely fall into the Hands

Val. Max. L. 6. cap. ult. §. 11.

between the *Heliacal* riſing of *Orion*, and the *Heliacal* riſing of *The Dog-ſtar*. This appears from the Hiſtorian himſelf. He tells us, that the *Roman* Fleet ſailed into *Sicily*, in the beginning of the Summer, and that from thence the *Conſuls* ſailed into *Africa*. Now the time between the *Heliacal* riſing of *Orion*, and the *Heliacal* riſing of *The Dog-ſtar*, agrees perfectly well with *Polybius*'s Narration. It is certain, according to the *Tables of Geminus*, and *Ptolomy*, That *Orion* then roſe after the *Solſtice*, about the end of *June*: and That *The Dog-ſtar* roſe about the beginning of *Auguſt*, when the Sun entered into the eighth or ninth Degree of *Leo*. So that the Month of *July*, which was between theſe two Terms, was the time that was ſo dreadful to Sailors. Beſides, in the Tables before quoted, the riſing of *Orion* is ſaid to be the Forerunner of Tempeſts. Add to this, that whether this Fear of the Sailors, was only the Effect of a vulgar Prejudice, or founded on Experience; it is certain, that the Ancients governed themſelves in moſt things in Life, by their Obſervations on the Stars, eſpecially in Navigation, Agriculture, and Medicine. They were of Opinion, that the Seaſons were altered, and all ſublunary Things affected, by the ſecret Influences of the Stars.

13 This Temple, which was built by the *Agrigentini*, in honour to *Jupiter Olympius*, was one of the moſt magnificent in *Sicily*. *Diodorus* makes it a hundred and twenty Foot high, three hundred and ſixty long, and ſixty broad. He highly extols the Beauty of the Columns, which ſupported the Building, the admirable Structure of the Portico's, and the exquiſite Taſte, with which the *Bas-reliefs*, and Paintings, that enriched it, were performed. And to this Day, ſays he, the laſt Hand is not put to this ſtately Edifice. See his Deſcription of this famous Temple in the thirteenth Book of his Hiſtory. [The *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*, was *Minos* King of *Crete*, who expelled his Father *Aſterius* (the *Saturn* of the *Latins*) his Kingdom of *Crete*, and reigned there in his ſtead, about the Year before Chriſt 1015. *Chron. p.* 16, 149. He was the Son of *Europa*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*, and the *Cybele* or *Rhea* of the Ancients. His Father *Aſterius* reigned in *Olympus*, a Mountain in *Crete*, and *Minos* himſelf was educated by the *Curetes*, in the *Cretan* Cave. *p.* 151. *Hercules Idæus*, according to *Pauſanias*, came with five of the *Curetes*, or *Idæi Dactyli*, from *Ida*, a Mountain in *Crete*, to *Elis* in *Greece*, and there inſtituted *Games*, and erected an Altar to this *Jupiter Olympius*, and called theſe Games *Olympic*. This *Jupiter*, to whom they were inſtituted, had alſo a Temple and Altar erected to him in *Olympia*, a Place on the Confines of *Piſa*, near the River *Alphæus*; and from this Place he was called *Jupiter Olympius*, p. 151, 157.]

of the *Carthaginians*. But whilſt theſe Enemies of the *Romans* were multiplying their Conqueſts there, the *Sicilians* were informed that *Rome* was, with the utmoſt Expedition, fitting out as large a Fleet as the laſt. And indeed, in three Months time, the *Romans* launched ſixſcore new Gallies, which, with the old ones that were refitted, made a Fleet of two hundred and fifty Sail. An Inſtance of Conſtancy in Adverſity in the Republick, no leſs admirable than that of *Regulus*, who was ſtill kept in Captivity. As ſoon as the Fleet was ready, it is probable, that both the *Conſuls* for the Year, and the *Proconſuls* went into *Sicily*; the former to command the Army at Sea, the latter to act jointly at Land: and they all joined in carrying on the ſame Enterpriſes. As they beſieged only maritime Cities, the Land-Forces inveſted them, on one ſide, and the Ships on the other. By this means, both *Conſuls* and *Proconſuls*, equally helped to conquer them. The firſt Attempt of the *Romans* was upon the City of *Cephaloedium* [14], on the River *Hymera*, ſome Miles from the Mouth of it: and this Place was betrayed by ſome of the Inhabitants, who delivered it up to the *Romans*. From thence the Fleet and Army came towards *Drepanum*, which *Carthalo* ſuccoured ſo ſeaſonably, that the *Romans* did not attempt to take it. A more important Conqueſt called them thence to another Place. *Panormus* [15] was then a large City, ſituated on the northern Coaſt of *Sicily*; and as it was not far from *Lilybæum*, the *Carthaginians* had long ſince taken Poſſeſſion of it, and kept it with Care. Beſides, it had been founded by *Phœnicians*; ſo that the Inhabitants of *Panormus* had had the ſame Origin, as the *Carthaginians*. Hence their reciprocal Union and Affection. The *Carthaginians* had made this City the Capital of their Dominion in *Sicily*. And now the *Roman* Fleet firſt ſeized the Port, and then ſummoned the Town to ſurrender; but the Inhabitants and the Garriſon were determined to ſtand a Siege. In order therefore to increaſe the Army on Shore, the *Conſuls* landed all the Troops they had: and then Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation were drawn round the Place. The Country plentifully ſupplied the Army, with Materials neceſſary for a Siege. It was agreably planted with fine Trees, which the *Romans* felled, and built Machines, for attacking a Tower, which overlooked the Sea. And there they made a Breach, through which the Beſiegers entered into the new City, and made themſelves Maſters of it. Thoſe who defended it, retired for Refuge to the old City, and carried with them Terror and Famine; ſo that they made no long Defence there. The Garriſon and Inhabitants ſent a Deputation to the *Romans*, and demanded Life and Liberty for themſelves, their Wives, and Children; and inſiſted, That they ſhould not be deprived of their Arms, and Effects; and That their City and Houſes ſhould be ſpared. But the *Conſuls* were not ignorant of the Extremity to which the Beſieged were reduced; and refuſed to grant them more than their Lives and Liberties; and not even theſe, unleſs they paid ſo much *per* Head by way of Ranſom. The weakeſt muſt always ſubmit to the ſtrongeſt. Forty thouſand of the Inhabitants, who were beſt able, paid * two *Minæ* [16] each, for their Ranſom; and the reſt, to the Number of about thirty thouſand, were made Slaves, and ſold to the beſt bidder. This conſiderable Conqueſt made the *Roman* Name dreaded, all along the Coaſts; and many Cities, and Nations, ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Conſuls*; who returned to *Rome*, but were oppoſed in their Paſſage by the *Carthaginian* Fleet. Several Tranſport-ſhips were taken from the *Romans*, on board which were the Money, and Spoils, taken in *Panormus*; ſo that properly ſpeaking, the Campaign proved glorious only to the *Proconſuls*. Nevertheleſs, *Rome* rewarded them only for their

Year of *ROME* CCCCXCIX. Cn. Cornelius Asina, A. Attilius Calatinus, Conſuls.

Pol. B. 1. *c.* 38. and *Diod. in Eclog.*

* 6 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.* *Sterling. Arbuthnot.*

14 *Cephaloedium*, or *Cephaloedis*, an ancient maritime City, on the North Coaſt of *Sicily*, is now called *Cephala*. It gives its Name to a neighbouring Lake, which reaches to the extreme Parts of *The Valley of Demona*. This City was not far from the Mouth of the *Himera*.

15 The Antiquity of *Panormus*, now *Palermo*, the Convenience of its Port, and its great Riches, have made it always thought a very conſiderable City. Its Territory is watered by the River, now called *Amiraglio Fiume*, formerly the *Orethus*. Near it, the River now called *Baiaria Fiume*, formerly the *Eleutherus*, diſcharges itſelf into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. In the Neighbourhood of this City was Mount *Ercta*, and a Fortreſs called by that Name. The Mountain is now called *Monte Pelegrino*.

16 Each *Mina* contained an hundred *Drachmæ*; and each *Drachma* was worth about ten *Sols French*. So that the two *Minæ*, which each Perſon paid for his Ranſom, come to an hundred *Francks*. [See Vol. 1. *p.* 146. where the Reader is deſired to read *twenty two Pounds eighteen Shillings and four Pence*, inſtead of *fourteen Pounds eleven Shillings and eight Pence*. And in Pages 147, and 148. he is deſired to correct theſe Errors in the Margin and Text. For 235 *l.* 18 *s.* 9 *d.* read 242 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* For 157 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.* read 161 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.* For 78 *l.* 12 *s.* 11 *d.* read 80 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.* For 39 *l.* 6 *s.* 5 *d.* ½, read 40 *l.* 7 *s.* 3 *d.* ½. And for 7600 *Drachmæ*, *p.* 147. *l.* 24. read 7500. And *p.* 399. *Vol.* 1. *Note* 32. inſtead of *about* 9 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d.* ½, he is deſired to read 9 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d.*]

Exploits,

Year of ROME CCCCXCIX. CN. CORNELIUS ASINA, A. ATTILIUS CALATINUS, Conſuls.

Exploits, during their *Conſulſhip*; without making any mention of their late Conqueſts in *Sicily*. They entered *Rome* in [17] Triumph, on two different Days, almoſt ſucceſſively; both for having conquered the Iſland of [18] *Coſyra*, and vanquiſhed the [19] *Carthaginians*. As for *Cornelius*, we ſhall ſee him triumph the next Year. Which ſeems to make it evident, that he was continued in the Command of an Army in *Sicily*, with the Title of *Proconſul*. But his Collegue *Attilius*, who had only taken ſome Cities, without gaining any Battel, was not thought worthy of a Triumph.

Year of ROME D. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS, Conſuls. *Faſti Capitol.*

§. IX. IN the mean time new Magiſtrates ſucceeded them. The *Conſuls* the Republick choſe were *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *C. Sempronius Blæſus*. The time for making a *Cenſus* was alſo lapſed; but the Death of one of the *Cenſors* ſuſpended the *Luſtrum* they ought to have celebrated, and poſtponed it, till new *Cenſors* were choſen. He who died, was *Prætor* at the ſame time, for theſe two Offices were not incompatible. As ſoon then as *Poſthumius Megellus* was dead, his Collegue *Junius Pera*, laid down his Office, and acted no longer. By which means, *Rome* was prevented taking a new *Cenſus*; and this ſhews how uncertain a Way it would be to compute Time by the *Roman Luſtra*, which were often varied, and that for very weak Reaſons. But the *Romans* were more conſtant in carrying on the Wars, they had once begun. They ordered their *Conſuls* to ſet ſail with a Fleet of two hundred and ſixty Gallies, whilſt the *Proconſul Aſina* commanded the Land-Forces in *Sicily*. The Hiſtorians have not given us any Account of his Exploits; but if we may judge of them, by the Triumph that was granted him, they could not but be conſiderable. Whereas, the *Conſuls* had not ſo ſucceſsful a Campaign. They went from *Rome* to *Meſſana*, and from thence to *Lilybæum*. But this Place being too ſtrong, and too well garriſoned, for them to attempt to lay Siege to it; the Fleet paſſed on, and came to the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Africa*, at a good Diſtance from *Carthage*. No *Romans* had hitherto penetrated ſo far, and the Coaſt was unknown to their Pilots. However, the *Conſuls* made Deſcents there, ſurprized ſome Cities, and plundered ſome Towns and Villages. The Spoils of this rich Country were put on board the Fleet, which had like to have periſhed in ſight of the Coaſt it had plundered. By coaſting too



17 Two ſilver Medals prove the Triumph of *Marcus Æmilius*, and *Servius Fulvius*. The Face of the firſt, is the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet; and the reverſe a Galley, over which is a Crown of Laurel, to ſhew the naval Victory gained by this Admiral. Its Inſcription is this; M. ÆMILIUS, M. F. L. N. S. that is, *This Medal was ſtruck by order of the Senate, in honour to* Marcus Æmilius Paulus, *the Son of* Marcus, *and Grandſon of* Lucius. The Face of the ſecond Medal, is the Head of a winged Victory; the reverſe, *A Neptune* in a triumphal Chariot. It bears the Name of SERVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR PROCONSUL.

18 Nevertheleſs, the Iſland of *Coſyra* ſoon returned under the Dominion of its old Maſters, according to *Zonaras*. The *Carthaginians*, informed of the miſerable Condition to which the *Roman* Fleet was reduced by the Tempeſt, appeared off the Iſland, and retook it from the *Romans*.

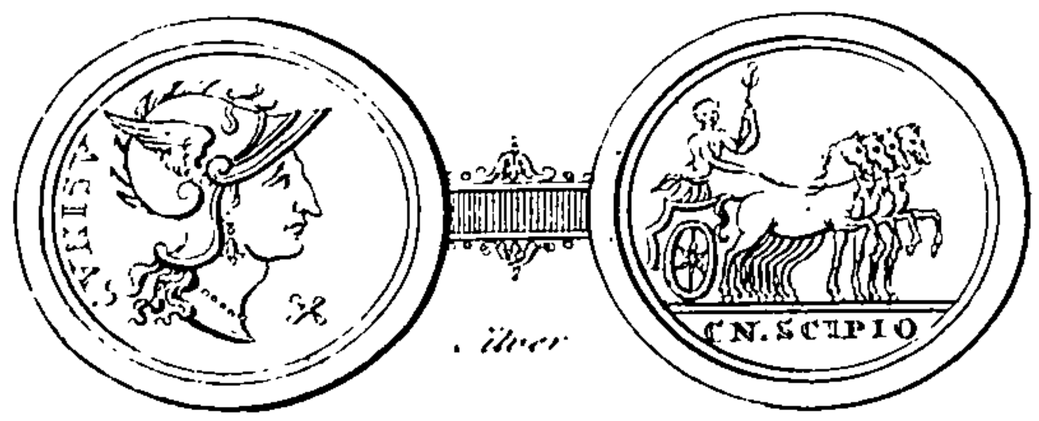
19 The Ancients entirely omit the Triumph of one of the two *Proconſuls*, *Servius Fulvius*, and *Marcus Æmilius*. Only *Livy* ſays, *B.* 42. that the *Roman* Republick erected a *Columna Roſtrata*, that is, a Pillar adorned with the *Prows* of Gallies, in honour to *Æmilius Paulus*. And adds, that this Monument perpetuated the Memory of the Victory the *Proconſul* gained at Sea. This Pillar was placed on the *Capitol*, and ſtood there, till it was beat down with Lightning, in the time of the ſecond *Macedonian* War.

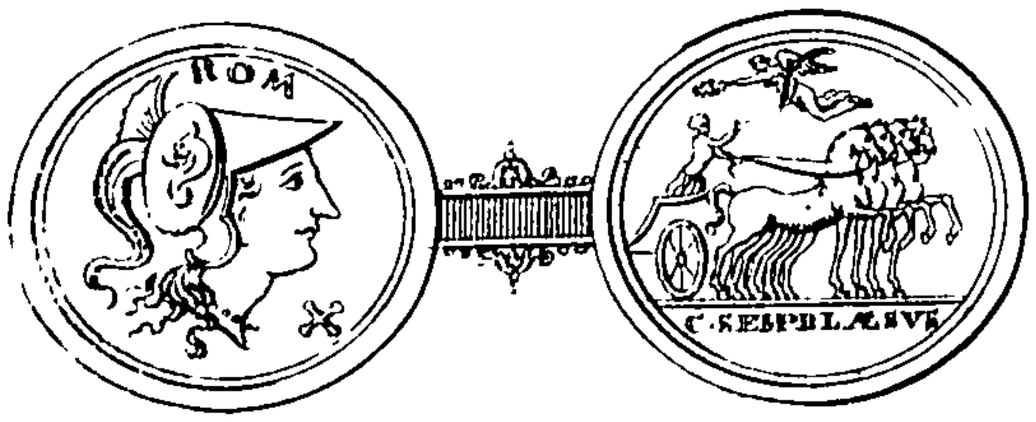
near

near the Shore, it run a-ground on the Flats of *The Little* [20] *Syrtis*, near the Iſland of the [21] *Lotophagi*: and then, to lighten the Gallies, the Crew threw all their ſuperfluous Loading over board. The *Romans* did not know, that the *Mediterranean* had a Flux and Reflux, in this Place: and therefore, as long as the Water continued low, the Crews thought themſelves loſt. Since the Defeat, and Detention of *Regulus*, the *Africans* had not been ſo apprehenſive of the *Romans*, as before; and they ran to the Shore, reſolving to murder all thoſe, who ſhould ſeek Refuge among them, after the Shipwreck. But by good Fortune, the Sea returned, and in a few Hours, the Channel was full. Then the Ships being a-float again, drove out into the main Sea, and made off ſo faſt, that the *Africans* took their Departure for a Flight. The Port of *Panormus* ſheltered them for ſome Days, and then they returned towards *Italy*. And they were already within ſight of the Coaſt; were already off Cape *Palinurus*, and very near *Lucania*, when they were overtaken with a violent Tempeſt: and the *Roman* Veſſels, which were built in haſte, ſeem not to have been Proof againſt bad Weather. The Storm diſperſed ſome, ſunk others, and in ſhort, the *Conſuls* loſt a hundred and ſixty of their Gallies, beſides Tranſports.

Year of ROME DI.
C. AURELIUS COTTA, P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS, Conſuls.
Polyb B. 1. c. 39.
Zonaras B. 8. c. 14.
Oroſius B. 4. c. 9.

THEN the Republick believed the Gods declared themſelves againſt her Deſign of depriving *Carthage* of the Empire of the Seas. The two Storms, which had proved ſo fatal to their Fleets theſe two laſt Years, were interpreted to be the Anſwers of the Gods. So that the Senate made a Decree, commanding, That no more than ſixty Ships ſhould, for the future, be equipped at a time; and that no other Uſe ſhould be made of them, than to guard the Coaſts of *Italy*, and convoy the Troops to *Sicily*. It was likewiſe reſolved, not to make War by Sea any more. But the Ambition of the *Romans* ſoon got the better of their preſent Diſcouragement. We ſhall ſoon ſee the Decree of the Senate diſannulled, and *Rome* forgetting her Shipwrecks, and attempting new Conqueſts. It is indeed ſurpriſing, that the Republick ſhould grant the *Conſul Sempronius* a Triumph, without his Collegue, and in a time of publick Dejection: and we ſhould doubt of the Fact, if both *The Triumphal Tables* and [22] Medals, did not





20 The Name of *Syrtes* was formerly given to two Gulphs in the *Mediterranean* Sea, between the Kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Barca*. They were ſo called, becauſe the Ships that were drawn into them by the Currents, were generally run a-ground there, or loſt in the Whirl-pools. *The Great Syrtis* is a very dangerous Gulph, on account of the Flats, or Banks of Sand, which are about this Coaſt. It lies between *Cyrenaica*, and the Territory of *Tripoli*. The *Italians* call it, *Golfo di Sidra*, and the *Spaniards*, *Baxos di Barberia*, or *The Flats of Barbary*. *The little Syrtis* lies between *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, and is vulgarly called *The Gulph of Gabes*.

21 The *Lotophagi* formerly inhabited this Iſland, which from them was called *Lotophagitis*. *Ptolomy* ſays, there were two Cities in it, *Meninx* and *Gerra*, or *Thoar*, according to *Pliny*; who places the Iſland two hundred geometrical Paces Eaſt of *The little Syrtis*; and makes it twenty five Miles long, and twenty two broad. The old Inhabitants ſhewed an Altar, which they ſaid was built by *Ulyſſes*. The Names of *Meninx*, and *Mirmix*, were at firſt given both to the Iſland, and the Capital of it. The former was afterwards called *Gerba*; and it now bears the Name of *Zerbi*, which is alſo given to the neighbouring Promontory. It abounded with the Trees called *Lotos*, whence the Inhabitants of the Iſland were called *Lotophagi*: i. e. *Lotos-eaters*. This Tree was about the ſize of a Pear-tree, and its Leaves like thoſe of the Holm-oak. Its Fruit is ſaid to have been ſo agreeable to the Taſte, that Strangers, who once taſted of it, immediately forgat their own Country, and ſettled in this delicious Place. Thus the Companions of *Ulyſſes*, who landed in the Iſland of the *Lotophagi*, were very unwilling to leave it.

22 Theſe Medals were of Silver. We mention

Year of *ROME* DI.

C. Aurelius Cotta, P. Servilius Geminus, Conſuls.

concur in confirming it. But they muſt ſupply the Defects of the Hiſtorians; and therefore, though we know not the Reaſon of it, we ſhall ſay, on their Authorities, That the *Conſul Sempronius Blæſus*, and the *Proconſul Cornelius Aſina*, triumphed; and That no Triumph was granted to *Servilius Cæpio*, though he ſeems to have had a Share in all the Exploits of his Collegue.

§. X. *REGULUS* was yet languiſhing under a ſevere Impriſonment, and the Republick ſeemed to languiſh with him. Indeed, the *Conſuls* [23] *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus*, had none of thoſe Fleets to command, which ſeemed invincible by any thing, but Winds and Waves. The two Generals were tranſported into *Sicily*, to be put at the Head of the Land-Armies; and upon their Arrival there, they perſuaded themſelves that it would be matter of Glory to them, to make themſelves Maſters of two Places, which the Generals, their Predeceſſors, had in vain attempted to take. One was [24] *Himera*, a City ſtanding at the Mouth of a River [25] of the ſame Name; the other *Lipara*, a City which took its Name from the Iſland of *Lipara*, the largeſt of *The* [26] *Æolian Iſlands*. The *Romans* had long thought *Himera* a Conqueſt of Importance: and had formerly endeavoured to ſurpriſe it by Treachery; but the Covetouſneſs of the Soldiers had fruſtrated their Deſign. A Gate of the City had been opened by a Traitor, to a great Body of *Roman* Troops, which were to enter it that Way, unknown to their Generals. But thoſe who firſt got in, immediately ſhut the Gate, that they might have all the good Fortune to themſelves. For fear of having too great a Number of Companions to ſhare their Booty with them, theſe Madmen ſhut themſelves into the City. Then the Inhabitants, who were ſtronger than they, cut this handful of Robbers in pieces, and preſerved their Effects from the Avarice of the *Romans*. But this was not the Caſe, in the ſecond Attempt upon *Himera*. The *Conſuls* prepared to beſiege it in form, and force it to ſurrender; but the Garriſon and the Inhabitants prevented the Misfortunes that threatened them, left their City and empty Houſes to the Enemy, and removed with their Effects to another Place. However, *Rome* was put in Poſſeſſion of an advantageous Poſt, and fruitful Territory. The *Romans* had alſo formerly attempted to take *Lipara* without Succeſs; and the *Conſul Aurelius* now again undertook to reduce it. But how could he ſucceed without Ships? How could he get into an Iſland without a Fleet? which *Rome* had refuſed to furniſh her Generals with? *Aurelius* was ſupplied with all the Aſſiſtance he wanted for this fine Enterpriſe, by that ever faithful Friend to the Republick, King *Hiero*. The *Conſul* tranſported ſome of his choſen Troops into the Iſland of *Lipara*, on board the Gallies, this good Prince lent him, and began to inveſt the City. And then ſome unaccountable Scruple ſeized him, with regard to the *Auſpices*; and his Religion would not ſuffer him to continue a Siege of that Importance, upon only equivocal Signs of the Approbation of the Gods. So that he thought it neceſſary to interrupt the Works, and return to *Meſ-*

Diod. Sic. in Eccl. S.

Polybius B. 1. c. 39.

Zonaras B. 8. c. 14.

them upon the Authority of *Pighius*, who ſays, he had ſeen them. The Face of the firſt, is the Head of *A Rome*, wearing an Helmet; the reverſe is, *A Roman* dreſſed in a *Toga*, carrying a Sceptre in his Hand, and riding in a triumphal Chariot drawn by four Horſes. The triumphant Victor is by the Inſcription ſaid to be, Cn. Scipio Asina. The ſecond Medal is the ſame, only there is added on the reverſe, a winged Victory, which holds a Crown over the Victor's Head. The Inſcription of it is, C. Sempronius Blæsus. The Authenticknes of theſe Medals, is luckily confirmed by *Monſieur Vaillant*, who has preſerved Stamps of them in his *Conſular Families*.

23 *Polybius* omits the *Conſuls* for this Year 501. But *Cicero* ſpeaks of them both, and tells us, they were twice Collegues in the *Conſulate*.

24 The City of *Himera* here ſpoken of, is the ſame which the *Latins* call *Thermæ Himeræ*, and *Thermæ Himerenſes*, that is, *The Baths of Himera*. There were hot Baths near it. *Cicero*, in his *ſecond Oration againſt Verres*, mentions this City as one of the moſt conſiderable in *Sicily*. It was in the Territory in which *Termini* now ſtands, near the Mouth of the River, formerly called *Himera*, now *Fiume di Termini*. It had been built by the *Carthaginians* on the Ruins of *Old Himera*, which they had utterly deſtroyed about the 92d *Olympiad*, or the 409th Year before the *Chriſtian Æra*; 240 Years after it had been founded by a *Colony* of *Zancleans*, an ancient People of *Sicily*. Out of the Ruins of the City, a Statue of Braſs was preſerved, which repreſented the City itſelf, under the Figure of a Woman. *Himera* had the Honour of giving Birth to the famous Poet, *Steſichorus*, to whom ſhe erected a Statue, repreſenting a ſtooping old Man, with a Book in his Hand. And theſe two Monuments, which were preſerved in the new City, till the time of *Cicero* and *Verres*, were both thought Maſter-pieces of Art.

25 There were two Rivers in *Sicily* called *Himera*. One which runs Northward, is the ſame here ſpoken of, and is now called by the Natives, *Il Fiume di Termini*: Another, which runs Southward, and diſcharges itſelf into the *African* Sea, and is now called *Salſi*, or *il Salſo*; which Name agrees very well with what the Ancients ſay of this River. They obſerve, that its Water had a ſalt Taſte, which it contracted by running through Salt-Mines.

26 See our Account of *The Æolian Iſlands*, B. 12. p. 586. of Vol. 1. Note 65.

Year of ROME DI. C. AURELIUS COTTA, P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS, Conſuls.

ſana, there to conſult the *Auguries* again. *Aurelius* was a rigid Man, a ſtrict Obſerver of the Laws, Religious, even to Superſtition, and in the Army, a ſevere Revenger of Breaches of Diſcipline. When he left his Camp, he appointed *Q. Caſſius*, to be General of the Troops during his Abſence, and *P. Aurelius Pecuniola* his Relation, to guard the Lines; who were both *Legionary Tribunes*. It had often happened, that Subalterns had neglected the Orders of their abſent Generals, and this Breach of Diſcipline had always been ſeverely puniſhed; but notwithſtanding the Puniſhment with which they were threatened, and their General's expreſs Commands, not to make any Attempt upon the City, during his Abſence, *Caſſius* and *Pecuniola* flattered themſelves that they could take it. Full of Hopes therefore, that as Commanders in chief they ſhould be able to complete an Enterpriſe, which would do them Honour, and by which they ſhould merit military Rewards, they began an Attack, which ſucceeded very ill. The *Tribunes* ordered the Place to be battered; but the Beſieged made ſo vigorous a Sally, that they repulſed the *Romans*, and purſued them with ſuch Warmth, that they burnt their Palliſades, and had like to have taken their Camp. The ſevere *Conſul*, upon his return, was full of Rage, to ſee the Havock which had been made of his Troops, and his Entrenchments demoliſhed; and he puniſhed the Authors of it. The *Tribune Caſſius* was deprived of his Employments; and *Aurelius*, though the General's Relation, was beaten with Rods, and degraded. He was reduced to the State of a private Soldier, and forced to go through the ſervile Drudgeries of a common Centinel. After this, the *Conſul* applied himſelf wholly to the Siege of the Place, took it by Aſſault, and put almoſt all the Inhabitants to the Sword. Men born with a Severity of Temper, who give themſelves up to their natural Diſpoſitions, often run into odious Exceſſes. Whilſt the Army was before the Place, a Squadron of *Roman Knights* refuſed to obey the General's Orders; and he kept his Temper for the preſent; but he reſerved a Puniſhment for them, which was the more ignominious, for being inflicted with the Forms of Juſtice.

Frontin. B. 4. c. 1. and Val. Max. B. 2. c. 7. §. 4.

BUT after all, the *Conſul* valued himſelf upon his Equity. He knew how to reward, as well as puniſh. The Family of old *Timaſitheus*, the Benefactor [27] and Ally of the *Romans*, was yet ſubſiſting in the Iſland of *Lipara*; and the Generoſity this little King of the Iſland, had ſhewn the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, who carried a Vaſe of Gold to *Delphi*, to preſent it in the Temple of *Apollo*, was ſtill remembered. Theſe Ambaſſadors having been ſtopped and plundered by the Corſairs of *Lipara*, had recourſe to the Governor of the Iſland, who did not barely do them Juſtice. He lent them ſome Ships, which convoyed them to *Delphi*, and back again to *Rome*. And the Deſcendants of this good Prince, who had been dethroned, in ſome Revolutions which happened in the Iſland, now felt the Effects of *Roman* Gratitude. The *Conſuls* reſtored them to their firſt Dignity, and for ever exempted them from paying any Contributions, or Taxes, which the Republick might demand of the People of *Lipara*. The *Romans* now wanted nothing to conclude the Campaign with Glory, except to beat the *Carthaginians* in a pitched Battel. Nevertheleſs *Erƈta*, a pretty ſtrong Caſtle, in vain gave them an Opportunity of fighting in the open Field. The *Romans* beſieged it with an Army of forty thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe; but as ſoon as the *Carthaginian* Army appeared, they raiſed the Siege. Ever ſince the Affair of *Regulus*, the *Roman* Soldiers were afraid of the Elephants, and durſt not face thoſe furious Animals. The Armies often met, and were often near enough to come to an Action; but the *Roman* Generals no longer found their Troops ſo earneſt to attack the Enemy as formerly. The *Carthaginians* followed *Xanthippus*'s Maxims, and encamped no where but in Plains. The *Romans* would fain have drawn them up upon the Eminencies, thereby to render their Elephants uſeleſs. And neither Party came into the other's Meaſures. So that the Campaign ended without any conſiderable Action. As for the *Conſul Servilius*, he probably made War ſeparately, and did not ſignalize himſelf by any great Exploit. In ſhort, the two *Conſuls* returned to *Rome*; where they found a conſiderable Alteration in civil Affairs.

Livy B. 5. c. 25.

Diod. in Eclog.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 39.

§. XI. THE Nobility had hitherto kept the Office of *Pontifex Maximus* to themſelves. The *Patricians* only had enjoyed this great Dignity, to which was annexed ſuch an extenſive Power in Matters of Religion. The *Plebeians* ſhared with them only the *Conſulſhip*, *Prætorſhip*, *Ædileſhip*, *Cenſorſhip*, and *Quæſtorſhip*. But now, by

Florus in Epitome B. 18.

27 See *B.* 12. *p.* 586. of *Vol.* 1.

ſome

Year of ROME DI. C. Aurelius Cotta, P. Servilius Geminus, Conſuls.

ſome unknown Revolution, the Office of *Pontifex Maximus* was conferred on a Commoner, perhaps, out of Regard to his extraordinary Probity. *Tib. Coruncanius*, who was inveſted with this Dignity, had ſo great a Reputation for Virtue, as might have influenced thoſe to favour him, who were intereſted to appear againſt him.

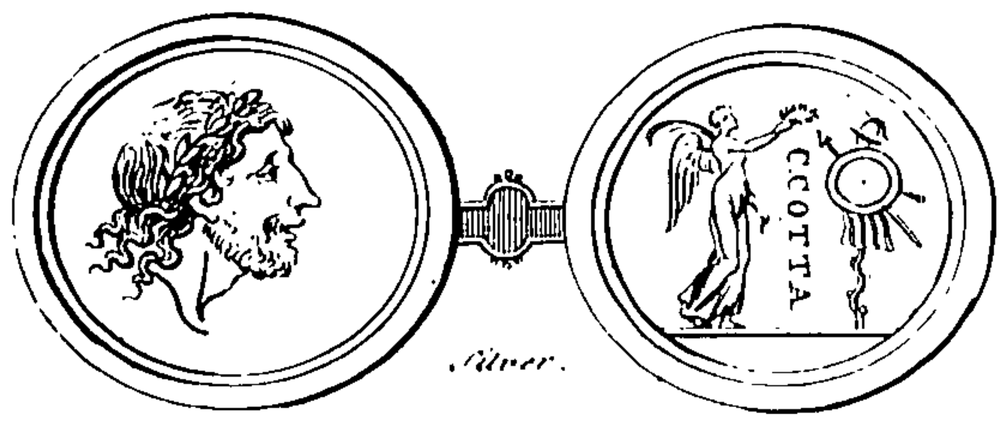
The laſt Months of the preſent *Conſulſhip* were ſpent in the *Cenſus*, which was then taken of the *Romans*, and the *Luſtrum*, that followed it. There then appeared to be in the Republick, 297797 Men fit to bear Arms: and all Men were then inclined to make a general Reformation in the State. The *Pontifex* profeſſed a kind of auſtere Philoſophy; and the *Cenſors* making it their Buſineſs to re-eſtabliſh Order in the Senate, they were aſſiſted in it by the natural Severity of *Aurelius*. They with great Steadineſs puniſhed all without Exception, who either neglected the Worſhip of the Gods, or were immoral, or broke the Laws of military Diſcipline. Perhaps, they thought the Misfortunes the Republick had ſuffered, both by Sea and Land, for three Years laſt paſt, were brought upon them by the Licentiouſneſs of the People, the Senate, and the Troops. But whatever their Motive was, the *Cenſors* were inexorable. They ſtruck thirteen Senators ignominiouſly out of the Liſt of *The Conſcript Fathers*, and at *Aurelius*'s Requeſt, not only degraded the four hundred *Roman Knights*, who refuſed to obey the Orders of their General, but added other Severities to this Puniſhment. The Horſes the Republick had furniſhed them with, were taken from them; they were deprived of the Right of Suffrage in their *Centuries*, without being exempted from the Taxes of it; and were not allowed the Pay, the Republick owed them, for their paſt Services.

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 9. §. 7.

By all theſe Inſtances of a rigorous Execution of Juſtice, the *Conſul Aurelius* merited the Honours of a [28] Triumph. He had indeed taken two Cities, *Himera*, and *Lipara*, in his *Conſulſhip*; but it was not uſual with the *Romans* to grant Triumphs to Generals, who had gained no Battels. His Exactneſs therefore in keeping up Diſcipline, and his Rigour in puniſhing thoſe who broke it, ſerved him inſtead of Victories. Merit aſſumes different Shapes, at different Times, and depends much on Mens Sentiments of it. The *Romans* then rewarded, what, in other Circumſtances, they would have thought odious; and *Aurelius* entered *Rome* in Triumph, on *The Ides of April.*

Tab. Triumph.

§. XII. The Dejection of the *Romans* much raiſed the Courage of the *Carthaginians*. They now ſaw themſelves Maſters of the Sea, and their Hopes of reconquering *Sicily* increaſed, in Proportion, as they found that their Rivals acted only on the defenſive, and rather tediouſly ſpun out the War, than went upon any Enterpriſes, or fought Battels. Having now a free Paſſage to *Sicily*, to tranſport as many Troops thither as they pleaſed, without any Oppoſition from the Enemy's Fleets; *Carthage* began to make new Levies in *Africa*, to hire Troops among the *Celtæ*, and in *Spain*, and to build Gallies. The only Difficulty which obſtructed her Deſigns, was the want of Money. The War between the two Republicks having laſted at leaſt thirteen Years, the publick Treaſuries of both were exhauſted: but *Carthage* was in a worſe Condition than *Rome*. The *Roman* Republick had always a ready Supply of Troops



Silver.

28 The Memory of Caius Aurelius Cotta's Triumph is preſerved by a ſilver Medal, which bears this *Conſul*'s *Prænomen* and Surname. The Face is the Head of *A Jupiter*, crowned with Laurel. The reverſe is a winged Victory, crowning a Trophy. Theſe are common Emblems of a Triumph. We have already obſerved, That the triumphant Victors ended their Proceſſion at the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and That the Spoils taken from the Enemy, were often conſecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*. He that ſtamped this Medal ſeems to have deſigned to repreſent this God, under both theſe Characters.

among

among her own Citizens; the *Carthaginian* could no otherwiſe raiſe Armies, than by hiring foreign Troops into her Service, at a great Expence. And therefore the latter ſent an Embaſſy to *Ptolomy* the King of *Egypt*, her Friend, to borrow a Sum of Money of him. The Ambaſſadors deſired this rich Prince to lend them two thouſand *Talents* *, which they promiſed to repay after the War. But *Ptolomy* [29], who was a Friend to the *Romans* as well as *Carthaginians*, and had not intereſted himſelf in their Differences, was reſolved to continue neuter; and agreably to that Reſolution, gave them this Anſwer. *I will aſſiſt you againſt Enemies, or indifferent Perſons: But I cannot, without a Breach of Fidelity, aſſiſt one Friend againſt another.* Nevertheleſs, this Refuſal did not hinder the *African* Republick from purſuing her Deſigns. She exerted her ſelf, equipped a Fleet of two hundred Sail, and raiſed an Army of a hundred and forty Elephants, and thirty thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot included. *Aſdrubal* was made Generaliſſimo of theſe Sea and Land-Forces; and whilſt the *Africans* were buſy in making theſe great Preparations, *Rome* choſe new *Conſuls*. One was *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, the other *C. Furius* [30] *Pacilus*; who went into *Sicily*, and tranſported thither their Armies, on the little Fleet of ſixty Gallies, to which *Rome* had confined her ſelf.

Year of *ROME* DII. C. AURELIUS COTTA, P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS, Conſuls.

§. XIII. *METELLUS* was a great Commander, as will ſoon appear. But whilſt he made War with his Collegue, his Valour was fettered, and could not exert itſelf. Their Troops kept themſelves upon the defenſive; the two *Conſuls* ſeemed to have the ſame Diffidence, as the Senate: ſo that *Aſdrubal* could do nothing with his formidable Army, though he endeavoured to come to an Action. The *Roman* Generals made it their whole Buſineſs to avoid the Enemy, and thought it enough to keep the *Carthaginians* in awe, watch them, and prevent their committing any Hoſtilities, by prudent Encampments, and a cautious Conduct. But though the People at *Rome* approved of the Exactneſs of the *Conſuls*, in obſerving the Orders of the Republick, they could not but reflect on that Timorouſneſs, which ſeemed to have ſeized all the Members of the State. It was obſerved, that all this Circumſpection, only brought Diſhonour to the Generals, and ſunk the Courage of their Soldiers. The Senate therefore called up their ancient Vigour, and reſolved to have a Fleet at Sea, the next Year, ſufficient to make that of the *Carthaginians* diſappear. And indeed, how could the *Romans* poſſibly preſerve *Sicily*, as long as their Enemies were Maſters of the Seas? *Rome* was very uneaſy at the Captivity of *Regulus*, and found this Great Man much wanted, in theſe critical Times. The Loſs of a Battel had not made him contemptible, in a Republick, the principal Members of which were all Generals, who did not wholly confine the Merit of an Officer, to an uninterrupted Succeſs. And in order to ſupply the want of him, the *Comitia* choſe two Men *Conſuls*, who had enjoyed that Dignity before, and were both eſteemed for their Experience and Valour. One was *L. Manlius Vulſo* [31], the other *C. Attilius Regulus*, Couſin-german to the famous Captive, whoſe Detention gave the Republick ſo much Uneaſineſs, and cauſed her ſo many Loſſes. The *Conſul Furius* was recalled from *Sicily*, and his Collegue *Metellus* continued there, with the Title of *Proconſul*, to oppoſe the formidable Army of *Aſdrubal*.

Year of *ROME* DIII. L. MANLIUS VULSO, C. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

§. XIV. WHILST all things were preparing in the Ports of *Italy*, and the Ships were building, by the Direction of the new *Conſuls*, *Metellus* recovered the former Reputation of the *Romans*, in *Sicily*. This great Man now acted according to his own Judgment, and had no Collegue: ſo that his Arms proſpered. The fierce *Aſdrubal* thought himſelf rid of a dangerous Enemy, by the Departure of *Hannibal*; and had now only one Army, and one *Roman* General to contend with. Beſides, the latter had ſhut himſelf up in *Panormus*, and ſeemed to be afraid of meeting the *Carthaginian*. *Aſdrubal*'s Troops therefore, encouraged by the ſeeming Timorouſneſs of the *Romans*, preſſed their General to exert himſelf. It was now the midſt of Summer, and the beautiful Fields of *Sicily* ſeemed to offer the greedy *Carthaginians* a

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 40. and *Diod. Sic. in Eclog.*

* 387500 *l. Arbuthnot. Eucrop. B.* 2. *Oroſius B.* 4. *c.* 9.

29 This was *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who had made an Alliance with the *Romans*, about the Year of *Rome* 481, as we have obſerved above.

30 The Name of this *Conſul* is diſfigured in ſome Editions of *Polybius*: which have *Caius Curius*, inſtead of *Caius Furius*: And *Oroſius* is guilty of as great a Miſtake in changing the Surname of *Pacilus*, into that of *Placidus*.

31 Theſe two Magiſtrates were now promoted to the *Conſulſhip* a ſecond time. According to *Zonaras*, *Caius Attilius* was Brother to *Marcus Attilius Regulus*, then a Captive in *Carthage*. But it appears by the *Faſti Capitolini*, that they had not both the ſame Father. *C. Attilius* was the Grandſon of *Marcus*, and the other was the Grandſon of *Lucius*.

Year of ROME DIII.
L. MANLIUS VULSO, M. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

plentiful Harveſt. Eſpecially, about *Panormus*, the Crop was like to be exceeding great; and it was partly with a View to aſſiſting the *Panormitani*, in gathering in the Fruits of theſe fine Plains, that *Metellus* reſided at *Panormus*, where he was ready to defend the Reapers, againſt any Incurſions of the Enemy. *Aſdrubal* therefore ſent a great many Spies thither, to obſerve the Motions of the *Romans* in the City, and give him an Account of them. But *Metellus* was informed, that there were ſome *Sicilians* of the *Carthaginian* Party concealed in *Panormus*; and the only Difficulty was, how to find them out amidſt ſo great a Number of Inhabitants. In order to this, the *Proconſul* commanded all thoſe who reſided in the City, to aſſemble together; and then deſired the *Panormitani*, in whom he could confide, to examine every Man's Face, ſeize thoſe whom they did not know, and bring them before his Tribunal. And the Deſign ſucceeded. The Spies were diſcovered, and the General learnt *Aſdrubal*'s Deſigns from them. Being forced to ſpeak, they declared, That the *Carthaginians* were gone from *Lilybæum*, were advancing through the By-ways, and difficult Roads of *Selinus*, to conceal their March, and would ſoon fall down upon the fruitful Fields of *Panormus*, and encamp there. This the *Roman* thought a raſh Undertaking; but diſſembled the Joy it gave him. He was ſo far from going out to meet the Enemy, to give them Battel, after this tedious March, that he ſeemed to be afraid of them, and kept cloſe within his Fortreſs. So that the timorous Conduct of *Metellus*, confirmed *Aſdrubal* in his Boldneſs. He entered the Territory of *Panormus*, ravaged the Fields, and took away every thing that the *Romans* had not been able to ſecure. Yet ſtill the *Proconſul* did not ſtir, being fully ſatisfied, that he ſhould recover all the Damages they did him, with Uſury. What he chiefly depended on, was, That he ſhould, by his Inaction, tempt the Enemy to paſs the River *Orethus*, which was but a Mile from the City he defended: and That if *Aſdrubal* only ventured to croſs it, his Ruin was certain. And accordingly, *Aſdrubal* made his Elephants paſs it; and doing the ſame thing himſelf, came and encamped within reach of *Panormus*. Then *Metellus*, to increaſe the Confidence of the *Carthaginian* yet more, ſuffered only a few Men to appear upon the Ramparts to defend them, and thoſe of the Militia of the Town; and the Quality of theſe Troops, and the Smallneſs of their Numbers, confirmed the *Carthaginians* in their Security. They neglected Diſcipline, feaſted upon what they had taken in the Plain, and the *Gauls* in *Aſdrubal*'s Army got drunk with the *Sicilian* Wine. Nay, the General was ſo very inconſiderate, that he neglected to throw up an Entrenchment round his Camp, as uſual. The *Carthaginians* pitched their Tents, without ſurrounding them with any Rampart, or Ditch. Nevertheleſs, the *Proconſul* did not attack the Enemy even in the Night. He regularly purſued much ſurer Meaſures.

Polyb. B. 1.

Front. Strat. B. 3. *c.* 17.

Diod. in Eclog.

As ſoon as *Metellus* ſaw the *Carthaginians* were in the Situation he deſired, he ordered ſome few *Manipuli* only, to march out of the City, as it were, to ſkirmiſh. His Deſign was to draw the Enemy inſenſibly to a Battel. The *Romans* were ordered to retire by Degrees, and loſe Ground, till they came to a dry Ditch, which *Metellus* had directed to be dug in the Plain, beyond the Ditch of the City. And as faſt as the firſt *Roman* Troops were repulſed by the Enemy, *Metellus* ſent out more: which obliged the Enemy to ſend other Bodies againſt them. So that the *Carthaginians* came from their Camp in ſmall Parties, like Waves, one upon the Neck of another; till at length *Aſdrubal*'s whole Army was in Motion, and with his hundred and forty Elephants drawn up in one Line, appeared in the Plain ready to give Battel. As for the *Proconſul* he was ſtill in *Panormus*; but had drawn up his *Legions*, behind one of the Gates of the City, and was ready to make a Sally, when it ſhould be proper. Then the Elephants, which were poſted in the firſt Line, advanced very faſt againſt the light-armed Infantry of the *Proconſul*. The Maſters of theſe Beaſts had no Orders for this, but were willing to gain the Victory themſelves, without the help of their General. Upon their advancing, the *Romans* ſtill retired, giving Way to the Enemy, and throwing their Darts at theſe monſtrous Animals. The *Carthaginians* purſued, as faſt as the *Romans* retreated. Till at length they came to the Edge of the Ditch, and leaped down into it all on a ſudden, and with freſh Darts, which they threw up from the Bottom of it, exaſperated the Elephants, which could advance no farther, for want of even Ground. *Metellus* had taken care, that this Body of Infantry, which ſtood the firſt Shock, ſhould not want Darts. He employed the Workmen and Artificers of *Panormus* to carry them to the Soldiers, by the help of the Ditch.

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 40.

Year of *ROME* DIII.
L. MANLIUS VULSO, C. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

Ditch. Beſides, the *Roman* Archers powered down a Shower of Darts upon the Elephants and their Guides, from the Top of the Ramparts of the City. In ſhort, theſe frightful Beaſts were ſo haraſſed with theſe Darts, that they grew mad. Some threw their Guides, and trod them under Foot. Others fell into the Ditch, where they were killed; and laſtly, others turned about, and ran back to avoid the Blows, and in their flight, put the *Carthaginian* Battalions into Diſorder. They entered them, broke them; and having no Guides, but running wherever their Fury led them, they beat down the Men with their Trunks, trod under Foot whatever ſtood in their Way, and made large Paſſages through the *Carthaginian Phalanxes*. This was the happy Minute *Metellus* waited for, before he would put his *Legions* in Motion. *Citizens*, cried he, *the Victory is ours. Follow me, and let us complete it!* And immediately he ordered the Gate to be opened, and marched out; and with theſe freſh Troops attacked the Battalions in flank, which were already broken, and terrified. Some reſiſted, and were cut in pieces by the *Romans*; others fled, and were killed in their Flight: and which was ſtill more melancholy, the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which lay all along the Coaſt of *Panormus*, only increaſed the Misfortunes of the Fugitives, inſtead of leſſening them. They ran to the Shore from the Plain, in order to ſave themſelves in their Gallies; but they almoſt all periſhed. They were either trod under Foot by the Elephants, or drowned; ſome by crowding too faſt into the Skiffs, which being overloaded, ſunk; others, by endeavouring to ſwim to the Ships; and laſtly, others by tumbling off from the ſides of the Ships, which they could not hold faſt with their Hands. *Frontin. B. 2 c. 5.* *Zonar. B. 8. c. 14.*

THIS was ſo memorable a Victory for the *Romans*, that we ſhall find few comparable to it, through the whole Courſe of their Hiſtory. We know not which to admire moſt; whether the great Foreſight and prudent Management of the General, in forming, and ſo long conducting, this great Event, Step by Step; or the Dexterity of the Troops, in juſt advancing far enough, to provoke the Enemy to engage, and then retiring ſeaſonably, to lead on the Elephants to the brink of the Precipice. This ſingle Blow ſunk the Pride of the *Carthaginians*, and raiſed the Courage of the *Romans*. The Enemy had twenty thouſand Men killed upon the Field of Battel. Six and twenty of their Elephants were either taken or ſlain, in the firſt Onſet: and afterwards the reſt of them, which eſcaped, and ran about the Plains, and the Shore, without any Guides, were gathered together, and brought to the Conqueror's Camp, by the good Orders *Metellus* prudently gave for that Purpoſe. He promiſed thoſe Maſters of Elephants, whom he had taken Priſoners, their Liberty, if they would gather them together; and they diſperſed themſelves about the Fields, and called after theſe furious Beaſts, which upon hearing their Voices, and being careſſed by them, followed them. The *Proconſul* had a mind to ſend them to *Rome*, to adorn his Triumph with them: and the Machine he invented for getting them over the *Streights*, was a freſh Proof of his fine Genius. He faſtened Trees and Planks, well joined upon empty Barrels, and threw Earth over the Planks, which were almoſt like our Floats of Timber. We ſhould not be ſurpriſed at them now; but the Invention of them was then new. Theſe Rafts were guarded with Planks at the Sides, which were high enough to prevent the Elephants tumbling into the Water; and the Weight of them hindered them from being much toſſed by the Sea. So that theſe Animals, which are not without Difficulty brought to bear the Motion of common Ships, were very quiet, through the whole Paſſage. It was not difficult to get them into theſe new ſort of Boats, which were brought cloſe to the Shore, like Ferry-boats; and when they were once in them, they were as quiet as if they had been in their Stables. In this manner a hundred and four Elephants [32] were brought to *Rhegium*, in order to be carried from thence to *Rome*, and ſhewn to the Cities of *Italy*, through which they were to paſs in their Way thither. *Oroſius B. 4. c. 9.* *Zonar. B. 8. c. 14.* *Frontin. B. 1.* *Zonar. B. 8. c. 14.* and *Pliny B. 8. c. 6.* *Oroſius B. 4. c. 9.*

AFTER this conſiderable Victory, the *Proconſul* immediately returned to *Rome*. There were no more *Carthaginians* in the Field for him to conquer; and *Aſdrubal*

[32] Authors vary as to the Number of Elephants which were brought to *Rome*, to be ſhewn in the triumphal Proceſſion of *Cæcilius Metellus*. *Oroſius* reckons them to have been but a hundred and four; and *Florus* reduces them to about a hundred. But the Epitome of *Livy*, *Zonaras*, and *Seneca*, make them ſixſcore; and *Eutropius* brings them up to a hundred and thirty. Nay, *Dion. Hal.* ſays, *B.* 2. that the *Roman* General took a hundred and thirty eight from the *Carthaginians*. And laſtly, *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 8. that there were a hundred and forty two brought from *Sicily* to *Italy*, on Rafts.

Year of ROME DIII.

L. MANLIUS VULSO, C. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

himſelf had not reached *Lilybæum*, without Difficulty. The *Romans* had never ſeen a more magnificent Entry, than that of the illuſtrious *Cæcilius Metellus*. His Triumph was fixed to *The ſeventh of the Ides of September*, and then this great Number of Elephants, which the Victor had taken, marched through the City in Proceſſion. They took up as much room in their March, as a whole Army would have done. The Air rung with Acclamations, at the ſight of theſe Animals, and of the great Number of Priſoners in Chains, among whom were thirteen General Officers of *Aſdrubal*'s Army. After the Triumph was over, the Elephants were ſhewn to the People in the *Circus*, and made Diverſion for them. As the *Romans* had reſolved never to uſe them in their Wars, and as they would neither be at the Expence of keeping them, nor thought it conſiſtent with the Dignity of the *Romans*, to make Preſents of them to foreign Kings, the Citizens were entertained with ſeeing them purſued and killed in the *Circus*, by *Athletæ*, choſen out of the common People. By this means, theſe *Romans*, who were Citizens one Day, and Soldiers the next, were taught to deſpiſe theſe formidable Animals. There was ſomething ſo new in *Metellus*'s Triumph, that the Memory of it has been tranſmitted down to us, on laſting Monuments. Thoſe of the *Cæcilian* Family, who afterwards were empowered to ſtrike 33 Medals, have ſtamped Elephants on the reverſe of one, to commemorate the Glory of the moſt illuſtrious of their Anceſtors.

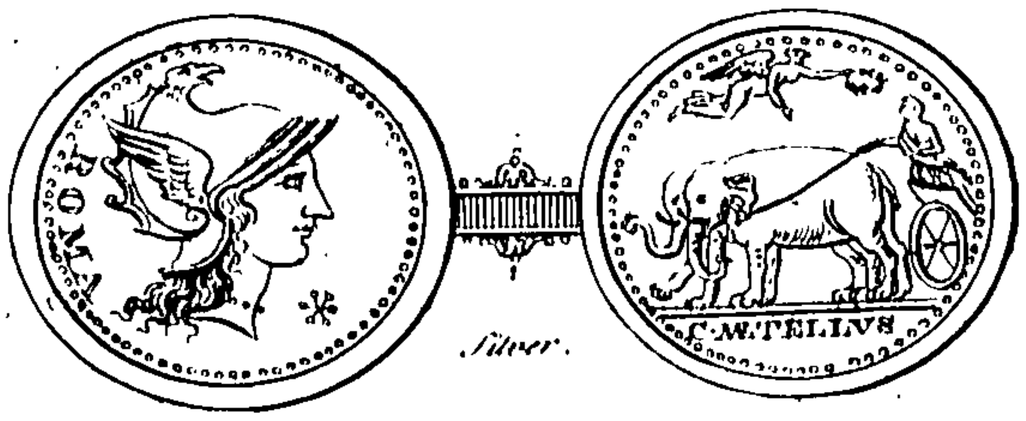
Verrius Flaccus, and *L. Piſo*.

AND whilſt theſe great Honours were done *Cæcilius Metellus* at *Rome*, the unfortunate *Aſdrubal* was impeached at *Carthage*. He was condemned to death before his return, and without his Knowledge; and as ſoon as he arrived, he was crucified. One Misfortune, or if you will one ſingle Fault, blotted out the Remembrance of many important Services. How great was the Difference between the two Republicks, of *Rome*, and *Carthage! Regulus*, though as unfortunate as *Aſdrubal*, had loſt nothing of the publick Eſteem and Affection his Countrymen had for him; whilſt the *Carthaginians* put one of the greateſt Officers *Carthage* had ever bred, to a moſt ignominious Death. The *Carthaginians* ſeem by this Diſparity of Manners alone, to have deſerved to be ſubdued by the *Romans*.

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 41.

§. XV. WHEN News was brought to *Rome*, that *Metellus* had in *Sicily* recovered his Republick that Reputation for Arms, which ſhe ſeemed to have loſt, ſhe immediately reſolved to ſend the two *Conſuls*, *Attilius* and *Manlius*, to purſue the Advantages that *Proconſul* had gained. It was indeed no eaſy Matter for thoſe who came after him, to follow him with equal Glory. But the two *Conſuls* paſſed the *Streights* on board the new Fleet, conſiſting of two hundred and forty Gallies, and ſixty ſmall Boats; and animated by a laudable Emulation, undertook to do more, than even *Metellus* their Predeceſſor had done. To finiſh the War in *Sicily*, and exterminate all the *Africans* out of the Iſland, at one Blow, was a thing of more Importance, than barely to conquer *Aſdrubal*. Their Fleet was numerous, and their Land-Army conſiſted of four *Legions*, beſides the Auxiliaries; and with theſe great Forces they hoped to take the City of *Lilybæum* from the Enemy, and thereby deprive them of their only Fortreſs, and only Reſource, in *Sicily*. The Deſign was truly great. *Lilybæum*, as it was then fortified, was thought impregnable. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſuls* reſolved to attempt reducing it. If they had not the Honour to finiſh the Enterpriſe, they had at leaſt the Courage to begin it. But *Lilybæum* proved a ſecond *Troy*; its Siege laſted ten Years. Never were Attacks made

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 41.



Silver.

33 The Medal above was ſtruck by one *Caius Metellus*, in Memory of the Victory and Triumph of *Lucius Cæcilius*. The reverſe is a Chariot drawn by two Elephants, and a winged Victory, holding a Crown over the triumphant Victor's Head.

with more Vigour; never was Defence more obſtinate. All the Forces of the two Republicks were exhauſted, within and without the Walls of one ſingle diſputed City. The *Romans* battered it without Intermiſſion, but could not take it, either by Force, or Capitulation. We ſhall ſee its Fate determined by the Peace, which will put an end to this long War. As ſoon as *Lilybæum* was inveſted, *Carthage*, in her Turn, became diſcouraged. The Blow *Metellus* had given her, produced the ſame Effects in *Africa*, as the Defeat and Detention of *Regulus* had produced in *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* could not be comforted for the Loſs of their Elephants. They lamented the Captivity of their brave Officers, who were kept Priſoners at *Rome*. Their Finances were as much exhauſted, as their Armies diminiſhed. The only Towns they now had left in *Sicily*, were *Drepanum*, and *Lilybæum*. The one was inveſted, and the other expoſed to the Inſults of the new Sea-Forces of the *Romans*. Theſe Conſiderations made them call to mind, the Propoſals of Peace which *Regulus* had offered them. They were hard Terms indeed; but if *Rome* would have ſoftened them a little, they would have been tolerable. And whilſt the *Carthaginian* Senate was reflecting on theſe things, *Regulus* was ſuffered to enjoy more Liberty, and the Rigours of his Confinement were abated. The Senate hoped by this means, to efface out of his Heart, that Hatred for the very Name of *Carthage*, which five Years ill Treatment had ſo deeply rooted in his Mind. *Oroſius B. 4. c. 10.*

Year of *ROME* DIII.
L. MANLIUS VULSO, C. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

HIS Chains were therefore knocked off, and he was ſuffered to enjoy a kind of Liberty. The *Carthaginians* believed, that by his Interpoſal, they ſhould be able either to obtain a Peace, on reaſonable Conditions, or at leaſt an Exchange of Priſoners. They hoped, that Self-love, and the natural Deſire of Liberty, Life, and a Return to his native Country, his Wife, and his Children, would incline him to favour the Intereſts of *Carthage*. But it was judging wrong of the Heart of a *Roman*, and a *Roman* of *Regulus*'s Character, to judge of it by the Sentiments of vulgar Minds. They alſo flattered themſelves, that with the Aſſiſtance of *Attilius Regulus*, the preſent *Conſul*, and near Relation of the Captive, the latter would have Intereſt enough in the Senate, to prevail upon it, to grant them their Demands. *After all*, ſaid they, Regulus *has neither loſt the Eſteem, nor the Affection, of his Republick. If he has the leaſt Love for himſelf, his being ſo much beloved by his Countrymen, will enable him, both to make himſelf happy, and to be thereby the Author of our Happineſs.* Upon theſe Prejudices, they endeavoured to perſuade him to go to *Rome* with the Ambaſſadors the *Carthaginian* Senate was going to ſend thither, to treat of a Peace, or at leaſt of a mutual Exchange of Priſoners. *Regulus* obeyed his Maſters; but had reſolved what to do. Which was to endeavour to prevail on his Country, not to redeem him, and his Companions in Miſery, by Exchanges. He was actuated by very different Motives from thoſe, which they thought might influence him. An implacable Hatred to *Carthage*, the Hopes of a vain Immortality in the Memory of Men, and the Deſire of blotting out the Shame of his Defeat, by a glorious Death, made him reſolve to ſacrifice himſelf, and the many other Captives of his Nation, to his own Reputation and Glory. Theſe were his Reſolutions, but he diſſembled them: and he embarked for *Rome*, after having ſworn to return to his Chains, if the Negotiation did not ſucceed. *Regulus* was in no manner of fear of being perjured; he reſolved ſtrictly to perform all he had promiſed. The *Carthaginian* Ship arrived ſafe in *Italy*, and *Regulus* and the Ambaſſadors came to the Gates of *Rome*. It was natural enough for him to haſten into his native City, out of an earneſt Deſire to ſee his Family and Friends; but his Conſtancy and *Roman* Gravity, would ſuffer him to go no farther than the Suburbs. *It is contrary to the Law*, ſaid he, *for a Foreigner, as I am, to enter within the Walls of the City. My Misfortunes have made me a Slave to the* Carthaginians. *I am no longer a* Roman Citizen. *The Senate always gives Audience to Foreigners* [34] *without the Gates; and I don't come here to break old Cuſtoms.* This beginning raiſed the Admiration both of the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*; and *Regulus* became the Subject of all Converſations. The *Conſcript Fathers* were impatient

Zonaras, B 8. c. 15.

Livy Epit. 18. Dion. apud Fulv.

Appianus in Punicis.

[34] *Regulus* came to *Rome* only as a Deputy from *Carthage*. Now the Republick had made a Law, not to receive the Ambaſſadors of any Province, that was an Enemy to her, within the Circuit of the City. She aſſigned them Lodgings in the Suburbs, and the Senate met there to give them Audience: which was very ſound Policy in the *Romans*. They thought it dangerous to admit Perſons within the Walls of *Rome*, who, under the Character of Deputies, might perhaps act the part of Seducers and

Year of *ROME* DIII.

L. Manlius Vulso, M. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls.

impatient to hear him ſpeak, and freely declare his Sentiments in the Senate; and in the mean time, his Wife *Marcia* paid him a Viſit, and preſented to him his Children, which were yet pretty young. But he only caſt a kind of wild Look on them; and then to ſhew how much he was aſhamed of his Slavery, fixed his Eyes on the Ground, as if he thought himſelf unworthy of the Embraces of his Wife, or the Careſſes of his Children. At length the Senate was aſſembled in the Suburbs of *Rome*, and after the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors, *Regulus* in his Turn, made the two Propoſals with which he was charged. His Diſcourſe was exceeding plain; he did not drop one Word, whence it could be inferred, to which ſide he enclined; and the Modeſty with which he ſpoke, plainly ſhewed, that he was very ſenſible, to how low a State he was reduced. *Conſcript Fathers*, ſaid he, *being now a Slave to the* Carthaginians, *I am come, on the part of my Maſters, to propoſe to treat with you about a Peace, and an Exchange of Priſoners.* As ſoon as he had ſaid this, he would have left the Aſſembly, and followed the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors, who had no Right to be preſent at the Deliberations of the Houſe; and the Senate in vain preſſed *Regulus* to ſtay, and vote as a Senator, and old *Conſul*. He refuſed to take his Seat among *The Fathers*. But being obliged to ſubmit to the Commands of the *Carthaginians* his Maſters, the illuſtrious Slave took his Place in the moſt auguſt Aſſembly in the World. There, with his Eyes fixed on the Ground, he continued ſilent, whilſt the moſt ancient Senators ſpoke; and when his Turn came to deliver his Opinion, and he was preſſed to declare it, he addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner. *Though my Body belongs to the* Carthaginians, *my Mind and Inclinations are entirely* Roman. *Fortune may change my Condition, but ſhe cannot alter my Manners, or my Education. Though I am a Slave at* Carthage, *yet I am free at* Rome. *And I will therefore declare my Sentiments with Freedom.* Romans, *it is not for your Intereſt, either to grant the* Carthaginians *a Peace, or to make an Exchange of Priſoners with them. I know a long difficult War, muſt have fatigued you, and your Finances muſt have ſuffered by the immenſe Expences you have been at, in equipping large Fleets, and maintaining great Armies. But are great Enterpriſes ever to be finiſhed without Perſeverance? I have ſeen with my own Eyes, That* Carthage *is extremely exhauſted, and That the only Reaſon why ſhe ſues for Peace, is, becauſe it is now impoſſible for her to continue the War. You have been vanquiſhed but once, and then, by my Fault. But how amply has* Metellus *repaired that by a ſignal Victory! All* Sicily *is now yours, except two Cities. The Iſlands near* Africa *obey you, and your new Fleets ſpread Terror over all thoſe Seas. Your Allies continue peaceable, and ſerve you with Zeal: Whilſt* Carthage *is utterly deſtitute of Money, and can have no Dependence even upon her own Provinces. With what Eaſe did I bring them to a Revolt! Your Armies conſiſt of only one People, who are united to you in Eſteem and Affection. Your Enemies uſe none but foreign Troops, which have no Tie to hold them to them, but Intereſt. The perfidious Republick will, in time, diſoblige all thoſe brave Nations, who will be intimidated by* Xanthippus's *Example; and then what will ſhe be able to do with her own Forces only, when deprived of her Mercenaries? No;* Romans, *a Peace with* Carthage *neither ſuits with my Judgment of Things, nor your Intereſt.* And thus far *Regulus* ſpoke very ſenſibly. It ſeemed to be for the Intereſt of *Rome* to continue the War, conſidering the Condition, to which the *Carthaginians* were reduced. But as to the Exchange of Captives, it ſeemed agreable both to Reaſon and Humanity, to treat of it, and agree to it. The Reaſons *Regulus* urged to divert the Senate from it, will appear very trifling, to thoſe who coolly conſider them. *You have among your* Carthaginian *Priſoners*, ſaid he, *thirteen conſiderable Officers, who are young, and may one Day, command the Enemy's Armies. But as for me, I advance in Years, and my Misfortunes have made me uſeleſs. Beſides, the Number of the Priſoners you have taken from the* Carthaginians, *infinitely ſurpaſſes that of the Priſoners they have taken from you. What can you expect from Soldiers who have been vanquiſhed, and made Slaves? Will they ſerve the State with as much Valour, as Men whoſe Reputations were never tarniſhed? Such Men are like Deer, which have eſcaped out of the Hunter's Toils; they are ever*

Zonaras. B. 8. c. 15.

Eutrop. B. 2.

and Spies. It was to be feared, that when mixed with the Citizens, they would enter into Plots to the Prejudice of the State, and watch the Deſigns of the Senate and *Conſuls*, too narrowly. It is ſuppoſed, that this Cuſtom began in the Infancy of the Republick, when *Brutus* and *Collatinus* were *Conſuls*, on account of the *Tarquinian* Envoys. We have obſerved, *B.* 5. that the Pretence of theſe Deputies was to claim the Effects of the *Tarquins*; but their real Deſign was to form Plots in favour of the baniſhed King, and to arm the factious Youth to kill the *Conſuls*.

upon the Alarm, and ready to fly. However, this Diſcourſe filled the Auditors with Admiration. The Senators were more affected with the Diſintereſtedneſs and Magnanimity of *Regulus*, than with the Strength of his Arguments. The Republick would willingly have preſerved him, continued the War, and not abandoned the *Roman* Captives which were left in *Africa*, to the Cruelty of the *Carthaginians*. The more the generous Slave deſpiſed his Life, the more ardently deſirous *Rome* was to ſave it. The People were inclined to ſhew no Regard to the Oath he had taken, that he would return to *Carthage*; and ſaid, *That now he was come to* Rome, *he was not obliged to keep the Oaths, which had been violently extorted from him, in an Enemy's Country.* The *Pontifex Maximus* himſelf, being conſulted in the Caſe, determined in favour of *Regulus*, and declared, that he might continue in *Rome*, without being guilty of Perjury. But as ſoon as *Regulus* had learnt this, he oppoſed the kind Intentions both of the People and *Pontifices*, and ſaid to the Senate, who trembled to hear him ſpeak! *What! Am I then fallen into Contempt among you? Is my Advice of no Weight in the Republick? Have you reſolved to diſgrace me? I know too well the Inconſtancy of the Peoples Favour, to leave it to them to take care of my Reputation. Upon my firſt return, their Good-will breaks out, and the Publick is much moved at the Remembrance of my Misfortunes. But as ſoon as theſe firſt Fits are over, I ſhall be neglected, and my Glory buried in the Obſcurity of a private Life. Theſe very People will reproach me with my Return, who ſeem moſt afflicted at my Abſence. I ſhall be often called Slave by the Envious: and how do I know, but* Rome *may be aſhamed to own me for a Citizen? O ye immortal Gods! You have been the Witneſſes of my Oath; and I will never deſerve your Vengeance by Perjury. Let us therefore go where our Engagements call us. I will never draw down Thunder upon my Country, and force Heaven to puniſh* Rome *for a Crime which ſhe ſhall have made me commit. No Expiations will effectually appeaſe the juſt Anger of the Gods. I know what Torments are reſerved for me: but what Pain is comparable to the continual Remorſes of a guilty Mind, and the Shame and Infamy, which would follow me to my Grave? Don't you therefore be afraid of my ſuffering Torments, which I my ſelf am not afraid to undergo. No Man is an Object of Pity, who dares brave Pain and Death. It is my Buſineſs to return to* Carthage, *and to leave the reſt to the Gods.*

Year of ROME DIII. L. MANLIUS VULSO, C. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

Eutrop. B. 2. Sallus. Jud. B. 6.

BUT this great Intrepidity made the Senate ſtill the more deſirous of keeping *Regulus* at *Rome*. It was a ſhameful thing to ſuffer ſuch an Hero to periſh; whoſe Preſence alone might be of Uſe to the Republick. And in order therefore to get rid of the freſh Importunities of the Senate, *Regulus* added to theſe falſe Virtues, a Lie, for which he much applauded himſelf in his own Breaſt. He proteſted, that before he left *Carthage*, he had been obliged to take a ſlow Poiſon, which conſumed him by Degrees, and would not ſuffer him to ſurvive his Deputation long. How madly was he bent upon dying, thus to make uſe of unworthy Artifices to procure his own Deſtruction! When Men once come to make their Fame their Idol, Virtues, Vices, and every thing elſe, are employed to acquire it; and they die Martyrs to it. As for the Senate, by the ſame Decree, whereby they refuſed either to make a Peace, or exchange Priſoners with the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors, they left *Regulus* at Liberty to return to *Carthage*, or continue at *Rome*. This was all that *Marcia* could obtain of the *Conſuls*, by her Lamentations, and Tears, and with all her Intereſt. And *Regulus* left his Country to return to the Place of his Slavery, with as ſerene a Countenance, as if he had been going to a Country Houſe for Pleaſure. An Action, which gained him what he aimed at. He acquired more Glory among his Countrymen, by thus leaving *Rome*, than he could have done, by entering it in Triumph: and the *Carthaginians* increaſed his Glory by their Barbarity. Their Rage made them invent new Puniſhments for him; and the more they multiplied his Torments, the greater Luſtre they gave to his Conſtancy. They cut off his Eye-lids [35], and placed him with his Face to the Sun. After this, they ſhut him up in a Cheſt, ſtuck thick within with

Aul. Gel.

Sall. Jud. B. 6.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 15. Appian in Punic. Val. Max. B. 1. c. 1. §. 14. Livy in Epit. Author of the Lives of Illuſt. Men. Cicero de Offic. Aul. Gell. &c.

35 It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Hoffman*, the Author of *The Univerſal Dictionary*, ſhould treat a Fact, atteſted by a Cloud of credible Witneſſes, as a Fable. It is true, *Polybius*, who is i other Caſes a moſt exact Hiſtorian, does not mention the cruel Death the *Carthaginians* made *Regulus* ſuffer. But is the Silence of one ſingle Author, who is wholly employed in deſcribing Battels and Sieges, ſufficient to overthrow the expreſs Teſtimony of *Tuditanus* only, who lived in the ſame Age with *Polybius* himſelf? Beſides, *Cicero*, *Livy*, *Appian*, *Zonaras*, and *Valerius Maximus*, all unanimouſly confirm the ſame Fact; and all theſe credible Teſtimonies, when joined with a conſtant Tradition, from Age to Age, cannot be rejected, without ſome Suſpicions of Scepticiſm. All agree, that *Regulus* died in the midſt

Year of *ROME* DIII.

L. Manlius Vulso, C. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls.

D. Aug. de Civit. Dei, L. 1. *c.* 15. & 24.

with Points of Nails, ſo that he could neither ſit nor lean, without exceſſive Torment; and there they ſuffered him to die with Hunger, Anguiſh, and want of Sleep. Thus periſhed one of thoſe brave Men, who are moſt highly applauded in prophane Hiſtory. And if, as is probable, he aimed at no more, than making his Memory famous, it muſt be owned, that he gained his Point. There are not wanting thoſe even among *The Fathers*, who have commended him; and juſtly preferred him to *Cato of Utica*. And indeed, where can we find more Steadineſs and Conſtancy? But neverthleſs, theſe are Virtues which differ from Obſtinacy, in nothing but the Excellency of the Motives: And the Misfortune in the preſent Caſe is this, that we cannot well aſcribe *Regulus*'s ſtiff Refuſal, in the propoſed Exchange of Priſoners, either to a Love of his Country, or to Humanity. How many unhappy Men would have been thereby reſcued from Slavery, and ſaved from Death! It was buying Glory at too dear a Rate, to purchaſe it with ſo much Blood, and at the Expence of the Miſery of ſo many of his fellow-Citizens.

The News of the Puniſhment inflicted on *Regulus*, at *Carthage*, was no ſooner brought to *Rome*, but the Senate made a cruel Retaliation on the *Carthaginian* Priſoners. The *Conſcript Fathers* thought they could not decree any thing more ſevere againſt them, than to leave them to *Marcia*'s Revenge; and this Woman, more affected with the cruel Death of her Husband, than ſhe ought to have been; by another kind of falſe Magnanimity, vented her Fury on the chief of the *Carthaginian* Captives; and made them ſuffer a part of the Torments to which her Huſband had been condemned. They were ſhut up [36], two and two, in great Cheſts, thick ſtuck with Nails; in which they were kept five Days without any Food. *Boſtar* died the fifth Day; but *Hamilcar*, notwithſtanding the Stink and Corruption of *Boſtar*'s Body, lived ten Days there, by the help of a little Bread, which was given him to prolong his Life, and his Miſery. And if the *Carthaginians* [37] taught the *Romans* to be cruel; it

midſt of Torments: though it muſt be granted, that all thoſe who have celebrated the Virtues of this Hero, don't exactly agree, as to the Circumſtances of his Death. *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 6. *c.* 3. thus relates this fatal Cataſtrophe, on the Credit of *Tubero*, an ancient Author, and in his own Words. *In atras & profundas tenebras eum* [Regulum] *claudebant, ac diu poſt, ubi erat viſus ſol ardentiſſimus, repente educebant, & adverſus ictus ſolis oppoſitum continebant, atque intendere in cœlum oculos cogebant. Palpebras quoque ejus, ne connivere poſſet, ſurſum ac deorſum deductas inſuebant. The* Carthaginians, ſays Tubero, *firſt ſhut him up in a dark Priſon. A great while afterwards, they drew him out of his Dungeon, and expoſed him to the Sun, when it ſhone hotteſt. Nay, their Barbarity went ſo far, that they ſewed his Eye-lids ſo, as to hinder him from winking; and in this cruel manner, they forced him to look up, and fix his Eyes on the Sun.* Thus, according to *Tuditanus*, this great Man died, with the cruel Torment of being kept from Sleep. *Tuditanus*, ſays *Aulus Gellius* in the Place juſt quoted, *ſomno diu prohibitum, atque ita vita privatum refert.* But *Eutropius* only ſays, *B.* 2. that the *Carthaginians* inflicted all the different ſorts of Puniſhment upon *Regulus*, which their Rage could invent. *Regreſſus igitur ad Africam omnibus ſuppliciis extinctus eſt.* And as for *Florus*, he ſeems to doubt, *B.* 2. *c.* 2. whether this unfortunate *Roman* died of the Miſeries of a long Impriſonment, or was crucified: which was a common Puniſhment among thoſe Barbarians. *Nec illo voluntario ad hoſtes ſuos reditu, nec ultimo, ſive carceris, ſive crucis ſupplicio, deformata majeſtas.* The moſt common Opinion is that which we have inſerted in the Text; except that a few Writers pretend that it was not a Cheſt but a Barrel, ſtuck thick with Points, in which the Patient was ſhut up.

St. *Auſtin*'s Panegyrick on this Hero of *Old Rome*, *B.* 1. *de Civit. Dei*, *c.* 15. and 24. ought not to be omitted. *Inter omnes ſuos laudabiles & virtutum inſignibus illuſtres viros, non proferunt Romani meliorem; quem neque felicitas corruperit, nam in tanta victoria manſit pauperrimus: nec infelicitas fregerit, nam ad tanta exitia revertit intrepidus .... At illi cum excogitatis atque horrendis cruciatibus necaverunt. Incluſum quippe anguſto ligno, ubi ſtare cogeretur, claviſque acutiſſimis undique confixo, ut ſe in nullam ejus partem, ſine pœnis atrociſſimis inclinaret, etiam vigilando peremerunt.* But *Regulus* was not the only Perſon the *Carthaginians* ſacrificed to their Revenge. They, with unparalleled Cruelty, ſays *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 9. *c.* 2. cruſhed the other *Roman* Priſoners to death, with the Weight of the Gallies which were upon the Stocks. *Eadem crudelitate uſi in milites noſtros. Martis certamine in ſuam poteſtatem redactos, navibus ſubſtraverunt, ut earum carinis ac pondere eliſi, inuſitata ratione mortis, barbaram ferocitatem ſatiarent tetro facinore, pollutis claſſibus ipſum mare violaturi.* And *Varro* confirms the ſame thing. According to him, the *Carthaginians* vented their Fury in exceſſive Barbarities. They tied the Captives to the Keels of their Gallies; ſo that the Bodies of theſe Wretches were ſtretched under theſe unweildy Hulks, as it were for Rollers: which are uſed for the more convenient launching of Ships.

36 *Aulus Gellius* ſays, *B.* 6. *c.* 4. that the *Roman* Senate left it to *Marcia*'s Children, to do what they pleaſed with the *Carthaginian* Priſoners. But if that was true, it is probable, that ſhe joined with her Sons in revenging the Death of her Husband in this cruel manner. The ſame Author alſo adds, that the Cheſts, which were built on this Occaſion, were ſtuck with *Crows-feet*, that is, pieces of Iron, with ſeveral Points, which are often thrown in Roads at certain Diſtances, to incommode the Foot, and wound the Horſe, of an Enemy.

37 *Diodorus Siculus* adds, *B.* 24. that the *Roman* Magiſtrates were informed of theſe exceſſive Cruelties; and being moved with Compaſſion, at the relation of the Torments ſo many miſerable Wretches were forced to endure, they put a Stop to the Fury of *Marcia*, and her Children; and gave Orders, That thoſe who had ſurvived their Tortures, ſhould be treated with more Humanity. The Senate alſo paſſed a Decree, commanding, that the Aſhes of the unfortunate *Boſtar* ſhould be gathered up, and ſent to *Carthage*.

may

may be obſerved, that the ſavage Pride of *Regulus*, was the Cauſe of theſe bad Examples, in both Republicks.

§. XVI. But the Death of *Regulus* did not put the Affairs of *Rome*, or *Carthage*, into any Diſorder. He was one of thoſe tranſient Comets, which ſhine more than the other Stars, and then vaniſh out of ſight, and leave no Marks behind them. When he was dead, the *Carthaginians* recovered new Courage, and new Strength. As for the *Romans*, they were extremely diſtreſſed for want of Money; but had great Plenty of every thing elſe. A * *Modius* of Corn, and one of their largeſt Meaſures [38] of Wine, were each ſold for one *As* † of Braſs; and thirty Pounds of dried Figs, ten Pounds weight of Oil of Olives, and ten Pounds of Meat, were ſold at the ſame Price. Indeed, it was of no great Conſequence to private Perſons to have a great deal of Money, provided they could have the Neceſſaries of Life, at a very low Rate. But the Caſe was different, with Regard to the Publick. The Sinews of War began to fail, and the Treaſury was almoſt exhauſted.

Year of *ROME* DIII.

L. Manlius Vulso, C. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls.

* *One* Peck, Engliſh, *Corn-meaſure*, *Arbuthnot*.

† 3½ *q. Arbuthnot*.

Pliny B. 8. *c.* 3.

In the mean time, the *Conſuls Attilius* and *Manlius* then encamped before *Lilybæum*, carried on the Siege, with all the Ardour, that an Emulation for Glory, and the Deſire of gaining a Poſt, the taking of which would utterly ruin the Affairs of the *Car-*

38 *Pliny* calls this great Wine-meaſure a *Congius*. We need not obſerve, that all Nations have had their own Weights and Meaſures ſettled, to prevent Frauds and Injuſtice in Commerce. The Difficulty is, how to reduce them all to one Standard. Many learned Men in our Days have beſtowed much Pains about thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; but we ſhall not trouble the Reader with their long Diſſertations on this Subject. The main Point is to determine as exactly as poſſible the Contents of thoſe principal Meaſures uſed in *Old Rome*, which were, as it were, the Foundation of all the reſt; that is, the *Libra*, or *Pound*, and the *Foot*. And in order to make an exact Eſtimate of them, and reduce them to *French* Meaſures, it is neceſſary to compare them with *The Royal Pound*, and *The Royal Foot*, which are moſt commonly uſed in *France*.

We have already obſerved in general, that the *Romans* divided any *Integer* into twelve Parts, which they called *Unciæ*; and the ſame may here be obſerved of the *Foot*, and the *Pound* in particular. The only remaining Queſtion then is, whether theſe Parts, or Twelfths of a *Foot*, or *Pound*, were equal to what we call *Ounces*, and *Inches*, that is, to our twelfth-Parts of a *Pound*, and *Foot*. And after many Calculations, it appears to be moſt certain, that the old *Roman Libra*, or *Pound*, of twelve *Ounces*, was no more than equal to eleven *Ounces*, one *Gros*, one *Denier*, and four *Grains French*: and conſequently, that the *Roman Pound* was to the *French Pound*, as 536$\frac{4}{5}$ is to 576. As to the *Roman Foot*, it is demonſtrated, by the moſt exact Calculations, that it is a hundred and four Parts, and forty five thouſandth Parts leſs, than *The Royal Foot*, in *France*; that is, that the old *Roman Foot*, was to the modern *French* one, as a 1000 is to 1104 $\frac{188}{200}$, and $\frac{2}{200}$, if we carry the Fractions as low as is poſſible. Whence it will follow, that there is a Difference of about eight or nine of theſe hundred and four Parts in every Ounce. This being ſuppoſed, it is eaſy to find out the Contents of the old *Roman* Meaſures, both liquid, and dry. Beſides, moſt of thoſe Meaſures, referred to what the *Latins* commonly called the *Quadrantal*, or *Amphora*; which being once known, the Knowledge of the reſt will follow of courſe. It was called *Amphora Capitolina*, both to diſtinguiſh it from another ſort of *Amphora*, which was no fixed Meaſure, but ſometimes greater, and ſometimes leſs, and in which the *Romans* uſed to keep their Wine; and becauſe it was made by the Standard, which was kept in the *Capitol*: agreably to theſe Lines of *Fannius*.

Amphora ſit cubus, quam ne violare liceret,
Sacravere Jovi Tarpeio in Monte Quirites.

Ancient Authors ſay, the *Quadrantal* contained one *Cubic Foot*. It held as much Wine as weighed eighty Pounds. But the Weight of what it contained, varied according to the Weight or Lightneſs of the Body that was meaſured by it. Almoſt all the other *Roman* Meaſures, were only Diminutives, or Parts of the *Amphora*; which contained two *Urnæ*. The two *Urnæ* contained three *Roman Modii*, or eight *Congii*; the eight *Congii*, forty eight *Sextarii*; the forty eight *Sextarii*, ninety ſix *Heminæ*; the ninety ſix *Heminæ*, a hundred and ninety two *Quartarii*; and the hundred and ninety two *Quartarii*, five hundred and ſeventy ſix *Cyathi*. Whence it follows, that the *Quadrantal*, or *Amphora Capitolina*, was twice as much as the *Urna*, eight times as the *Congius*. And by a Parity of Reaſon, the *Congius* muſt be ſix times as much as the *Sextarius*; the *Sextarius* twice as much as the *Hemina*; the *Hemina*, twice as much as the *Quartarius*. There were two Meaſures larger than the *Amphora*; one of which was called *Culeus*, the other *Medimnus*. The former held twenty *Amphoræ*; the latter two. At the rate of 26 *Pounds* $\frac{4}{5}$ each *Modius*, the *Medimnus* muſt have contained ſix *Roman Modii*, or a hundred and ſixty Pound weight. Nevertheleſs, *Pauſanias* makes the *Attick Medimnos* to contain no more than a hundred and eight Pounds. In *Feſtus*, under the Words *Publica Pondera*, we meet with an ancient Form of Words, which determines the Weight and Capacity of the *Roman* Meaſures, with a Prohibition to any one to alter them in any manner, under the Penalty of a Fine. This *Formula* is drawn up in due Form of Law; and that Author adds, that it was publiſhed at the Requeſt of two *Tribunes of the People*, named *Sibii*; but at what time, is not known. We ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak particularly of all theſe different Meaſures, in the Sequel of this Hiſtory. [Dr. *Arbuthnot* makes the *Roman Libra*, or *Pound*, equal to only ten *Ounces*, eighteen *Penny-weights*, and 13$\frac{1}{2}$ *Grains*, *Engliſh Troy* Weight; and the *Roman Foot*, equal to eleven *Inches*, ſix hundred and four *Decimals*, *Engliſh*. The *Quadrantal*, or *Amphora* contained, according to him, ſeven *Gallons*, one *Pint Engliſh*, Wine-meaſure; The *Urna*, three *Gallons*, four *Pints* and a half; The *Congius*, ſeven *Pints*; The *Sextarius*, one *Pint*; The *Hemina*, half a *Pint*, The *Quartarius*, a quarter of a *Pint*; The *Cyathus*, $\frac{1}{12}$ of a *Pint*. The *Culeus* contained, according to him, a hundred and forty three *Gallons*, and four *Pints*, *Engliſh* Wine-meaſure; The *Attick Medimnos*, four *Pecks*, ſix *Pints*, *Engliſh* Corn-meaſure; and The *Modius*, one *Peck* Corn-meaſure.]

Year of ROME DIII. L. Manlius Vulso, C. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls. *Polyb. B.* 1. *c.* 42.

thaginians in *Sicily*, could inſpire. *Lilybæum* was both the Name of a Cape, and of a City. The Cape was one of the three which gave *Sicily* the Appellation of *Trinacria*; and conſidered as that which looked towards *Africa*, and was nearer to it than either of the other two, it was of great Conſequence to *Carthage* to preſerve it; becauſe the *Carthaginian* Ships could more eaſily put in there, than in any other Port in the Iſland. Conſidered as a City, it was deemed one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the World. It ſtood almoſt at the Extremity of the Promontory, and was defended on one ſide by the Sea, which formed a Port, which it was both difficult and dangerous to enter, by Reaſon of the Rocks on both ſides of it. On the Land-ſide, the City was fortified with a wide and deep Ditch, which in ſtormy Seaſons was filled with the Sea-water, and had a Communication with the Port, by a Gut. It was alſo ſurrounded with a thick Wall, flanked with Towers, difficult to be come at, and more difficult to be battered down with a Ram. *Himilco*, one of the moſt famous Generals of the *Carthaginians* was in *Lilybæum*, and defended it with a numerous Garriſon. Excluſive of the Multitude of *Carthaginians*, who had long inhabited it; and the other *African* Troops; *Himilco* had there, at leaſt ten thouſand Mercenaries, partly *Greeks*, and partly *Gauls*. This was a great Army to be in a fortified Town, which was eaſy to be relieved, by means of a Port ſo near *Carthage*, and ſo long frequented by the *Africans*.

This was the State of *Lilybæum*; but the *Romans* had too much Courage and Conſtancy to be terrified from beſieging it. The *Conſuls* divided the Attacks between them; one was to command on the Sea-ſide, the other, on the Land. With this view, they pitched two Camps, which had a Communication, by a deep Ditch, covered with a Rampart, and a Wall; ſo that the *Conſuls* could mutually aſſiſt each other.

The firſt Attack was made at the Point of the Cape of *Lilybæum*, where it jets out fartheſt into the Sea. There ſeems to have been a Caſtle there; or rather a long *Courtine*, with ſeven Towers, in a direct Line, which had a Communication with each other, and reached to the Town. The firſt thing the *Romans* undertook, was to gain the firſt of theſe Towers. It was neareſt the Sea, and from thence the Coaſts of *Africa* were to be ſeen, at a great Diſtance. It was taken, by the help of the Machines; and then thoſe Machines were rolled on from Tower to Tower, and being made ſtill better and better, the longer they were uſed, the laſt Towers were more eaſily taken than the firſt. When the *Conſuls* had thus made themſelves Maſters of theſe Outworks, they then reſolved to attack the Place: but before the Machines could be brought up to the Wall, the Ditch muſt be filled. This was a laborious Work, conſidering the Breadth and the Depth of it. It was ſixty Cubits broad, and forty deep; but the *Romans* were indefatigable, in the Labours of a Siege. What increaſed their Trouble, was the Pains the Beſieged took, to draw the Earth into the City, as faſt as the Beſiegers, threw it into the Ditch. But the *Romans*, by the ſuperior Numbers of their Workmen, gained their Point.

Zonaras B. 8. *c.* 15. and *Diod. B.* 24.

The Ditch began already to be filled up, when the *Carthaginian* General undertook another Work; which was to throw up a ſecond Rampart, and build a ſecond Wall behind, to hinder the Enemy from coming further, after they had made themſelves Maſters of the firſt. And indeed, the *Conſuls* battered it with their Rams, and endeavoured to make a Breach in it with their Engines. But they had to do with a vigilant Governor, who knew how to make the beſt uſe of the ſtrong Garriſon he commanded. He was watchful and ſagacious; and both ſaw through, and defeated, all the Stratagems of War, which the *Romans* made uſe of to ſurpriſe him. He ſpared his Troops wherever it was proper to do ſo, and gave them all their Turns of Reſt and Refreſhment; whilſt at the ſame time, he kept the Enemy always in Play, and perpetual Alarms. Sometimes he made brisk Sallies, either to repulſe the Enemy, or at leaſt to deſtroy their Machines. Then bloody Skirmiſhes enſued, in which there was often as much Blood ſpilt, as in pitched Battels. Oftentimes, the *Romans* attempted to undermine 39 the Walls of *Lilybæum*, and throw them down.

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 42. *Zonar. B.* 8. *c.* 15.

39 Mining conſiſted formerly in firſt ſapping the Walls of a beſieged City, and then propping up the Mine with Wood. When the Work was finiſhed, the Miner daubed the Props all over with Pitch, and other combuſtible Matter; and as ſoon as the Wood was burnt, the Wall tumbled down, with a great Noiſe, and filled up the Ditch. Then the Beſiegers marched up through the Cloud of Duſt which aroſe from it, and began the Aſſault; and generally took the Place, by the help of the Breach, that was made by the falling of the Wall.

The *Carthaginians* on the other hand, countermined them, and came well-armed, and attacked the Miners under-Ground, when they had ſcarce any Arms to defend themſelves. Sometimes the *Romans* ſent Reinforcements to their Miners; but the *Carthaginians* killed them in the Mouth of the Mine, by throwing burning and ſmoking Materials into it, from the Top of the Wall, whereby they ſtifled them.

Year of *ROME* DIII. L. MANLIUS VULSO. C. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls. *Polybius B.* 1. *c.* 43.

However, notwithſtanding all the Care *Himilco* could take, not to harraſs and diſcourage his Troops too much, by exceſſive Labours; there were ſome Traitors among the great Number of Strangers, he commanded. Their Pretence for their Diſcontent was, that they did not receive their Pay; and the Heads of theſe Mercenaries entered into a Plot, well knowing they could depend on their Troops to join in it. In ſhort, they eſcaped the Vigilance of the Centinels in the Night-time, came to the Camp of one of the *Conſuls*, informed him of the Condition of the Place, and told him, how he might, by their Aſſiſtance, make himſelf Maſter of it. But among thoſe whom the Conſpirators would have drawn into their Meaſures, there was a Man of Honour, and Fidelity, though a *Greek*. The Name of this Commander of theſe Mercenaries, who came from *Achaia*, was *Alexon*; and he thought himſelf obliged to inform the *Carthaginian* General of the Plots, theſe foreign Officers were forming, againſt the Intereſt of *Carthage*. Upon this Information the General inſtantly aſſembled all thoſe foreign Officers, who were not yet infected, exhorted them not to ſtain their Reputations with an odious Act of Unfaithfulneſs, or draw down the Vengeance of the Gods upon them by Perjury; and after he had given them Hopes of all the grateful Returns *Carthage* could make them, he diſtributed among them all the Money he could collect; and aſſured them, that their Troops ſhould ſoon have their Pay. So that theſe Officers being appeaſed, and effectually ſecured, they pacified their Troops, and kept them in their Duty. *Alexon* took upon him to prevent the Revolt of the *Greeks*; and *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian*, who was both known, and beloved, by the *Gauls*, diverted them from their ſeditious Deſigns. So that no body joined with the Conſpirators, who, upon their return from the *Roman* Camp, found themſelves abhorred by thoſe very Men, whom they hoped to have drawn off from the *Carthaginian* Intereſt. Their only Refuge therefore was to return to the *Conſuls*, who graciouſly received them, made them Preſents, and aſſigned them Lands in *Sicily*, for their comfortable Subſiſtence. The *Romans* took care, not to let their bare Deſires of doing them Service, paſs unrewarded.

Zonaras B. 8. *c.* 15.

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 43.

§. XVII. IN the mean time the Siege was carried on with Vigour by the *Conſular* Armies; and *Lilybæum* muſt have fallen into their Hands, if it had not received a ſeaſonable Reinforcement. The *Romans* ſo carefully ſhut up the Port, that the Governor could not find means to ſend an Account of the Siege to *Carthage*; but nevertheleſs, it was there queſtioned, whether the Beſieged did not want Men, Money, and Proviſions. And certainly, the more vigorous Reſiſtance they made, the more they deſerved to be relieved. The *African* Republick therefore ſent away a Squadron to *Sicily*, with Soldiers and Proviſions. *Adherbal* ordered it to be fitted out, and *Hannibal*, the Son of *Hamilcar*, commanded it. But without a ſtrong Wind, and that directly a-ſtern, it was impoſſible for him to force his Way through the Enemy's Fleet, and enter the Port of *Lilybæum*, in their ſight. *Hannibal* therefore ſheltered himſelf in the Iſland of *Æguſa* 40, a little Way from *Sicily*, and there waited for a proper time, to make the Attempt. As ſoon as a brisk South-wind blew, he hoiſted all his Sails, and plied all his Oars, after having diſpoſed his Soldiers in order for fighting, in caſe of an Attack; and the Weather favoured him ſo much, and he ſo well knew how to take Advantage of all Circumſtances, that he made his Way through the midſt of the Enemy's Gallies, and arrived ſafe in the Port. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* had done all they could to ſtop up the Mouth of it. They had ſunk there fifteen round Ships, full of Stones; but the *Carthaginian* Gallies were ſo very light, that they found Water enough to carry them in, without ſtriking upon them. Perhaps, the ſudden Appearance of the *African* Squadron, and the Fear of being driven into the Port after it, by the Violence of the Wind, and of not being able to get out of it again, hindered the *Romans* from purſuing and attacking *Hannibal's*

Zonaras B. 8. *c.* 15.

Diod. in Eclog.

Polyb. B. 1. *c.* 44.

40 The Iſland of *Æguſa*, called *Capraria* by the *Latins*, and *Apponiana*, by *Hirtius*, in his *Hiſtory of the African War*, lies in the *Sicilian*, and not in the *Lybian* Sea, as the *Abridger of Stephens* falſely imagined. Over againſt this Iſland, were the Cities of *Drepanum*, and *Lilybæum*. It is now called *Favignana*; and is three Miles from *Levenzo*, and ten from *Sicily*.

Year of *ROME* DIII.

L. Manlius Vulso, M. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls.

nibal's Gallies. But be that as it will, it is certain, the *Carthaginian* entered *Lilybæum* without Oppoſition, ſtored it with freſh Proviſions, and provided it with freſh Troops, and thereby put it into a Condition to ſuſtain a long Siege.

The Joy of the Beſieged, to ſee ten thouſand Men enter triumphantly into their City, upon which all the Hopes the *Carthaginians* had of maintaining their Glory in *Sicily* depended, is not to be expreſſed. And then the *Romans* deſpaired of ſucceeding with their Engines. How could they defend them againſt ſo great a Number of Men, who ſhewed ſo much Reſolution in their manner of getting into *Lilybæum?* The *Conſuls* indeed foreſaw what would happen; but their Foreſight did not enable them to guard againſt it. All their Dependance being upon their Engines, they expected the Garriſon would ſoon make a Sally, and attack them. That they might therefore have the more Men to defend them, they raiſed Troops among all their

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. Allies in *Sicily*; and it is ſaid, that theſe *Sicilian* Recruits amounted to a hundred thouſand Men; of whom the *Conſuls* employed only ſixty thouſand in the Siege, and made it the Buſineſs of the reſt to ſupply the Army with Proviſions. But be that as it will, Battels now became more frequent, and more warm, ſince the Numbers of

Polybius B. 1. c. 45. the Beſieged, and the Beſiegers, were increaſed. After this *Himilco* made a Sally, with no leſs than twenty thouſand Men, in hopes of deſtroying the Machines of the *Romans*; and the *Conſuls* defended them with as great a Number. Never was Action begun, or carried on, with more Bravery. The *Carthaginians* appeared with their Swords in one Hand, and lighted Torches in the other, to burn the Engines. On the other ſide, the *Romans* diſperſed theſe Fire-men, and either repulſed them, or ſtrewed the Ground with their dead Bodies; ſo that they came not near the Machines. Then *Himilco* finding that his Troops began to be worſted, ſounded a Retreat; theſe brave Men returned into the City; and the *Romans* durſt not purſue them. The latter had indeed gained Advantage enough, in having ſaved their Engines.

The Night after this obſtinate Fight, *Hannibal*, who found himſelf to be of no uſe in *Lilybæum*, thought it adviſeable to take Advantage of the Wearineſs of the *Romans*, and ſailed out of the Port, he had ſo ſucceſsfully entered. He embarked on board his Fleet the *Carthaginian* Cavalry, which, in a beſieged City, ſerved only to conſume its Proviſions; purpoſing to make a better uſe of them in the Country: and he ſucceeded to his utmoſt Wiſhes. He repaſſed through the *Roman* Fleet, and tranſported the *Carthaginian* Horſe to *Drepanum*, almoſt the only Place in *Sicily*, which continued ſubject to the *Africans*, except *Lilybæum*. From thence the General, who underſtood the Land, as well as the Sea-ſervice, made long Incurſions; ravaged the Territories of the Allies of the *Romans*; intercepted the Proviſions which were deſigned for the *Conſuls* Camps; ſometimes ruined the Coaſts with his Gallies; ſometimes penetrated into the inland Parts of the Iſland with his Horſe; and uſed all

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. poſſible means, to diſtreſs the *Roman* Army. And he gained his Point. Proviſions grew very ſcarce among the *Conſular* Troops. They had nothing to eat but Horſe-fleſh; and Bread was at an exceſſive Price. Diſtempers followed the Famine; and they produced Murmurs, and Inaction. And indeed, ever ſince the *Sicilians* had joined the *Conſuls*, their Army was too big to be eaſily ſupported: and therefore it was thought proper for one of the *Conſuls* to return to *Rome* with his two *Legions*,

Zonaras B. 8. c. 15. and preſide in the Election for new *Conſuls*. This leſſened the Number of Mouths in the Camp, and it became more healthy. Then, after the Troops were recovered, they formed a new Deſign; which was to ſhut up the Port of *Lilybæum*, and make the Mouth of it utterly impaſſable. For this purpoſe, they made a Mole of Timber; conſiſting of great Piles, joined together with Brackets, and faſtened with

Diod. Sic. in Eclog. Iron Braces; but the Misfortune was, that the Sea was ſo deep, and ſo rapid in this Place, that ſuch a Work could not hold long. The great Winds, and the Currents immediately overturned it. In the mean time, it was ſoon reported in *Carthage*, that a Mole was making at the Entrance of the Port of *Lilybæum*; and this Report ſpread ſuch Terror there, that after this time, no Man durſt go and enquire after any News of the Siege.

Polybius B. 1. c. 46. §. XVIII. Imaginary Evils have often the ſame Effects as real ones. There was an univerſal Dejection in *Carthage*; but a Captain of a Galley in the Port, named *Hannibal the Rhodian*, gave the Republick ſome glimmering Hopes. He was perſonally brave, enterpriſing, and knew all the Ways into the Port of *Lilybæum*. He took upon him to go into it, and return, and bring News of the Siege. Little Depen-

dence was at firſt had upon his Promiſes, but he was adviſed to make the Attempt, and thanked beforehand for his Boldneſs; which ſucceeded beyond Expectation. He ſet ſail with his Galley, which was lighter than ordinary, hid himſelf behind an Iſland near the Port, there waited for a favourable Wind, and notwithſtanding the Mole, and the Enemy's Fleet, he eſcaped the Vigilance of the *Roman* Officers, appeared making for the Port, in broad Day-light, and entered it without Reſiſtance: and early the next Day, the brave *Rhodian* prepared to return. The *Conſul* himſelf was upon the Shore, with a part of his Troops, and had barred up the Entrance into the Port, with ten of his lighteſt Ships. But what cannot Addreſs and Intrepidity do? *Hannibal* paſſed a ſecond time through the Enemy, who were ſtruck with his Boldneſs. As ſoon as he was got out into the main Sea, he made his Crew ſtop rowing, and lift up their Oars as high as they could; which they continued to do a great while, as it were by way of Inſult to the *Romans*, and bidding them Defiance. He depended on the Swiftneſs of his Galley; and indeed, thoſe of the *Romans* were too heavy, to be able to come up with her. The *Rhodian* played the ſame part ſeveral times, came from *Carthage* to *Lilybæum*, and always carried back an Account of the Siege; which very much encouraged the *Carthaginians*, and as much enraged and confounded the *Romans*. But the moſt audacious fail at laſt. *Hannibal*'s Succeſs depended upon his perfect Knowledge of all the Ways into the Port of *Lilybæum*, and of the Currents, which run between the Rocks and Flats that ſurrounded it. As ſoon as he arrived near the Port, he directed his Courſe by the Tower, that ſtood fartheſt out towards the Sea, and tacked about, as if he was come from *Italy*. By this Management, he brought his Galley directly to the very Paſſage, by which he choſe to enter the Port. Several *Carthaginians* endeavoured, out of Emulation, to imitate him; but they did not ſucceed ſo well. One among the reſt, brought his Galley to the very Entrance into the Port; but inſtead of happily paſſing it, ſhe ſtruck againſt the Remains of the Mole, which the Winds and Waves had ſpared. The *Romans* ſeized the *Carthaginian* Boat, and made their Advantage of it. This alone ſufficiently enabled them to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of the audacious *Hannibal*. The *Conſul* put the beſt Crew he had, on board his Prize, and waited for a freſh Inſult from the *Rhodian*. Accordingly, he, as uſual, entered the Port in the Night, and reſolved to ſail out of it the next Morning, in open Day-light. He did not know that the *Romans* had taken a Galley, which was as ſwift a Sailor as his own; and therefore weighed Anchor with great Confidence; ſailed out of Port; and was purſued by the *Romans*; who came up with him, boarded him, and took him. And with the help of theſe two *African* Veſſels, the *Conſul* abſolutely barred up the Port, ſo that no *Carthaginian* durſt attempt to enter it any more.

Year of *ROME* DIII. L. MANLIUS VULSO, C. ATTILIUS REGULUS, Conſuls.

§. XIX. HOWEVER, the Beſieged were not diſcouraged by being deprived of this ſingle Advantage; they boldly reſiſted two Attacks of the Beſiegers. The latter battered the Place with Vigour, on the ſide next the Sea. But this was only a Feint, in order to draw all the Forces of the *Carthaginians* that Way, whilſt the *Conſul* made an Aſſault upon the outward Wall of the City on the Land-ſide. However, the Governor had Valour enough to withſtand both Attempts. The *Romans* were in a manner already Maſters of the firſt Rampart, when *Himilco* haſtened thither with his Troops, made a great Slaughter of the Enemy, and forced them to return into the Plain. And this firſt Diſadvantage was followed by another, which had like to have reduced the *Romans* to deſpair, and rendered them utterly incapable of carrying on the Siege. A violent Storm aroſe very ſuddenly; and the Land-wind blew with ſuch Force, that it ſhook the Machines prepared for the Siege, as ſubſtantial as they were, to the very Foundations. The *Covered Galleries* for making the Approaches, and the high wooden Towers, with which they were flanked, tottered; and ſeemed to be ready to fall. And then, ſome of the *Greeks*, who were hired into the *Carthaginian* Service, foreſaw the Injury this ſudden Storm might do the Beſiegers, declared their Opinions to the *Carthaginian* General, and their Advice was followed. So that the *Greeks* now recovered the Affairs of the *Carthaginians* a ſecond time, by their wiſe Counſels. At their Motion, and under their Direction, a Body of Men made a Sally, armed with Swords, and Flambeaux; and every thing favoured their Deſign. The Wind carried their Darts and Arrows againſt the *Romans*, with great Force; whilſt thoſe of the *Romans* could ſcarce reach the Enemy. So that the Beſieged, by that means, made themſelves a Paſſage to the Machines of the Beſiegers, which being made of very

Diod. in Eclog.

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 48.

Year of *ROME* DIII. L. Manlius Vulso, M. Attilius Regulus, Conſuls.

dry Wood, were eaſily ſet on Fire. The Wind carried the Flames from one Machine to another; whilſt a Cloud of Smoke hindered the Beſiegers from ſeeing the Firemen. The *Romans* threw their Darts at them, only at a Venture; the Flame, which ſpread very faſt, blinded them, and gave Light to their Enemies. Beſides, the burnt Beams, which continually fell down, one after another, terrified the boldeſt, from attempting to put out the Fire. So that *Rams*, *Galleries*, *Towers*, *Platforms*, and *Balliſtæ*, were all burnt, and the Work of ſeveral Months, conſumed in one Hour. Then the boaſted Conſtancy of the *Romans* would not have been able to have born up under this terrible Diſaſter; if the King of *Syracuſe*, that ever faithful and generous Friend to *Rome*, had not raiſed their Spirits, under this Dejection. *Hiero* ſent a Convoy of Proviſions to their Camp, and exhorted them not to abandon their Enterpriſe. If the Expedition had failed, the ill Effects of it would in the end have fallen upon him; for if the *Carthaginians* had again gained the Aſcendant in *Sicily*, *Syracuſe* muſt have been loſt.

Pol. B. 1. *c* 48. But after this Shock, the *Conſul* found himſelf out of a Condition to take *Lilybæum* by force, and therefore turned the Siege into a Blockade. The *Romans* kept themſelves upon the defenſive; and waited for ſome lucky Minute, which ſhould determine the Fate of *Lilybæum*. The two Parties gave each other time to entrench themſelves. The Beſieged repaired the Breaches the Machines had made in their Walls; and the *Romans*, who foreſaw that the Siege would be long, fortified their two Camps, with good Stone-walls, ſo that they looked like two Cities, which incloſed a larger City, on both ſides. At *Rome*, the News of the burning of the Machines, and the Battel which it had occaſioned to the Diſadvantage of the *Romans*, made different Impreſſions, on the People, and the Senate. The People were the more animated by it, to carry on the Siege. Ten thouſand Men entered into an Aſſociation, to go and ſerve in the Army before *Lilybæum*, paſſed the *Streights*, and marched on Foot to the *Roman* Camps. But the Senators were ſomewhat divided in Opinion. Notwithſtanding the Advice *Regulus* had given them, never to make a Peace with *Carthage*, ſome of them were for treating about one. And from
Zonaras B. 8. *c.* 15. Words, the Diſpute came to Blows. We are aſſured, that one Senator was killed, in the Senate-houſe itſelf, for appearing too zealous for a Peace. It was doubtleſs a very diſputable Point, whether Peace or War was to be preferred; ſince two of the beſt
Polyb and *Zonaras*. Hiſtorians we have, tell us, that in the Year *Regulus* died, and *Lilybæum* was beſieged, Affairs turned more in favour of *Carthage*, than of *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* DIV. P. Claudius Pulcher, L. Junius Pullus, Conſuls.

§. XX. The next Year, the *Carthaginians* were yet more ſucceſsful, and the *Romans* humbled. Two Men were promoted to the *Conſulſhip*, who were more raſh and bold, than ſkilful in the Art of War. One of them [41] was a Man of a great Name, deſcended from the *Claudian* Family, which was originally *Sabine*; and ſome make him to have been the Son, others the Grandſon, of the famous *Appius Claudius*. And it is certain, that the new *Conſul* had all the Faults of his Father, or Grandfather, but had inherited none of his good Qualities. Generally ſpeaking, the *Claudian* Family were remarkable for aſſuming Airs of Haughtineſs, Independence, and even Fierceneſs, which ſignally appeared in all thoſe Members of it, which were advanced by *Rome* to her higheſt Dignities. The Collegue of *P. Claudius Pulcher*, was one *L. Junius Pullus*, a *Plebeian*, who was worſe born, and had no more Courage or Conduct, than *Claudius*. The Collegues drew Lots for their Provinces; and it fell to *Claudius*, to command the Land-Forces in *Sicily*, and carry on the Siege, which was begun there; and to *Junius*, to command the Fleet. The General of the Land-Forces came to take Poſſeſſion of his Command, and of the two *Roman* Camps before *Lilybæum*; and he diſcovered all his Faults, as ſoon as he entered upon his Office. He never ſpoke of his Predeceſſors, but with Diſdain, and to their Diſadvantage: and the firſt Speech he made his Soldiers, was full of bitter Reflections upon
Diod. Sic. in Excerpt.

41 Some Authors give the *Conſuls* for this Year other *Prænomina*, than what are given them, in *The Capitoline Tables*. *Oroſius* gives *Lucius Junius* the *Prænomen* of *Caius*. *Cicero*, *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Eutropius*, and *Marianus*, give the *Prænomen* of *Appius* to *Publius Claudius*, who was, according to *Pliny*, the Grandſon of *Appius*, ſurnamed *Cæcus*, or *The Blind*. But *Tull de Divin.* and *de Natura Deor. B.* 2. tells us, that he was the Son of that *Appius*: in which he agrees with the *Faſti Capitolini*, and with *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 10. *Livy*, and *Valerius of Antium*, as quoted by *Cenſorinus c.* 19. *de die Natali*, place the third *Secular Games*, in this *Conſulſhip*: but we, upon the Authority of the *Faſti Capitolini*, place the Celebration of them, in the Year 517. when *Publius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Caius Licinius Varus*, were *Conſuls*.

them, for their paſt Indolence. *Your Generals*, ſaid he, *have enervated your Strength, by Lazineſs and Cowardice. Though you are Beſiegers, they have ſuffered you to live, as if you were your ſelves feintly beſieged. Your Camps have only been Places of Refreſhment and Diverſion for you, where you have ſpent your time idly, and merrily; and have been mighty well ſatisfied, that you have not utterly ruined the Republick.* *Claudius* never gave Orders but in an imperious manner. He never deſcended from that height, to which his Birth raiſed him in his own Thoughts. In ſhort, he was harſh, and ſevere, and did not ſpare even the Allies of the Republick, whom he cauſed to be baſtinadoed upon every the leaſt Diſlike. This Pride and Contempt for the other Generals, made them look the more narrowly into his Conduct, which they found to be miſerably defective. As he was ſucceſſively governed by different Paſſions, he purſued no one regular Deſign. His Impetuoſity, or mere Caprice, put him upon chimerical Projects; and he was too proud to take Advice. It was in one of theſe Humours, that he formed the fine Deſign of ſurpriſing *Drepanum*. *Adherbal*, an Officer of Reputation, was the *Carthaginian* Governor of it: and *Claudius* took it into his Head, that it was not known there, that the *Roman* Army had been reinforced with ten thouſand Men. He alſo flattered himſelf, that the Enemy would give themſelves up to Security, ſince the Repulſe the *Romans* had met with, when they endeavoured to defend their Machines: and upon theſe falſe Prejudices, he made a ſecond Attempt to build a Mole before the Port of *Lilybæum*. But he ſucceeded no better, and was worſe ſerved, than his Predeceſſors. The ſecond Mole was blown up, as well as the firſt, and his Labours became the Sport of the Winds and Waves. Nevertheleſs, the fiery General ordered the Gallies, which ſhut up the Port of the beſieged City, to follow him to *Drepanum*. They were in all ſixſcore. The Paſſage could not be long, ſince it was reckoned but fifteen Miles from *Lilybæum* to *Drepanum*. The *Roman* General was very confident, that as ſoon as he ſhould take *Drepanum*, and ſack it, the double Fortifications and Towers of *Lilybæum*, would be overturned. He ſet ſail in the dead of the Night, and had a very good Paſſage. But by that time he appeared off *Drepanum*, the Day began to break, and diſcovered his Motions, which till then were unknown. *Adherbal* made no doubt, but the Enemy was coming againſt him; and he had but two Ways to take, either to meet the *Conſul*, and give him Battel; or elſe to let him enter the Port, and ſuffer himſelf to be beſieged. The latter he thought the leſs honourable Method, and it was indeed the leaſt ſafe; and he therefore immediately ordered his Ships to be got ready, ſent his Rowers aboard, and aſſembled his Mercenaries on the Shore. He told them in few Words, how ſhameful it would be for brave Men to ſuffer themſelves to be inveſted in the Port, and to hide themſelves behind their Ramparts, without daring to face the Enemy; and his Harangue had the deſigned Effect. His Troops all deſired a Battel, and the Chearfulneſs of his Seamen, and Soldiers, was an happy Omen of Succeſs.

Year of ROME DIV. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, L. JUNIUS PULLUS, Conſuls.

Oroſius B. 4. c. 13.

NEVER was Reſolution more readily taken, or more vigorouſly executed. *Adherbal* went aboard the beſt of his Ships, ſailed firſt out of the Port, after having given Orders to the Commanders of his Gallies to follow him, and not to loſe ſight of him, but to ſail directly after him: and he was obeyed. He had ſcarce quitted the Port, ſailing through the Rocks to the left, before the *Roman* Fleet, which came to the right, entered it, becauſe they found it empty, and thought the Enemy had deſerted it. The foremoſt of the *Roman* Ships were already in the Baſon, and thoſe which followed, were in the Mouth of the Port, in order to enter it; when *Adherbal* appeared, as coming from a great Diſtance, and advancing towards *Claudius*, who was in the Rear of his Fleet. Then the *Roman* General tacked about, towards the *Carthaginian*, and ſent Orders to the Gallies before him, immediately to leave the Port, and haſten to his Aſſiſtance. This created a terrible Confuſion in the Mouth of the Harbour, which was too narrow, for ſeveral Gallies to paſs through it, in Front. As it was neceſſary for all the *Roman* Ships to tack about, they fell foul on one another, and the Oars ſtruck againſt one another, for want of room to work them. So that it was a great while before they could extricate themſelves out of this Difficulty, which the Precipitation of the General, and his repeated Orders to make haſte, increaſed. But at length they diſintangled themſelves; and the *Roman* General haſtily drew out his ſixſcore Gallies along the Coaſt, becauſe *Adherbal*, who made all the haſte he could to attack him, would not give him time to get farther out to Sea. *Claudius* removed from the right to the left, to receive the *Carthaginian*'s firſt Onſet: but

Year of *ROME* DIV. P. Claudius Pulcher, L. Junius Pullus, Conſuls.

but the latter had only five of his Gallies with him, the reſt followed him at a Diſtance. With thoſe he had, he advanced from the left to the right, above the *Romans*; began to place his Ships in order, preſenting their Prows to the Enemy; and as faſt as his Gallies came up, he drew them up in Line of Battel; and had all the Advantage on his ſide. The *Romans* were pent up a-ſtern, by the Coaſt; the *Carthaginians* had the open Sea behind them. If the *Romans* ſhould be hard preſſed, or obliged to retire ever ſo little, they muſt neceſſarily either run a-ground on the Flats, or ſplit upon the Rocks on the Coaſt. On the contrary, if the *Carthaginians* were purſued, they had Sea-room enough to eſcape; and if any *Roman* Ship ſhould purſue them too haſtily, and out of rank, it would be eaſy to ſurround her, in the main Sea. Nor was *Adherbal* either ignorant of any of his Advantages, or how to make the beſt uſe of them. His Fleet indeed was not ſo numerous as that of the *Romans*, it conſiſting only of ninety Gallies; but his Seamen were better, and his Ships lighter.

Nevertheless, the *Conſul* and his Fleet might have avoided the Enemy, and returned before *Lilybæum*, if he had thought fit. But he was obſtinate, and choſe rather to fight, though contrary to the *Auſpices*, which foreboded nothing but the worſt of Conſequences. The Reader muſt remember a vain and ſuperſtitious Cuſtom of the *Romans*, before they gave Battel; of which neither Experience nor Reaſon had yet cured them. An *Augur* always attended the General, both by Sea and Land, with a Cage [42] full of Chickens, from which Preſages were taken of the good or ill Succeſs of Battels. If they leaped haſtily out of their Cage, and fell greedily to the Food which was thrown to them, the *Augur* thought this an infallible ſign of Victory. If, on the contrary, they refuſed to eat, and ſcattered about their Meat with their Feet and Wings, it was concluded, that the Conſequence would be bad. In all probability, theſe Diviners judged of the Event of an approaching Battel, by the preſent Circumſtances of Things; and if they foreſaw that it would ſucceed ill, they gave the Chickens as much Meat as they would eat, before they let them out of Cage, and ſhewed them. But be that as it will, the Ceremony was now performed in *Claudius*'s Preſence; the Fowls not only neglected eating, but even threw away their Food; and upon this, even the Prejudices of Religion could not reſtrain the *Conſul*'s Brutality. He took both Cage and Chickens together, and threw them all into the Sea, with a Jeſt, which was then thought highly impious. *If your Birds won't eat*, ſays he to the *Augur*, *let them drink*. The ſilly Politician did not conſider that the Contempt of Religion would diſcourage his Troops. Indeed, the *Romans* ſeemed to forget themſelves in the Action. They no longer acted with their wonted Intrepidity, which uſed not to be diſcouraged at any Diſadvantages of Situation, or the Fierceneſs of any Enemy. Moſt of their Gallies ſuffered themſelves to be driven againſt the Shore, run a-ground on Banks of Sand, ſcarce made any Motion againſt the Enemy, and very feintly ſuſtained their Attacks. As for *Claudius*, who was ſo ready to hazard a Battel, contrary to the common Opinion, and in ſpight of the Prejudices of Religion, he was the firſt to get out of Danger. As ſoon as he ſaw the Victory incline to *Adherbal*'s ſide, he ſheered off with thirty of his Gallies, and left the reſt to ſtruggle with the Winds, Rocks, and Quickſands, and ſo fall a Prey to the Enemy. The *Romans* loſt ninety Gallies in this ill-conducted Action; had eight thouſand Men killed or drowned; and twenty thouſand of their Soldiers, and Seamen, were taken Priſoners, and carried to *Carthage*. Whereas, the *Carthaginians* ſcarce loſt one ſingle Man; had very few wounded; and not one of their Ships was either ſunk, or taken. A memorable Inſtance of the ill Conduct of a proud and obſtinate General. Nevertheleſs, *Claudius* had afterwards Preſence of Mind enough, to adorn his thirty Ships with Crowns, as if he had gained the Victory. And by this Artifice he paſſed ſafely, by ſeveral maritime Ports, which the *Carthaginians* held between *Drepanum*, and *Lilybæum*. In *Lilybæum* itſelf, which was ſtill carefully inveſted, it was taken for granted, that the *Romans* had been victorious; but this falſe Fear did not laſt long. The News of *Conſul Claudius*'s being recalled, and of his Collegue *Junius*'s Adventure, was ſoon afterwards brought thither.

Cic. L. 2. De Nat. Deor. Val. Max. B. 1. c. 4, §. 3.

Oroſius B. 4. c. 10. and Diod. Sic. in Eclog.

Front. Strat. B. 2. c. 10.

42 See our Account of the ſacred Chickens, and the Superſtition of the *Romans*, upon the Principles of *Ornithomanthy*, p. 72. of this Volume, *Note* 88.

§. XXI. Indeed,

Year of *ROME* DIV.

P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, L. JUNIUS PULLUS, Conſuls.

§. XXI. INDEED, as ſoon as it was known in *Italy*, what Diſgrace and Miſchief *Claudius* had brought upon the Republick, by his Humours, his Flight, and his Impiety, he was immediately recalled, before his *Conſulſhip* was expired. It would not have been regular, to have begun a Proſecution againſt him, whilſt he was in his Office: and therefore the Senate only ordered him to nominate a *Dictator*. This was then neceſſary. One of the two preſent *Conſuls* was little better than a Madman; the other had ſuffered the *Roman* Fleet to be deſtroyed, partly by his own Fault; as will ſoon appear, when we come to relate that Story. The proud *Claudius* therefore being obliged to abdicate the *Conſulſhip*, and nominate a *Dictator*, took Pleaſure, in offering the Senate an Affront, which was entirely new. By way of Contempt to their Orders, and in Deriſion of the Laws, he, without conſidering the Danger which might thence ariſe to the State, nominated one of his Clients, named *Claudius Glycias* to the *Dictatorſhip*, with the uſual Ceremonies. He was one of the meaneſt and loweſt of the People, and had no other Office in the City, but that of Secretary, and *Viator* [43], that is, Tipſtaff to *Claudius*, during his Office. But this very unſeaſonable Jeſt brought the new *Dictator* himſelf into ridicule, and made the Perſon who nominated him odious to all Orders of Men in the State. And therefore *Glycias* was forced to abdicate; but was ſo far indulged, as to be permitted to wear the Robe bordered with Purple, called *Pretexta*, in the Theatre and *Circus*, all the reſt of his Life. The *Romans* thought they might be at Liberty to grant this little external Mark of Dignity, to a Man, whoſe Nomination had indeed made him the Jeſt of *Rome*, but who had reſigned his *Dictatorſhip* with a good Grace. The *Dictator* who ſucceeded him was *M. Attilius Calatinus*; and he made the famous *Cæcilius Metellus* his General of Horſe. As to the mad *Claudius*, he was proſecuted at the Tribunal of the People, immediately after his Depoſition; but Hiſtorians give us different Accounts of the Succeſs of his Proſecution. The beſt Writers ſay, he was condemned. Others perhaps, to wipe off this Stain from the *Claudian* Family, which became powerful in *Rome*, ſay, That when the People came to proceed to the Condemnation of the Criminal, a ſudden Storm aroſe, which obliged them to leave the *Forum Romanum*; and That the *Romans* looking on this Accident, as a tacit Abſolution given him by the Gods, did not think fit to call him up to Judgment any more. But the whole Story has the Air of a Fable, invented by Flattery, when the *Claudian* Family was in Power at *Rome*.

Sueton. Life of *Tiberius*, and *Faſt. Capit.*

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 52. *Cicero de Nat. Deor. L.* 2. *& de Divin.* *Val. Max. B.* 8. *c.* 1. §. 4.

§. XXII. As for *Junius*, the Command of the Fleet having fallen to him by Lot, he had ſet ſail from *Italy*, with ſixty Gallies, and ſeveral Tranſports. When he came to *Meſſana*, he increaſed the Number, both of his Gallies and *Pinks*. His Deſign was to carry Proviſions to the Camp, before *Lilybæum*; and his whole Fleet now conſiſted of ſixſcore Gallies, and eight hundred other Boats, of all ſorts. From *Meſſana* he ſailed on to *Syracuſe*, without doubt, in order to load his Fleet with Corn, Wood for Machines of War, and the other Proviſions neceſſary for continuing the Siege. And whilſt he tarried in this Port, and waited for thoſe of his Ships, which had not yet been able to join him, or follow him, he ſent a Squadron of his Fleet before him, under the Command of his *Military Quæſtors*. In the mean time, *Adherbal* was not indolent, upon the News of *Conſul Julius*'s being at Sea with a ſecond Fleet, and going to carry Reinforcements and Proviſions to the Camp before *Lilybæum*. The Victory he had gained over the raſh *Claudius*, made him hope for the like Succeſs againſt *Junius*. He had ordered *Carthalo*, one of the *Carthaginian* Generals in *Sicily*, to go and attack the *Roman* Squadron, which ſhut up the Port of *Lilybæum*: And *Carthalo*, with an hundred Gallies, had inſulted thoſe of the *Romans*, in the ſight of the Beſieged, and filled the *Roman* Camp with Terror. Then, after he had ſunk ſome Ships, and taken five from the Enemy, he had continued his Courſe along the South-coaſt of *Sicily*, in order to cruiſe round *Heraclea*, and hinder the *Conſul Junius* from carrying his Convoy to the *Roman* Camp, before *Lilybæum*. In this Latitude, *Carthalo* was told, that a *Roman* Squadron was ſeen out at Sea; which was that of the *Quæſtors*. Full of Joy therefore, he prepared for a Battel, and conſidering the Superiority of his Fleet, in point of Numbers, promiſed himſelf a ſure Victory. He made the beſt uſe of his Oars, and came within ſight of the Enemy; but the *Quæſtors*, who were diffident of their own Strength, ſought for a

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 52.

Diod. in Excerp.

[43] See our Account of the Office of *Viator*, Vol. 1.

Year of ROME DIV.

P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, L. JUNIUS PULLUS, Conſuls.

Polybius B. 1. *c.* 53.

Place of Shelter, and found one near *Phintia* 44, a City ſubject to the *Romans*. It happened unfortunately, that *Phintia* had no Port; but there was a kind of Road ſo ſheltered by Rocks round it, that Ships might ride in it very ſafely. And there the *Romans* landed, drew up their Veſſels along the Shore, and reſolved to defend them with their *Balliſtæ*, and other Engines, proper for throwing Stones. Then a Battel enſued between the *Romans* at Land, and the *Carthaginians* at Sea. The City of *Phintia* had furniſhed the *Quæſtors* with the Machines neceſſary for their Defence; and *Carthalo* had not all the Succeſs that he expected. He thought the *Romans* would have abandoned their Fleet, and fled to the City for Refuge: but they made a vigorous Reſiſtance, and as they had all the Advantage of the Ground, the *Carthaginian* only took from them a few Barks.

At ſome Diſtance from *Phintia*, was the Mouth of a little River, which the Hiſtorians call 45 *Halycus:* and there *Carthalo* put in his Fleet, and refreſhed his Crews. In this advantageous Poſt he waited for the *Quæſtors*, reſolving to attack them, as ſoon as they ſhould appear at Sea. But a more important piece of News, made him weigh Anchor, leave the *Halycus*, and give up all Hopes of engaging the *Roman* Squadron. His Advice-boats, which he had ſent out to make Diſcoveries, brought him Word, that the *Conſul Junius*'s Fleet was ſailed from *Syracuſe*, had doubled Cape *Pachynum*, and was bound for *Lilybæum*. The *Carthaginian* therefore thought it neceſſary to make all haſte to join the Enemy, and fight him as far as he could from *Phintia*, leſt the *Conſul*'s Fleet, ſhould join the *Quæſtors* Squadron. Accordingly, he made the beſt uſe of his Oars, and crowded all the Sail he could to meet the *Conſul*; who neither knew any thing of the Battel he had fought with the *Quæſtors*, or where their Squadron lay. Had he known that, he would have made it his Buſineſs to come up with them, and join them. As for *Carthalo*, he came in ſight of the *Roman* Fleet, off of *Camarina*; but the *Romans* thought their Fleet too weak, to hazard a Battel. However, as it was neither for the Honour, or Advantage of the *Conſul* to fly before an Admiral, whoſe Gallies were lighter than his; he choſe to act much the ſame part his *Quæſtors* had done, on the like Occaſion, though he did not know it. He turned towards the Coaſt, and came and poſted himſelf in a Place, which was full of Rocks and Mud. It was better to loſe ſome of his Ships there, than to give up the whole Fleet to the Mercy of an Enemy, ſtronger than himſelf. And the Deſign had been very ſucceſsful, if the Winds and Sea had favoured it. *Carthalo* durſt not follow the *Conſul* to the Port, where he had fled for Refuge, and therefore brought his Gallies under Shelter of a Cape, from whence he could obſerve the Motions, both of the *Quæſtors* Squadron, and the *Conſul*'s Fleet. And being thus poſted between them, he kept them both in Awe; ſo that neither of them could put out to Sea, without being beaten.

WHILST the *Romans* obſtinately continued in their Retreats, and *Carthalo* was watching them, the Wind blew freſh, and the *Carthaginians* obſerved, that the Sea would ſoon grow boſterous. The *African* Pilots, who had always been uſed to theſe Seas, knew by certain Signs, and foretold, when Tempeſts would happen, ſome Days before they aroſe. They therefore perſuaded their Admiral, to leave this Station, double Cape *Pachynum*, and go and ſhelter himſelf under the oppoſite Coaſt. And it was not without ſome Difficulty that *Carthalo* was able to double the Cape, where he felt the firſt Effects of the Storm: whilſt the *Roman* Squadron and Fleet, were daſhed againſt the Rocks, and driven a-ground on the Shores, and utterly deſtroyed. Never was a more complete Shipwreck. It is ſaid, that of all this great Number of Ships of War, and Tranſports, there was not one Plank ſaved, that could be of uſe again; but we are to underſtand this Exaggeration with due Allowances. There was no Ship left whole, and all the Proviſions they carried, were ſwallowed up by the Sea. But after all, few Men periſhed, either Soldiers, or Seamen. It was eaſy for them to reach the Shore, either by ſwimming, or upon the Wrecks. The Winds and Waves themſelves drove them upon the Coaſts. Thus Heaven again deſtroyed the *Roman*

Oroſius B. 4. *c.* 10. and *Polybius B.* 1. *c.* 54.

44 *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*, make *Phintia* one of the inland Cities in *Sicily*; but the Authority of *Antoninus*'s *Itenerary*, of *Diodorus of Sicily*, and of *Cicero*, in his *Third Oration againſt Verres*, incline us to believe, that it was a maritime City, ſituated near the Mouth of the *Himera*, not far from Mount *Ecnomus*, in the South Part of the Iſland. We gueſs, that the preſent City of *Licata* ſtands, on the Place where *Phintia* ſtood.

45 The River *Halycus*, is now called by the *Sicilians*, *Platani*. Near its Spring ſtood an ancient City called *Halycia* from the Name of this River; which diſcharges itſelf into the *Sicilian* Sea, near *Heraclea*.

Fleet,

Fleets, on purpoſe, as it ſhould ſeem, to try the Conſtancy of the Republick: and ſhe was indeed diſcouraged at firſt, and again renounced the Empire of the Seas. But neither did this Dejection laſt long. Ambition always raiſed the *Romans* above any Difficulties, or Loſſes. Year of *ROME* DIV. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, L. JUNIUS PULLUS, Conſuls.

§. XXIII. THE Siege, or rather the Blockade of *Lilybæum*, was ſtill continued. The *Romans* were yet ſtrongeſt at Land, notwithſtanding all their Diſaſters; and the greateſt part of *Sicily* was ſubject to them. Ever ſince the Death of *Regulus*, that is, from the time that the *Roman* Republick had ſuffered her greateſt Misfortunes, the *Carthaginians* had taken nothing from them but the City of *Eryx*. And the *Conſul Junius*, made it his Buſineſs to reconquer it, in order to make ſome Amends for the Loſs of his Fleet, by a ſignal Action. *Eryx* was very finely ſituated, on the Declivity of the higheſt Mountain in *Sicily*, next *Ætna*. The Top of the Mountain was flat, and upon it was built a Temple to *Venus Ericyna*, which ſurpaſſed the moſt magnificent Buildings in *Sicily*, for Riches and Beauty. The City, which lay almoſt at the Foot of the Temple, was acceſſible, only by one ſteep Way: and this advantageous Poſt overlooked *Drepanum*, which was not far from it. The *Conſul* did not indeed attack *Eryx* openly; but he ſurprized it by Night, through the Treachery of ſome Soldiers, who ſold it to the *Romans*. *Zonar.* B. 8. c. 15. *Polyb.* B. 1. c. 55.

IN order to maintain himſelf in his new Conqueſt, the *Conſul* ordered a Fort to be built, in the Town of *Ægithallus* [46], at the Foot of Mount *Eryx*, and put in it a Garriſon of eight hundred Men. It may well be imagined, that *Carthalo* could not but burn with Envy, to ſee the *Roman* General, who had been vanquiſhed by the Sea, and fled before his Fleet, in the Poſſeſſion of ſo important a Poſt, at Land; and he therefore made a Deſcent, came and beſieged *Ægithallus*, ſtormed it, and put all the Garriſon to the Sword. Some ſay, that the *Conſul Junius* was taken Priſoner in defending the Place. Others, that he killed himſelf, either out of Fear of being condemned at *Rome*, for having loſt the *Roman* Fleet, or out of Melancholy, for ſo fatal a Campaign. And others affirm, that all theſe Misfortunes happened to him, and to his Collegue *Claudius*, for having deſpiſed the *Augury* of the Chickens. But is it not credible, that ſome Hiſtorians may have invented this laſt Circumſtance, either to raiſe the Credit of theſe ſuperſtitious Divinations; or to aſcribe all the Misfortunes of this fatal *Conſulſhip*, to a Contempt of Religion? *Zonaras*, B. 8. c. 15. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. 2.*

§. XXIV. THE Death and Depoſition of the *Conſuls*, made the Preſence of a *Dictator* neceſſary in *Sicily*. But from the Foundation of *Rome* to this time, no *Roman* Magiſtrate, who was inveſted with abſolute Authority, in the Republick, had ever been ſeen out of *Italy*: and much was expected from this Novelty. Nevertheleſs, the *Dictatorſhip* of *Attilius Calatinus*, was not ſignalized by any remarkable Exploit. *Lilybæum*, the darling Object of the Ambition of the *Romans*, continued blocked up, as before; and the *Dictator* returned to preſide at the Elections for the enſuing Year, without having done any thing remarkable. But we cannot believe, that theſe *Comitia* were held exactly a Year after thoſe, in which the late *Conſuls* were choſen; and therefore think our ſelves often obliged to obſerve, how uncertain a Method it is, to compute the Years of the World, by thoſe of the *Conſuls*. The *Dictators*, who continued ſix Months in Office, often poſtponed the Elections for the enſuing Year. As there was no certain time fixed, for aſſembling the *Comitia*, it was ſometimes done ſooner, and ſometimes later. Year of *ROME* DIV. ATTILIUS CALATINUS, Dictator.

THE *Centuries* promoted two Men to the *Conſulate*, who had already enjoyed it once before; the firſt of which was *C. Aurelius Cotta*, the ſecond *P. Servilius Geminus*. But their Commands were not ſeparate, as the Year before, one at Sea, and the other at Land. The *Romans* had now no Sea-Forces, and ſeemed to have renounced them for ever. The two *Conſuls* were therefore ordered to go and make War in *Sicily* together, to continue the Siege of *Lilybæum* by Land, and to drive the *Carthaginians* out of *Drepanum*, if poſſible. It is probable, that in their time an Innovation was introduced into the City, which much raiſed the *Plebeian* Party. The *Veſtals* had never yet been choſen, out of any Families, except the moſt illuſtrious of the *Patricians*. But as five Years ſince, *Tib. Coruncanius*, though a *Plebeian*, had Year of *ROME* DV. C. AURELIUS COTTA, P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS, Conſuls.

46 Both the Hiſtorians and Geographers mention the Promontory, and Fortreſs of *Ægithallus*, at a little Diſtance from Cape *Lilybæum*, in the moſt weſtern part of *Sicily*. It is now called *Capi di Santo Podaro*, or *Burunni*. *Fazellus*, by miſtake, confounds it with *Capo di Santo Vito*.

Year of ROME DV. C. Aurelius Cotta, P. Servilius Geminus, Conſuls.

been, contrary to ancient Cuſtom, raiſed to the Dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, on whom the *Veſtals* depended, it was now but natural for the Daughters of *Plebeians*, to aſpire at the Prieſthood of *Veſta*, under a *Plebeian Pontifex Maximus*. A Law was therefore made, at the Motion of *Papius*, one of *The Tribunes of the People*, That when any Vacancy happened in the College of *Veſtals*, twenty *Plebeian* young Women ſhould be preſented to the *Pontifex*; and That ſhe, on whom the Lot ſhould fall, ſhould enter into the Service of the Goddeſs. But this Law, which obliged the *Pontifices* to ſuffer the *Veſtals* to be choſen by Lot, was afterwards abrogated, at the Motion of another *Tribune of the People*, named 47 *Popilius*. He left the *Pontifex Maximus* at Liberty to fill up the Vacancies among the *Veſtals*, with whomſoever he thought fit. Indeed, it was no great Degradation of the *Veſtal* College, to admit ſome *Plebeian* Women into it. There were many *Plebeian* Families, more conſiderable for great Employments, Triumphs, and Ancientneſs, than ſome of the *Patricians*.

§. XXV. After this, the *Conſuls Aurelius* and *Servilius* ſet out for *Sicily*, and making it their whole Buſineſs, guarded the Coaſts ſo well, as to prevent the *Carthaginians* making any Deſcent, or conveying any Succours, or Proviſions, into *Lilybæum*, or *Drepanum*. *Carthalo* attempted both, in vain. He found the *Romans* every where upon their Guard, and at laſt, the Vigilance of the *Conſuls* diſcouraged him. That therefore he might loſe no more time, in ſailing round an Iſland, which was ſo carefully guarded, he reſolved to make Incurſions into *Italy*, and both ravage and terrify the Provinces belonging to the *Roman* Republick. He hoped by this means to have given a Diverſion to the *Conſular* Troops, and to have cauſed one at leaſt of the Collegues to be recalled into *Italy*, with his *Legions*. But the *Carthaginian* was miſtaken. The Senate had provided for every thing. As ſoon as *Carthalo* had made his firſt Deſcent in *Italy*, on the Coaſts of *Lucania*, the *Prætor of Rome*, whoſe Office empowered him to act in a double Capacity, left the hearing civil Cauſes, put himſelf at the Head of an Army, which was immediately raiſed in the City, and forced *Carthalo* to reimbark, and return to *Sicily*. And there this General, who could no longer quiet his Troops, by giving them leave to plunder the Country, as in *Italy*, found it difficult to appeaſe their Murmurs. The Mercenaries demanded their Pay with great Clamours; and *Carthalo* found it no eaſy Matter to get Money from *Carthage*, which was now exhauſted, to pay theſe foreign Soldiers. The Mutiny therefore increaſed, and it became neceſſary to puniſh the moſt ſeditious. Some of them were put upon deſert Iſlands, where they were left to periſh; the moſt Criminal were ſent to *Carthage* to be executed there; and this Rigour ſtirred up the moſt pacifick to a Revolt. The Rebellion was becoming general, when *Carthalo* was very ſeaſonably recalled; and *Carthage* ſent a Man to ſucceed him, who was not ſo much known then, as afterwards. He had at that time a good Reputation for Valour and Prudence; but he was not known to have that implacable Hatred for the *Roman* Name, which he did not even ſuffer to die with him, but tranſmitted to his Poſterity. This great Man was *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barca*, who would have been deemed the greateſt Officer of his Nation, if he had not had for his Son, the famous *Hannibal*, whoſe Courage and Experience in War, could only yield to the ſuperior Virtue of a *Roman*.

Zonaras, B. 8. c. 16.

HAMILCAR was yet young, when he came to command the *Carthaginian* Army, in *Sicily*. After he had appeaſed the Sedition, which his Predeceſſor had raiſed by his Rigour, he ſailed for *Italy*: where he was more ſucceſsful than *Carthalo*, and made great Ravages far up into the Country, He extended his Incurſions all over the Territories of the *Locri* and *Bruttii*, and *Rome* had then a Specimen of the Ravages which his Son was one Day to commit in *Italy*. But barely to ſack and pillage, was not enough for *Hamilcar*. *Sicily* offered him a finer Scene for War, than *Italy*, and he therefore returned thither. There was a very proper Place for a Camp between the Cities of *Panormus* and *Eryx*, which, according to a modern Author, was called 48 *Epierête*. But the Deſcription he gives of it, ſeems to be rather Matter of Invention,

Polyb. B. 1. c. 56.

Barr. L. 2.

47 It is uncertain when the *Popilian* Law was promulged; all we know is, that it was in force, in the time of *Aulus Gellius*, and under the Reign of the *Philips*. Some think that, in order to put this Law in force, the *Romans* only renewed King *Numa Pompilius*'s Law, which gave the *Pontifex Maximus* the Power of chuſing the *Veſtals*; and therefore they called it the *Pompilian* Law, from the Name of that King.

48 This Mountain is doubtleſs the ſame which the Hiſtorians called *Erêta*, and which is now called *Monte Pelegrino*, not far from *Panormus*. We have ſpoken

Invention, than taken from ancient Memoirs. *Epierĉte*, ſays he, was a Town ſituated on an high Mountain, which ſtood by itſelf, and was ſteep on all ſides. And whatever becomes of the Name or Deſcription of the Place *Hamilcar* choſe; it is at leaſt certain, that People were ſurpriſed at his Boldneſs. No body ever imagined, that a *Carthaginian* Army would come and poſt itſelf between two of the Enemy's Cities, which would have it in their Power to harraſs it continually; whilſt it had no City allied to the *Carthaginians* near enough to ſend Succours to it. But *Hamilcar*'s Knowledge of War, made Amends for the Diſadvantages of his Poſt. He ſubſiſted there, in ſpight of the *Romans*; and from his ſteep Rock, made Incurſions upon the Lands of their Allies. In ſhort, he obſtructed the Siege of *Lilybæum* ſo much, that the *Conſuls Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius*, could make but very little Progreſs in it. *Hamilcar*'s Campaign was looked upon at *Carthage* as a piece of maſterly Conduct in a young Officer, on whom ſhe built great Hopes. Indeed *Hanno*, his Rival in Glory, made a Campaign on the Continent of *Africa*, with more *Eclat*; but it was really not ſo conſiderable as *Hamilcar*'s. *Hanno* entered into *Lybia* [49], took *Hecatompylos* [50], and carried off from thence three thouſand Hoſtages to *Carthage*. Nevertheleſs, this fine Conqueſt did not eclipſe the Reputation *Hamilcar* had acquired in *Sicily*. He had diſconcerted all the Meaſures of the *Conſuls*, and by temporiſing, made their Campaign fruitleſs.

Year of ROME DV. C. AURELIUS COTTA, P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS, Conſuls. *Polybius B. 1. c. 56.*

Died in Egypt.

§. XXVI. WHEN their time was expired, *Servilius* and his Collegue returned to *Rome*; and *L.* [51] *Cæcilius Metellus*, and *N. Fabius Buteo*, were choſen to ſucceed them. It is ſurpriſing, that *Metellus*, who had been *Conſul* once before, and was ſo famous for his magnificent Triumph, did not prevail over *Hamilcar*, and take *Lilybæum*, ſince it was his Province to carry on that Siege, whilſt his Collegue *Fabius* went to beſiege *Drepanum*. But the Name of *Metellus* is ſcarce mentioned during the whole Campaign; all the Hiſtorians ſay of him, is, that he did not prejudice the Affairs of *Rome*, but left *Lilybæum*, juſt as he found it. Whereas, *Fabius* acquired a little more Glory before *Drepanum*. In order to attack it, on the ſide next the Sea, which was leaſt fortified, he thought it neceſſary to poſſeſs himſelf of a little Iſland, or rather a Rock, called *Peliadis* [52], which ſtood in the Sea, near *Drepanum*. The *Carthaginians* had a Garriſon there, which *Fabius* ſurprized, in the Night, and put to the Sword. This was ſo important a Poſt, that *Hamilcar* came immediately to retake it; but *Fabius* did not alter his Meaſures. Indeed, he did not give himſelf much Trouble about defending the Rock; but attacked the Walls of *Drepanum* with ſuch Vigour, that *Hamilcar* was forced to quit his Attempt upon the Rock, and come to relieve the Town. The *Conſul* being in Poſſeſſion of the little Iſland, made a good uſe of it, in carrying on the Siege. He eaſily filled up the Channel of the Sea [53], which

Year of ROME DVI. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, N. FABIUS BUTEO, Conſuls. *Zonaras B. 8. c. 16.*

ſpoken of it already. As this Poſt was difficult of acceſs, *Hamilcar* ſeized it, to ſecure himſelf againſt the Attacks of the *Romans*. And he found another Advantage in it. The Top of the Mount was a vaſt Plain, which was very convenient for his Troops to encamp on. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, *B.* 22. that it was at leaſt a hundred *Stadia* *, that is, 12500 geometrical Paces in Circumference. Its Soil, he ſays, was fruitful, and furniſhed good Paſture for the Cattle of the Country. It had ſeveral Springs of freſh Water, and all things neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of an Army. And near it, Nature had formed a very convenient Port, for Ships, that ſailed from *Lilybæum*, or *Drepanum*, to *Italy*.

49 Under the Name of *Lybia*, the Ancients comprehended all *Africa*. But ſtrictly ſpeaking, it ſignified that vaſt Country, which lay between the *Mediterranean* to the North, *The Atlantick Ocean* to the Weſt, *The Ethiopian Sea* to the South, and *Ethiopia* itſelf, to the Eaſt. *Lybia* was divided into two Parts, one of which was called *The Outer Lybia*, and the other *The Inner*. The former reached, according to *Ptolomy*, from *Alexandria* to *Cyrene*; and comprehended thoſe vaſt Regions, which were called by the ancient Geographers, *Africa*, *Lybia Propria*, *Mauritania Cæſarienſis*, *Mauritania Sitifa*, *Mauritania Tingitana*, and *Numidia*. The Kingdoms of *Fez*, *Morocco*, *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Barca*, were all Parts of this great Country. The Name of *The Inner Lybia*, was given to that vaſt Tract of Ground, which lay more to the South, and was bounded by *The Outer Lybia*, *The Atlantick Ocean*, and *Ethiopia*. But the *Romans* gave the Name of *Lybia* more eſpecially to that part of the North of *Africa*, which was bounded to the Eaſt, by *Egypt*; to the North by *The Mediterranean*; to the Weſt, by *The Great Syrtis*, and the Kingdom of *Tripoli*; and to the South, by *Ethiopia*.

50 Neither the Hiſtorians, nor ancient Geographers, have told us the Situation of the City, called *Hecatompylos*; nor have we any Footſteps of it, now remaining.

51 *Marianus* is miſtaken, in ſubſtituting one *Lucius Lucilius*, in the room of the *Conſul Lucius Cæcilius*: and he, contrary to the *Faſti Capitolini*, gives *Fabius* the *Prænomen* of *Caius*, inſtead of that of *Numerius*. In *Caſſiodorus*, and ſome other *Annaliſts*, *Fabius* has two falſe *Prænomina* given him, that of *Cneius*, and that of *Marcus*.

52 The little Iſland of *Peliadis*, called by the *Latins*, *Columbaria*, is now known by the Name of *Columbara di Trepani*.

53 The Iſland of *Peliadis* was divided from *Drepanum*, only by a very ſmall Arm of the Sea, or rather according to *Zonaras*, by a Neck of marſhy Ground,

Year of *ROME* DVI.

L. Cæcilius Metellus, N. Fabius Buteo, Conſuls.

Polyb. B. 1. *c.* 57.

which was between *Peliadis* and *Drepanum*; and from thence conveyed all Neceſſaries for his Attacks to the Land, over a Cauſeway. Nevertheleſs, all *Fabius*'s Pains did not much advance the Works before *Drepanum*. He had to do with the moſt able General, the *Carthaginians* had ever had. According to the beſt Hiſtorian of thoſe Times, it is not poſſible to enumerate all the Battels *Hamilcar* then fought. He continually ſent Parties from his Camp at *Epierĉte*, as there was Occaſion. He ſometimes ſeemed to be before *Lilybæum*, and *Drepanum*, at the ſame time. His Foreſight extended to all Particulars, and his Valour was ſufficient for any Attempts. The *Romans* pretended to bar up his Camp with another, which they alſo pitched among the Rocks. But this Precaution only ſerved to increaſe the Number of Battels, without preventing the frequent Sallies and Incurſions of the *Carthaginian* Troops: and in this glorious part of *Hamilcar*'s Life, his Son *Hannibal* came [54] into the World.

§. XXVII. Whilst the *Carthaginian* General was thus keeping two *Conſular* Armies in Awe, and maintaining his Country a footing in *Sicily*; the *Romans*, on the other hand, pillaged the Coaſts of *Africa*, with a Fleet. We have obſerved, that *Rome* had renounced the Empire of the Seas, and had laid aſide all Thoughts of building any new Gallies, after the Damages ſhe had ſuſtained by Tempeſts, and the ill Conduct of her Admiral. So that this new Fleet was not built, at the Expence of the Publick. Upon the return of their Ambition, the Senate lamented indeed the Loſs of the Glory and Advantages, a Sea-armament had brought the Republick: but the Treaſury was not in a Condition to bear the Expences of building and equipping a whole Fleet. However, the *Conſcript Fathers*, in ſome meaſure, ſupplied this want. They paſſed a Decree, empowering all private Perſons to arm, build Ships at their own Expence, fall upon the Enemy, pillage the Coaſts of *Africa*, and to apply all the Profits of their Plunder to their own Uſe. Nay, the Republick lent her Subjects the Gallies ſhe had left, *gratis*; with this Proviſo only, that they ſhould return them, in as good a Condition, as they received them. It is probable, that this Fleet of Privateers was commanded by *Aurelius*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year, who was placed at the Head of it, with the Title of *Proconſul*. And it may be inferred from it, that the private Subjects of the Republick were rich, though the State was poor: and theſe Riches in the Hands of private Citizens, were a means to ſupport the Glory of the Republick. The Admiral of the People, rather than the Republick, ſet ſail, and coaſting along the *African* Shore, came and fell upon the Port of *Hippo* [55]; and there he burnt Ships and Houſes, and got rich Spoils. But whilſt the *Romans* were buſy in plundering, the Inhabitants of *Hippo* thought to have pent them in. They ſhut up the Mouth of their Port with Chains: ſo that the *Africans* imagined they had got the *Proconſul*, and his Gallies faſt, in their Nets. But the *Roman* Pilots found out an Expedient to diſengage their Fleet, and carry it out to Sea. As faſt as each Galley came into the middle of the Port, where the Weight of the Chain made it touch the Water, the Men all removed from the Prows to the Stern. This raiſed up the Foreparts, and then, by the help of their Oars, they forced her on upon the Chain. When they were got far enough upon it, the Crew all removed

Pighius, ad annum, 506.

Ground, which was overflowed by the Sea. So that it was no very difficult Matter for the *Roman* General to throw up a Ditch croſs this little Space of Ground, and thereby make a Communication between the Rock and the City.

54 We build this Date of the Birth of the Great *Hannibal*, upon what *Polybius* ſays, *B.* 15. According to him, *Hannibal* was forty five Years old complete, in the Year of *Rome* 551; which was the ſeventeenth Year, of the ſecond *Punic* War. Whence it will follow, that he was born about the end of the 506th Year from *Romulus*. From that time to the end of the 551ſt Year of *Rome*, is juſt forty five Years.

55 The ancient Geographers mention two Cities of *Hippo* in *Africa*. One they call *Hippo Regius*, becauſe ſubject to the Kings of *Numidia*; which lay towards the weſtern Coaſt of *Africa*, near a Gulph of the ſame Name; and which was the City in which St. *Auſtin* ended his Days, after he had been Biſhop there, ſeveral Years. The *French* now call both the City, and the neighbouring Gulph, *Bone*. It at preſent belongs to the Kingdom of *Algiers*. But this in all Probability was not the City, in which the *Romans* committed their Hoſtilities. They had then no Quarrel with the *Numidians*: which makes it more likely, that the *Roman* Fleet fell upon the other City of *Hippo*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Hipponem Diarrhytum*, that is, *Irriguum*, or *Wet Hippo*, becauſe its Territory was watered with many Rivulets; agreably to *Pliny*'s Obſervation, *B.* 5. *c.* 4. *Diarrhytum a Græcis dictum, propter aquarum Irriguum.* Nevertheleſs, *Strabo* calls this City *Regius Hippo*, as well as the other. It ſtood near *Utica*, twenty five, or thirty Leagues from *Carthage*. *Antoninus*'s *Itinerary* places *Hippo Regius* 218000 geometrical Paces, that is, above eighty Leagues from *Carthage*. The *Hippo* here ſpoken of, is now only a Caſtle belonging to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. Some call it *Biſerta Vecchia*, others *Razamilara*.

back

back again to the *Prows*, which weighed down the Gallies at that end, and ſo brought her over the Chains into the Water. By this means the whole Fleet eſcaped the Danger, and put out to Sea, loaded with Spoils. Nor was it enough for the *Proconſul* only to enrich the Maſters of the Fleet: he alſo employed it for the Honour of his Country. He met the *Carthaginian* Fleet before *Panormus*; which perhaps was the ſame, that ſupplied *Hamilcar*'s Camp at *Eryce*, with Proviſions: And be that as it will, *Aurelius* attacked it, and gained a conſiderable Advantage over it. Year of ROME DVI. L. Cæcilius Metellus, N. Fabius Buteo, Conſuls.

THESE alternate Succeſſes and Loſſes of the Republick, ſince the Death of *Regulus*, made the *Romans* a little abate of that Pride, with which the brave Captive had inſpired them by his Bravadoes. They had refuſed to conſent to a mutual Exchange of Priſoners with *Carthage*; but now they were the firſt to move it. The Senate thought the Reaſonings of the extravagant Philoſopher very frivolous, and conſented to ſuch an Exchange, Man for Man. And as the *Carthaginians* had more Captives to redeem, than the *Romans*, *Rome* gained by it, and the Money which was given for the Supernumeraries, was ſome help to the publick Treaſury. Then the two *Cenſors*, *Attilius Calatinus*, and *Manlius Torquatus*, made a *Cenſus* of the *Roman* People, which ended with a *Luſtrum*, which ought to be reckoned the thirty eighth. The Number of Citizens fit to bear Arms, amounted to no more than two hundred fifty one thouſand two hundred and twenty two Men, which was eighty ſix thouſand five hundred and ſeventy five leſs, than were found upon the laſt *Cenſus*. A very conſiderable Diminution, which can only be aſcribed to the Wars and Shipwrecks, by which the Republick had for ſome time ſuffered. *Zonaras B.* 8. *c.* 15.

§. XXVIII. *HAMILCAR* gained his Point, in prolonging the Sieges of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*; he rendered the *Roman* Valour ineffectual in both Places. A *Greek* Hiſtorian here makes a ſenſible Reflection, on the Defects of the Conduct of the *Roman* Senate, and People. I know not, ſays he, how they came to take it into their Heads, not to leave one of their *Conſuls* in *Sicily*, as formerly, to command their Army, the next Year, in quality of *Proconſul*. Indeed, this continual Succeſſion of new Generals, who appeared, and diſappeared, every Year, was long prejudicial to the Affairs of *Rome*. The new *Conſuls* Year was ſcarce ſufficient for them to ſettle Things in order, and form their Deſigns. How then could it afford time to put them in Execution? Hence it was that this War was unuſually barren of great Exploits: of which the Republick was but too ſenſible. In this, the *African* Policy was much ſuperior to the *Roman*. *Carthage* left *Hamilcar* long at the Head of her Troops, and never recalled him, till being weary of the War, ſhe put an end to it, by a Peace. As for the *Conſuls* [56], *M. Otacilius Craſſus*, and *M. Fabius Licinus*, they made no better Figure than their Predeceſſors. Things went heavily on in their Army, and their Republick gained no other Honour by it, than that of perſiſting with Conſtancy in carrying on two Sieges, with little Succeſs. They ſpent their whole *Conſulſhip* before *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, to no purpoſe; and as they did not return at the time of the Elections, *Rome* thought it neceſſary to nominate a *Dictator*, only to preſide in the *Comitia by Centuries*. The Election was made in the *Campus Martius*, under the Direction of *Tib. Coruncanius Dictator*, and *M. Furius Flaccus* his General of Horſe; and the *Conſuls* choſen, were *M. Fabius Buteo*, and *C. Attilius Bulbus*. But before they entered upon their Office, an Accident happened, which will ſhew to what Lengths the *Romans* carried the Love of their Country. It was their chief Idol, and their only Motive to Heroiſm. To deviate from it, was, with them, to overturn all Morality; the ſlighteſt Offence of that kind was too great to be forgiven. Even Women were puniſhed for dropping any Words, that betrayed a want of Affection for the Publick. And this Love for the Intereſts of their Country, was as old as *Rome* itſelf. It had been imprinted on the Minds of the People in their Education; and it was Policy to keep it up, and puniſh the leaſt Offences againſt this univerſal Law. Thus the Siſter of the *Horatii* was deemed worthy of Death, for not having a Heart entirely *Roman*. And thus a Woman of the nobleſt Extraction in *Rome*, was now accuſed before the People, and condemned by them, Year of ROME DVII. M. Otacilius Craſſus, M. Fabius Licinus, Conſuls. *Zonaras B.* 8. *c.* 16.

[56] *Aulus Gellius*, or his Copyiſts, have very much diſnatured the Names of the *Conſuls* for the Year 507, in his tenth Book. One is called *Titus Licinius*, and the other *Titus Acilius Craſſus*. *Polybius* ſays nothing either of them, or any of their Succeſſors to *Lutatius*. He runs haſtily over the Years, that afford little Matter for Hiſtory.

only

Year of *ROME* DVII.
M. Otacilius Crassus, M. Fabius Licinus, Conſuls.
A. Gel. B. 10. *c.* 6. *Val. Max. B.* 1. *c.* 1. *Damn.* §. 4. and *Sueton. Life of Tiber.*

only for having ſpoken ſome Words, which imported a want of due Affection for her Country.

CLAUDIA, the Siſter of that *Claudius*, who had a few Years before diſhonoured his *Conſulſhip*, by the Loſs of a Fleet, and his Contempt of the *Auſpices*, was born with all the Vices of her Family. She was vain, haughty, and inconſiderate. She demanded Reſpect wherever ſhe came, and upon the leaſt neglect, would fly out into the moſt violent Tranſports of Rage. One Day, as ſhe was returning from a Shew, in a Chariot, which Women of her Condition were permitted to ride in, the Crowd did not diſperſe and make Way for her, faſt enough, or perhaps, ſhe might be crouded in the Preſs: and this was enough to rouze all her Family-Pride in an inſtant. She thought it intolerable, That a Woman of her Rank ſhould paſs undiſtinguiſhed among the Multitude, and That her Preſence alone was not ſufficient to diſperſe the Crowd. And in a Tranſport of Fury, wherein ſhe was not Miſtreſs of her ſelf, ſhe cried out, *Would to the Gods my Brother was alive again, and could find means to rid* Rome *of ſome of this ſcoundril Mob, as he formerly did! The City is too full of them.* In any other Nation, this Diſcourſe of an angry Woman, would only have expoſed her to ridicule, who made it. But at *Rome* it was charged upon her, as a Crime, and it was believed, that no true *Roman* could have uttered ſuch Words. It was made a ſerious Affair. Two *Ædiles of the People*, *C. Fundanius*, and *T. Sempronius*, undertook the Management of it, and cited *Claudia* to appear before the *Comitia by Tribes*. All the Nobility intereſted themſelves in behalf of the Accuſed. There was ſcarce a *Patrician* Family, that was not either related, or allied to her's. And when *Claudia* appeared, it was urged in her Defence, That it was not uſual to cite Women before the Tribunal of the *Roman* People; That her's was a very ſlight Offence; That bare Words ought to be forgiven a Woman of Spirit, who was fond of her ſelf, and impatient of being in the leaſt incommoded; and That the Reſpect due to her Family, ought to have preſerved her from the Shame of being brought to a Bar. But to this the *Ædiles* anſwered; That her Crime was a publick one, and required a publick Satisfaction; That no Sex was exempt from the Obſervation of the Laws; That all Perſons whatſoever, that were guilty of Treaſon againſt the State, ought to be judged by the People; That Words are as criminal as Actions, ſince they ſhew the Sentiments of the Heart; That *Claudia*'s Nobility only aggravated her Crime; That the more elevated her Station was in the Republick, the more ſhe ought to love it; and laſtly, That as to her Anceſtors, the Remembrance of them could only prejudice the People to her Diſadvantage, ſince from the firſt Man of the Family, they had all been guilty of Faults, which had now been renewed in an infamous Brother, and a Siſter, who was an Enemy to her Country. The People were indeed in this caſe, Judges in their own Cauſe, ſince *Claudia*'s Imprecations were made againſt the Populace; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that they fined her twenty five thouſand *Aſſes* * of Braſs. A Puniſhment, much more conſiderable for the Shame of it, than the Largeneſs of the Fine. Nevertheleſs, the *Ædile Sempronius* built a little Chapel with it, on the Hill *Aventinus*, and dedicated it to 57 *Liberty*.

* 80 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d. Arbuthnot.*

Year of *ROME* DVIII.
M. Fabius Buteo, C. Atilius Bulbus, Conſuls.
Fron. Strat. B. 3. *c.* 10.

§. XXIX. The time being now come for 58 *Fabius* and *Attilius* to enter upon their Office, they both ſet out for *Sicily*. But thoſe times were paſt, when ſcarce any of the *Conſuls*, who paſſed the *Streights*, returned without a Triumph! *Hamilcar* had carried the Palms from the *Roman* Generals. As long as he continued in his Camp at *Epierĉte*, it was grown as uncommon for the *Conſuls* to ſignalize themſelves, as it had formerly been cuſtomary for their Predeceſſors, to enter *Rome* triumphantly, for having taken Cities, and won Battels. The Siege of *Lilybæum* was ſtill continued, and the *Romans* pretended to reduce it, at leaſt by Conſtancy, or Famine. But the induſtrious *Hamilcar* found means to ſtore it with freſh Proviſions, and fruſtrate the Expectations of the Beſiegers. He ſailed from the Port of *Epierĉte* with his little Fleet, loaded with Proviſions; and unknown to the *Romans*, and doubtleſs in the Night-time, made ſome of his Tranſports to advance behind the Iſlands 59, which

57 The *Romans* worſhiped *Liberty* as a Goddeſs, after they had freed themſelves from the Tyranny of the *Tarquins*.

58 According to the *Faſti Capitolini*, this *M. Fabius Buteo* was now made *Conſul*, the firſt time. But *The Greek Tables* make this his ſecond *Conſulſhip*. They doubtleſs confound this Magiſtrate with his Brother *Numerius Fabius Buteo*, who had been *Conſul* two Years before, that is, in the Year of *Rome* 506.

59 Theſe Iſlands are commonly called *Ægates*, or *Ægades*; they lie North of *Cape Lilybæum*.

covered the Port of *Lilybæum*. As for *Hamilcar* himſelf, he followed at a Diſtance, with the ſmall Remains of his Gallies; appeared in open Sea, in the midſt of the Day, as it were, bidding the Enemy Defiance; and the *Roman* Gallies which guarded the Port, and ſtopped up the Avenues to it, were deceived by it. They ſailed after *Hamilcar*'s Squadron, which was in their ſight, with great Impatience to attack it; and as ſoon as they were out at Sea, the *Carthaginian* Ships, which lay concealed behind the Iſlands, entered the Port, unloaded their Proviſions, and freſh Troops, and got out to Sea again, before the *Romans* returned from purſuing the Enemy, whom they could not come up with.

Year of *ROME* DVIII. M. FABIUS BUTEO, C. ATTILIUS BULBUS, Conſuls.

NEVERTHELESS, the Advantage their Fleet had juſt gained, within ſight of the Iſland of *Ægimurus* [60], near *Africa*, was ſome Comfort to the *Romans*. Whether it was the ſame victorious Fleet, which had before gained ſo many Advantages over the *Carthaginians*, is not eaſy to determine: but it is at leaſt certain, that the whole Sea-Forces of the *Roman* Republick was but ſixty Gallies, which were ordered to defend the Coaſts of *Italy*, and tranſport the Troops to *Sicily*. So that in all Appearance, this Fleet, which now beat the *Carthaginians*, was the ſame that private Perſons had built the laſt Year, at their own Expence. The Victory theſe brave Privateers gained, was complete; but they did not reap all the Fruits of it, or live long to enjoy it. A violent Tempeſt daſhed their Ships in pieces, againſt the Rocks of *Lybia*; and as Wrecks had before proclaimed their Victory to all the Nations along the Sea-coaſt, they ſoon after brought them the News of the Shipwreck of the Conquerors.

Flor. B. 2.

§. XXX. So many Misfortunes therefore, one upon the Neck of another, would, one would have thought, have given the *Romans* a Diſlike to the Siege of *Lilybæum*; but they were unaccountably ſteady in their Perſeverance in it. The two new [61] *Conſuls*, *A. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Sempronius Blæſus*, were ſent thither; and *Hamilcar* let them go on in the ſame way their Predeceſſors had done, and robbed them likewiſe of all their Glory. *Lilybæum* was well ſtored with Proviſions; ſo that the *Carthaginian* General gave himſelf no farther Trouble about relieving it, or ſending new Stores thither. He was bent upon a much nobler Deſign, which engaged all his Attention. The City of *Eryx* was then in the Power of the *Romans*; the *Conſul Junius* had formerly made himſelf Maſter of it: and the *Carthaginian* was reſolved to attempt to recover it. Nothing was more glorious, or of more Conſequence to him, in order to preſerve him in his Poſt at *Epiretæ*; but at the ſame time nothing was more difficult. To undertake the Siege of *Eryx*, was like attempting to ſcale Heaven. The *Romans* had three Poſts upon this Rock, which muſt all be ſtormed; one at the Foot of it, another in the Middle, and a third at the Top. The Temple of *Venus Ericyna*, was very well guarded at the Top of it. In the middle of the Hill ſtood the City of *Eryx* fortified by Art, as well as Situation; and at the Foot of it, was an Entrenchment, guarded by a ſtrong *Roman* Garriſon. But nothing could divert the Deſign of the brave *Hamilcar*. He ſet out in the Night, at the Head of his Men, and in a profound Silence, marched his Soldiers thirty *Stadia* up the Mountain: and at length, by winding round it, he, without being perceived by the Garriſon that guarded the Foot, arrived unexpectedly at the Gates of the City. And in the Surpriſe this occaſioned, it was no difficult Matter to make himſelf Maſter of it. All that reſiſted, or were found under Arms, were put to the Sword; the reſt were made Slaves, and ſent to *Drepanum*. And then the War took another Turn; and the Operations of the Campaign changed. The *Romans* now made it their whole Buſineſs to diſpoſſeſs the formidable *Carthaginian* of *Eryx*; he made it his, to maintain himſelf in it: and accordingly, he encamped and fixed his Poſt there. It was indeed an odd Situation. The *Romans*, at the Foot of the Mountain, beſieged him; and he at the

Year of *ROME* DIX. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS, C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS, Conſuls.

Pol. B. 1. c. 58.

Diod. Sic. in Excerptis.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 58.

60 The Iſland of *Ægimurus*, in the *African* Sea, between the Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Tunis* to the South, and that of *Sardinia* to the North, is now called *Galita*, or *Galata*. It is about twenty Leagues diſtant from the Ruins of *Carthage*; and is reckoned to be twenty five thouſand geometrical Paces in Circumference. It is of an oblong Figure, and is now abſolutely deſerted. *Stephens* mentions two Rocks near it, which were in the middle of the Sea; and he calls them *Ægimori Æræ*, from the Name of the Iſland of *Ægimurus*.

61 This was the firſt *Conſulſhip* of *Manlius*, and the ſecond of *Sempronius*; the latter had been *Conſul* already, in the Year of *Rome* 500; and the former had been *Cenſor*, in the Year 506. According to *Velleius*, it was when theſe two Perſons were *Conſuls*, that the *Romans* ſent a *Colony* to *Brunduſium*, in the Country of the *Salentini*; probably, a ſecond time, according to *Zonaras*. He tells us, that in the time of the War with *Tarentum*, the Republick ſent a *Colony* of the *Citizens* of *Rome*, to this City, either on account of the Convenience of its Port, or to keep the *Tarentini*, who were near it, in awe.

Year of *ROME* DIX.
A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus, C. Sempronius Blæsus, Conſuls.

ſame time beſieged the *Romans*, which were poſted upon the Top of it, round the Temple of *Venus*. Both Parties were equally ardent in attacking their Adverſaries, and in defending themſelves. *Hamilcar*, who was between two Bodies of Enemies, deſpiſed thoſe that were below him, and made thoſe tremble that were above him. Notwithſtanding the Danger of the Poſt he was in, he amuſed the *Roman* Forces two whole Years, and made a Diverſion, which was of great Service to his Cauſe. In the mean time the Siege of *Lilybæum* was not advanced, and that of *Drepanum* was raiſed. Of ſo great Weight in the Scale, were the Valour and Addreſs of one ſingle Man. *Hamilcar*, by his Conſtancy, ſuſpended the Effects of the continual Efforts of the obſtinate *Romans*; without hazarding a pitched Battel, but by uniformly purſuing the ſame Deſign, and continuing always fixed to the ſame Place, he did more Service, by the prudent Reſiſtance he made, than any other could have done, by the moſt glittering Enterpriſes. The Great *Cæcilius Metellus* plainly ſaw, that there was little Glory for the *Romans* to acquire, as long as *Hamilcar* continued at the Head of the *Carthaginian* Armies; and as the virtuous *Tib. Coruncanius*, the firſt *Plebeian*, who had been promoted to the Dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, was juſt dead, *Cæcilius*, who was alſo a *Plebeian*, willingly accepted the Offer which was made him of that Dignity, and readily quitted the Buſineſs of Arms, to apply himſelf to a more pacifick Employment.

Cicero in Cat. Majore.

Year of *ROME* DX.
C. Fundanius, C. Sulpicius Gallus, Conſuls.

§. XXXI. And indeed, the new *Conſuls*, *C. Fundanius*, and *C. Sulpicius* [62] *Gallus*, in vain attempted to drive *Hamilcar* out of the City of *Eryx*. The Beſieged, and the Beſiegers ſuffered, each in their Turn, all the Miſeries of War and Famine. They ſeemed not on either ſide to be Men ſubject to the Infirmities of Nature; but Men utterly inſenſible of Pains and Fatigues. They fought, as if they had been invulnerable: and bore the Inconveniencies of Hunger and Watching, as if they had had no Bodies to ſupport. Never was Fury more uninterrupted, or Battels more frequent. They were continually fighting Day and Night. Yet the Affairs of *Rome* did not at all advance. The *Carthaginians* had ſtill Poſſeſſion of *Lilybæum* and *Drepanum*, and ſhe was not abſolutely ſure of keeping her Conqueſts in *Sicily*. Nevertheleſs, the diſputed City of *Eryx*, had very like to have been put into the Hands of the *Conſuls*. The Garriſon *Hamilcar* had there, conſiſted chiefly of *Gauls*; who being diſcouraged with theſe continual Labours, and diſſatisfied at not receiving their Pay, entered into a Plot, to deliver up the City to the *Romans*. But *Hamilcar* was too vigilant to be ſurpriſed. The Attempt of the *Gauls* was fruitleſs. However, they at leaſt delivered up to the *Conſuls* an advanced Poſt, which they guarded, and revolting to the *Romans*, entered into their Service. This was a new thing in the *Roman* Army; no Foreigners had ever received Pay from the Republick. The *Legionaries* only, who were all *Citizens*, received Pay; and the Allies of *Italy* ſerved at their own Expence. And after all, this Revolt of the *Gauls*, did not do the *Carthaginians* any great Miſchief. *Hamilcar*'s Courage ſupported him, and the reſt of his Troops continued faithful to him.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 16.

Polyb. B. 1. c. 59.

§. XXXII. But whilſt Mount *Eryx* was the Theatre, on which numberleſs Battels were fought, and two powerful Republicks were diſputing the Conqueſt of *Sicily*; the *Roman* Senate deliberated about means to put an end to a War, which had laſted twenty two Years. They conſidered that *Lilybæum*, *Drepanum*, and *Eryx*, the three Keys of *Sicily*, could never be forced to ſhake off the *Carthaginian* Yoke, till *Rome* became ſuperior in naval Strength. All agreed, *That the Dominion over* Sicily *was inſeparable from the Empire of the Seas.* And ſome added, *If the Fleets, built by private Perſons, and uſed as Privateers, committed ſuch Ravages in the Enemy's Country, and even beat the* Carthaginian *Fleets, what may we not expect from the Experience we have lately had in Sea-affairs? Will the Gallies of the Republick be leſs ſucceſsful than thoſe of private Perſons? The Sea has indeed ſwallowed up many of our Citizens, and the laſt* Cenſus *made us lament the Loſs of them. But the Gods have inſpired our* Conſuls

62 In the *Conſulſhip* of *Caius Fundanius*, and *Caius Sulpicius*, died *Tiberius Coruncanius*, the *Pontifex Maximus*; and was ſucceeded by *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. We have a Proof of this, in *Cicero*'s Treatiſe called, *Cato Major*. *I remember*, ſays *Cato*, *to have ſeen, when I was young, the famous* Lucius Cæcilius, *who was made* Pontifex Maximus, *four Years after he had been* Conſul *a ſecond time.* Now this ſecond *Conſulſhip* was in the Year of *Rome* 506; and from that time to 510. is juſt four Years. *Ego Lucium Metellum memini puer, qui cum quadriennio poſt alterum Conſulatum, Pontifex Maximus factus eſſet, duos & viginti annos Sacerdotio præfuit.*

with

with a good Thought, to guard againſt this Misfortune for the future. They have increaſed their Army with foreign Troops. Let us therefore put them on board our Fleets, and then we will ſcour the Seas, without Danger to our ſelves.

Year of ROME DX. C. FUNDANIUS, C. SULPICIUS GALLUS, Conſuls.

THIS was a ſenſible Scheme; and it even ſeemed neceſſary. The only Difficulty was, how to put it in Execution. The Treaſury was exhauſted, and the Wealth of private Subjects did not at all help the Publick. Every one paid his regular Tribute, which was ſo much *per* Head; and this Tribute was never increaſed, upon any Occaſion. However, the Love of the Publick prevailed in *Roman* Breaſts, over Self-Intereſt. The People contributed liberally, of their own accord; and the Senators eſpecially gave the Citizens a good Example. They undertook to build a good part of a Fleet themſelves. Some paid for a whole *Quinqueremis*. Others joined, and built one among them. Sometimes two, ſometimes three, and ſometimes four, divided the Expences of one ſingle Galley, between them. In ſhort, the Zeal of private Perſons ſupplied the Defects of the Exchequer. A Fleet of two hundred *Quinqueremes* was got ready in a little time, without any other Burden on the Republick, than this, that as ſoon as her Affairs were ſettled, ſhe ſhould repay theſe private Perſons what they had expended. And this Fleet was very different from thoſe the Republick had before. Though the new Gallies were larger, they were at the ſame time lighter than the old ones, and eaſier to row. They were built after the Model of that famous Galley, which *Hannibal the Rhodian*, had more than once carried into the Port of *Lilybæum*, in ſight of the whole *Roman* Fleet, and which was afterwards taken. This magnificent Armament was *Rome*'s laſt Refuge: if this Attempt had failed, ſhe muſt have abandoned *Sicily*, and ſtill kept her ſelf within the Bounds of *Italy*. But Providence, which deſigned her to be Miſtreſs of the World, crowned the Enterpriſe with Succeſs. *Polybius B.* 1. c. 59.

Year of ROME DXI. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS, A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, Conſuls.

§. XXXIII. *C. Lutatius* [63] *Catulus*, and *A. Poſthumius Albinus*, were juſt choſen *Conſuls*; but the former only was ſuffered to command the Troops. The latter was *The high Prieſt of Mars*; and therefore *Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, upon I know not what Scruples, forbad him to take upon him any military [64] Function. *It is an indecent thing*, ſaid he, *for Prieſts to be concerned in ſhedding human Blood. Men devoted to the Service of the Gods, ought to have nothing to do with War.* The *Pontifex* added Threatnings to his Prohibition; and as it was neceſſary to comply, *Poſthumius* had only the Name of a *Conſul*, in his Year. Such Force had Religion then on the Minds of the *Romans!* And in the ſame Spirit, the College of *Augurs* alſo made ſome Regulations, with Regard to the *Auſpices*. *The Lots of Præneſte* [65] were proſcribed; and *Lutatius* was forbidden to make uſe of them. He was not allowed to uſe any ſort of Divination, in relation to publick Affairs, but ſuch as were authorized by

63 The *Conſul Lutatius*, is called by ſome *Latin* Hiſtorians, *Luctatius*, which is the Miſtake of the Copyiſt.

64 See our Account of Prerogatives, Duties, and Functions of the *Flamines*, or High-prieſts of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Quirinus*, Vol. 1. p. 58, 59.

65 In order to underſtand what kind of Divination the Ancients meant by *The Lots of Præneſte*, it is neceſſary to know, that the Word *Sors*, was by them uſed to ſignify all ſorts of Predictions in general. Thus *Tully*, *de Divin. B.* 2. calls the Anſwer the Oracle gave *Cræſus*, *Sors*. But it generally ſpeaking ſignified, only what ſeemed to be the Effect of mere Chance. *What is* SORS, ſays *Cicero*, in the Work above quoted, *It is a kind of Chance, in which human Reaſon and Induſtry bears no part. The Lots of Præneſte* were deemed the moſt famous in all *Italy*. The ſingular Worſhip the *Præneſtini* paid to *Fortune*, and the Temple they erected to this falſe Goddeſs, raiſed the Peoples Opinion of the Cuſtom of divining by Lots: and in explaining the Origin of this Superſtition, we will make uſe of *Cicero*'s own Words. *In the ancient Archives of* Præneſte, ſays he, *mention is made of one* Numerius Suffucius. *This Man, who was one of the moſt conſiderable and moſt venerable Perſons in his City, both for his Probity, and noble Extinction, was admoniſhed, in different Dreams, and at laſt, with terrible Menaces, to go to a certain Place in* Præneſte, *and there cut a Flint. Being terrified with theſe frequent Viſions, he obeyed. He came to the Place appointed; and there, in the Preſence of ſeveral of his fellow-Citizens, who laughed at his Attempt, tried to cut a Flint; which to the great ſurpriſe of the Spectators, gave way to the Edge of the Kniſe. And out of the Body of the Flint dropped ſeveral pieces of Wood neatly cut, each of which had an Inſcription, in ancient Characters. The Place where this Prodigy was performed, is now walled in; becauſe in it is very religiouſly kept an Image of* Fortune, *holding* Jupiter, *and* Juno, *who are repreſented as Children, in her Arms.* According to the Tradition of the Country, at the time that *Suffucius* performed this Prodigy of the Flint, Honey dropped out of the Bark of an Olive-tree; and the *Auſpices* being asked, what this Prodigy meant, anſwered, that *The Lots of Præneſte* would one Day be greatly eſteemed all over the World. Then they immediately ordered ſome of this Tree to be cut, to make a Box, to hold the little Divining Pieces of Wood, the Letters on which were taken for Magic Characters. And though nothing be more trifling than this ſort of Divination, yet the Reader may perhaps have a Curioſity to know, how it was performed. When any one came to conſult *The Lots of Præneſte*, the Prieſts, who preſided over the Worſhip

Year of *ROME* DXI.

C. Lutatius Catulus, A. Postumius Albinus, Conſuls.

by the ancient Cuſtoms, and introduced by the firſt Kings; ſuch as, the Flight of Birds, and the Entrails of Victims. Superſtitious Ceremonies indeed; but theſe Prohibitions ſhew the Regard the *Romans* had for religious Eſtabliſhments. All Novelties in the Worſhip of the Gods were ſuſpected. The *Romans* thought to have gained the Favour of Heaven by theſe Regulations; and the Publick was convinced, that all their paſt Misfortunes, had been owing to the Irreligion of the *Conſul Claudius*.

To theſe Regulations the *Romans* added another, which was merely Matter of Policy. They conſidered that it was dangerous, in a Republican State, to leave the Command of the Army, in the Hands of one Man: and ſince therefore one of the *Conſuls* was interdicted military Offices, it was thought neceſſary to give *Lutatius* a Collegue, before he ſet out for *Sicily*. This Commiſſion would naturally have fallen upon the *Prætor*, elected by the *Centuries*; it being well known, that his Office of judging in civil Cauſes, did not interfere with military Employments upon extraordinary Occaſions. But the too long Abſence of the *Prætor* from *Rome*, might prolong Law-ſuits, and make the Parties murmur. And therefore to prevent both Inconveniencies, it was reſolved to create a ſecond *Prætor*; that one might be at the Head of the *Conſular* Army, or at leaſt be *Lutatius*'s ſecond; and the other reſide in *Rome*, and adminiſter Juſtice there. This was indeed a new Inſtitution, but it was continued, even when both the *Conſuls* took the Field. And *Rome* ſettled the Juriſdiction of the two *Prætors*. One was only to hear the Cauſes between Citizen and Citizen; the other only thoſe between Citizens and Foreigners; and therefore the former was called *Prætor Urbanus*, the latter *Prætor Peregrinus* [66]. The two *Prætors* choſe their Provinces by Lot, and were themſelves choſen, as the *Conſuls* were, in *Comitia by Centuries*.

Livy in Epit. B. 19.

§. XXXIV. The *Prætor*, to whoſe Lot it now fell to go into the Army, was *Valerius Falto*. He embarked on the new Fleet, in order to go and make War in *Sicily*, with the *Conſul Lutatius*. The Hopes of the *Romans* were raiſed, when they ſaw

Worſhip of *Fortune*, opened the Boxes. Then they made a Child firſt ſhake together theſe different pieces of Wood (which contained ſo many ænigmatical Letters, which were arbitrarily interpreted) ſeveral times; and then the firſt piece, which the Child accidently took out, gave the deſired Anſwer; which was deemed an Oracle, or Decree of the Gods themſelves. If it was obſcure, which almoſt always happened, recourſe was had to a Table, which determined the Senſe of the Words inſcribed on the Bits of Wood. But according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Fabius Maximus*, *The Lots* were all drawn out, one after another, and placed in order, upon a Table; and the Secret was, to find out in them, when ſo placed, ſuch a Chain of Words, as ſhould determine the Queſtion. It may well be ſuppoſed, that the Prieſts, who were well verſed in the Art of deceiving, for their own Gain, cunningly gave the pretended Oracle a forced Interpretation, or at leaſt an equivocal one, which was capable of ſeveral Senſes. By this means, it generally happened, that the Event agreed with the Prediction. *Cicero* could not help ridiculing the Credulity of the People, who gave Credit to this ſuperſtitious Practice, and prejudicing the *Romans* againſt the Impoſtors, who gave a Sanction to ſuch Abuſes. *Tota res*, ſays he, *inventa fallaciis, aut ad quæſtum, aut ad ſuperſtitionem.*

The Lots were generally a ſort of Dies, on which were written certain Words, which, as the Prieſts pretended, contained Myſteries. In ſome Temples, this way of Divination, was nothing more than throwing Dies on a Table, with the Hand, or out of an Urn; which gave riſe to the Expreſſion, which is ſo common among the ancient *Greeks*, *The Lot is fallen*. What chiefly contributed to confirm the Cheat, was the Cuſtom of performing Sacrifices, and ſeveral Acts of Religion, before the Ceremony began.

In *Cicero*'s time, *The Lots of Præneſte* had loſt much of their ancient Reputation. Only the Vulgar had then any Regard to this old Error, or were governed by the Prejudices, which at firſt prevailed concerning it. In *Greece* and *Italy*, it was cuſtomary to divine by the Works of ſome celebrated Poet, as *Homer*, or *Euripides*. The Paſſage that firſt preſented itſelf to the Eye, upon opening the Book, was deemed a Decree of the Gods. *Virgil*'s Works were ſo uſed; of which we have an Inſtance in *Alexander Severus*. This Prince, whilſt yet a private Perſon, and become odious to the Emperor *Heliogabulus*, upon conſulting the Oracle in the Temple of *Præneſte*, had the following Words of the ſixth *Æneid*, which ſeemed to foretel his future Elevation to the Imperial Throne, given him for an Anſwer. *Si qua fata aſpera rumpas—— Tu Marcellus eris.*

66 The *Prætor Peregrinus* enjoyed the ſame Marks of Diſtinction, as the *Prætor Urbanus*; tho' the latter always had the Precedence. He alone could give Letters of Emancipation, or Freedom, ratify or diſannul Contracts and Adoptions, confirm Wills and Alienations of Goods, regulate Guardianſhips, and judge, according to the Words of the Law. And the *Prætor*, who had the Care of foreign Affairs, ſeems to have been obliged to conform himſelf, as much as poſſible, to the firſt *Prætor*'s Edict, in all the Judgments he gave. For as we have obſerved before, for fear the *Prætor* ſhould become arbitrary in his Deciſions, he was obliged to publiſh an *Edict*, which was to be his Rule in them. This was a Syſtem of Civil Law, founded upon the *Roman* Laws, or the Interpretations of them. When this *Edict* was once publiſhed, the Magiſtrate could not go from the Bounds he had ſet himſelf, and uſe other Maxims. In all other Caſes, the Authority and Privileges of the two *Prætors* were equal. Nay, the *Prætor Peregrinus* might cancel ſome of the Decrees of the *Prætor Urbanus*. *Zonaras* is miſtaken in giving the Surname of *Flaccus*, to *Quintus Valerius*, who was the firſt *Prætor* of the new Creation. The *Faſti Conſulares* give him the Surname of *Falto*.

them ſet ſail, and their Expectations were anſwered. The *Conſul* and *Prætor* began the Campaign jointly with the Siege of *Drepanum*, and left that of *Lilybæum* to be carried on ſlowly, as before. The *Roman* Ships found it eaſy to enter the Ports of both theſe Cities, which were in the Enemy's Hands. As it had not been expected, that the *Romans*, who had had no Fleet for five Years, ſhould appear with a great Armament at Sea, the Enemy were not upon their Guard, and the *Carthaginian* Ships were retired to *Africa*. As for *Lutatius*, who was an active General, and whoſe Love of Glory rouzed him to make the beſt uſe of the new Forces his Republick had entruſted him with; he battered the Walls of *Drepanum*, without Intermiſſion. And as the Place was beſieged both by Sea and Land, and *Hamilcar* was engaged on Mount *Eryx*, he ſoon made a Breach with his Machines. The *Romans* were already mounting it, with the *Conſul* at the Head of them, when the brave General was dangerouſly wounded in the Thigh; and being beloved by his Soldiers, they haſtened to his Relief, and left the Breach, to come and aſſiſt him, and conduct him in a Body to his Camp. Whilſt he was under Cure, he did not ſuffer his Troops to languiſh in Inaction; neither did he indeed purſue the Siege with exceeding great Vigour. He was fully ſatisfied, that the taking of a City would not put an end to the War; whereas, the gaining one Victory at Sea, would infallibly ſecure *Sicily* to the *Romans*. He therefore made it his whole Buſineſs to prepare for a Sea-fight, being perſuaded, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet would ſoon return from *Africa*, and diſpute with him the Conqueſt of the Cities, which were yet unſubdued. By the General's Orders, the Rowers were exerciſed every Day; the Land-Forces, which were to ſerve on board, were taught how to fight at Sea; and in ſhort, the choiceſt of the *Roman* Forces, were ordered to go on board the Gallies.

Year of ROME DXI. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS, A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, Conſuls.

THE *Conſul* was not cured of his Wound, but ſtill kept his Bed, when News was brought him, that the *Carthaginian* Fleet was ſailed. All *Carthage* ſeemed to be embarked on board the Multitude of Ships *Hanno* commanded: they were no leſs than four hundred in Number, of all Sizes. The Fleet had on board new *African* Levies, Arms, Money, and Proviſions; and the *Carthaginian* General's Deſign was to enter the Port of *Eryx*, and there land his Troops, unlade his Proviſions, and take on board the old Troops of the Garriſon of *Eryx*, with *Hamilcar* their General, whoſe Name and Experience were enough to ſtrike Terror into the *Romans*, who were in the Plains of *Sicily*. In ſhort, this terrible Armament was the laſt Effort of the *Carthaginians*. The *Rendezvous* for the Fleet, was at the Iſlands called *Ægades* [67], between *Lilybæum*, and *Drepanum*, but nearer the former, than the latter. And as much indiſpoſed as *Lutatius* was, he ordered himſelf to be carried on board the *Prætorian* Galley, though it was no eaſy Matter to hoiſt him up into it; and he immediately ordered the Fleet to join the reſt of his Ships at *Lilybæum*, and ſail directly from thence to meet the Enemy. But he had ſcarce got all Things in a readineſs, before the *Carthaginian* Fleet appeared off *Hiera*. This exceedingly rejoiced *Lutatius*, and he communicated his Joy to his Soldiers. He made them a ſhort Harangue, and ordered them to prepare for a Battel the next Day. The Wind was then favourable for the *Romans*; but it changed in the Night, and blew directly in their Teeth. And the Sea run very high, ſo that they muſt fight with the Waves as well as with the Enemy. *Flor. B.* 1. *Eutrop. B.* 2. *Polyb. B.* 1. *c.* 60.

ANY General, except *Lutatius*, would therefore have delayed the Battel; but the prudent *Conſul*, after he had duly conſidered of it, reſolved not to poſtpone it one Moment. *After all*, ſaid he, *we ſhall have a greater Advantage in fighting with Ships that are heavy laden, than Diſadvantage, in the Roughneſs of the Sea. If* Hanno *carries his Fleet to* Eryx, *takes* Hamilcar *on board, embarks his brave Mercenaries, and gets rid of theſe new Recruits, the Succeſs will be more doubtful, and the Victory longer diſputed.* And it is alſo ſaid, for Hiſtorians are often pleaſed, with mixing ſomething of *The Marvellous*, in their relations of great Events, that a ſort of Comet appeared to the

67 *Ptolomy* places the *Ægades* over againſt *Drepanum* and *Lilybæum*. He reckons up three of them; *Phorbantia*, or *Bucinna*, according to *Pliny*; *Æguſa*, or *Capraria*; and *Hiera*, or *Sacra*, which is alſo called *Maritima*. By *Ptolomy*'s Deſcription of them, the firſt ſeems to be that which is now called *Levenzo*. One of the two others is now called *Favignana*, the other *Maretano*; that is, one of theſe three Iſlands is called, *The Iſland of Heifers*; another *The Iſland of Goats*; and the third, *The Sacred Iſland*.

Year of ROME DXI. C. Lutatius Catulus, A. Postumius Albinus, Conſuls.

left of the *Roman* Fleet, and ſeemed to threaten the *Carthaginian*. But be that as it will, the *Roman* Fleet was, by the *Conſul*'s order, already drawn up in Line of Battel. He placed all his Gallies in one Line, thereby making a wide Front, which reached far out into the Sea. This was done to hinder the Enemy from ſtanding off, and continuing their Voyage to *Sicily*. The *Roman* Veſſels were all very light, and ſo governable, that they ſeemed like a large Body of Cavalry, whoſe Horſes are abſolutely at the Command of their ſkilful Riders. This Sight muſt doubtleſs have terrified the *Carthaginians*; but there was a Neceſſity for fighting, and they therefore entered upon Action.

Zonaras B. 8. c. 17. Polybius B. 1. c. 60.

On the firſt Signal the Battel began. But there was no Equality between the two Fleets, unleſs with Reſpect to the Number of the Ships of War. The *Romans* had been exerciſed, and taught to fight, during their Inaction. The *Carthaginians*, proud of their paſt Victories, had taken no care to diſcipline their Crews, and had been negligent in the choice of their Rowers. The *Roman* Gallies were light, and not overburthened; thoſe of the *Carthaginians* were heavy, with the great Numbers of Men, and the Cargoes they had on board. The Combatants on the one hand, were invincible *Legionaries*; on the other, raw Soldiers, not inured, either to the Sea, or to Battels: So that theſe Inequalities, made the Victory the more eaſy for the *Romans*. Their Crews, by their Strength and Skill, conquered the Oppoſition of the Winds and Waves; and upon the firſt Onſet, the *Conſular* Fleet ſunk fifty of the Enemy's Gallies. The *Conſul Lutatius*, who could not ſtand upon his Feet, gave his Orders from a Bier, on which he lay. The *Prætor Valerius* had the chief care of the Execution of them, and ſhared the Labours and Glory of the *Conſul*.

When the *Romans* were ſure of their Victory, and weary of deſtroying ſo many Ships and Men, they inveſted the Enemy's Gallies, to take them, and make Priſoners; and they indeed ſeized ſeventy Ships [68], and put the reſt to flight. But then, by an uncommon Inſtance of good Fortune, the Wind, which had hitherto been favourable to the *Carthaginians*, in their Voyage to *Sicily*, changed all on a ſudden, in the midſt of the Battel, and favoured their eſcape. So that the *Romans* owed their Succeſs wholly to their Valour and Skill, which made them victorious, though the Accidents of Weather were againſt them. *Hanno* [69] took Refuge under the Iſland of *Hiera*, and the *Conſul* entered the Port of *Lilybæum*. Such was the Battel of the *Ægades* Iſlands, which determined the Fate of *Sicily*. *Lutatius* took Booty enough to have diſcouraged *Carthage*. The Money, Arms, and Proviſions, ſhe ſent to her Troops, were partly ſunk, and partly taken by the *Romans*. The *Conſul* had taken at leaſt ten thouſand Men in the Battel: And in ſhort, the Victory was ſo complete, that the Enemy had no reſource left, but in a Peace.

§. XXXV. *HAMILCAR* was the firſt who felt the ill Effects of the Loſſes of his Republick. He had depended on *Hanno*'s Arrival with the Supply of Proviſions, Men, and Money, which was ſent him from *Carthage*. That was the only means, whereby he could poſſibly maintain himſelf in his Poſt, on Mount *Eryx*, where he had ſo long amuſed the Enemy. As ſoon then as *Lutatius* had diſpoſed of his Captives, and was perfectly cured of his Wound, he marched againſt *Hamilcar*; and in ſeveral Battels that he fought with him, he killed him about two thouſand Men. The City of *Eryx* was beſieged; and there the brave *Carthaginian*, who both wanted Forces, and deſpaired of having any, was obliged to ſurrender by Capitulation. The *Romans* would have forced him, and all his Garriſon, to have thrown down their Arms, and to have *paſſed under the Yoke*. But the brave General proteſted, he would rather periſh, than leave a Place with Diſgrace, which he had defended with Honour. And whilſt he was treating, he received full Powers from his Republick, to do whatever he thought adviſeable for the publick Good. His long Services made him worthy of a Commiſſion, whereby he was made, as it were, the Arbiter between his Country and the *Romans*; and his good Underſtanding made him incline to a Peace. He conſidered, that in the exceeding low Condition to which *Carthage* was at preſent reduced, it would be much better to treat with the Enemy, than to expoſe *Africa* to

Oroſius B. 4. c. 11. and *Emilius Probus.*

68 *Oroſius* ſays, the *Romans* took ſeventy three Ships from the *Carthaginians*, ſunk a hundred and twenty five, and made twenty five thouſand Priſoners.

69 *Zonaras* ſays, That *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian* Admiral, was the firſt Man that fled; That he did ſo, as ſoon as the Battel was begun, and eſcaped to *Africa*; and That a little time after, he was condemned to be crucified, for his Cowardice.

the Ravages of the victorious Fleet. He knew, that it was leſs ſhameful to give up *Sicily*, than to be driven out of it. Beſides, his Honour was not affected by the deciſive Battel, which another General had loſt. All the Valour, and good Conduct, which could be expected from any General, had been ſhewn by him for the Honour of his Country. So that nothing now remained for him to do, but to ſhew as much of the Patriot, as he had done of the Great Soldier. *Since*, ſaid he, *the* Carthaginians *can no longer maintain the Empire of the Seas, which has been ſo long conteſted, let us at leaſt take care, that this Loſs turn as little to their Diſadvantage as poſſible.* Theſe were prudent Conſiderations: and *Hamilcar* did not let ſlip the critical Minute, when he was moſt likely to ſucceed.

Year of *ROME* DXI. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS, A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, Conſuls. *Polyb. B.* 1. *c.* 62.

THE *Conſul Lutatius* loved Glory; his *Conſulſhip* was near expiring; and he was afraid, leſt a Succeſſor ſhould conclude a Work, which had coſt him ſo much Blood, and Labour. The artful *Carthaginian* therefore reſolved to negotiate a Peace with him, from a Perſuaſion that he ſhould be able to obtain better Terms of him, than of new *Conſuls*. He ſent a Deputation to him, which *Lutatius* received with Joy. He looked on the Concluſion of a Peace, with a formidable Enemy, after the taking of a City, and the gaining two Battels, one by Sea, and the other by Land, as the higheſt Pitch of Glory, to which he could poſſibly arrive: So that he loſt no time in drawing up the Articles of it, and facilitating it. Rome *her ſelf*, ſaid he, *wants reſt. Who knows whether, if we deny* Carthage *her Requeſt, this Refuſal may not be followed by as great a Languor in all Parts of the Republick, as that which has prevailed among us, ever ſince* Regulus *re-embarked us in the Dangers of War?*

Zonaras B. 8. *c.* 17. *Polyb. B.* 1. *c.* 62.

IN ſhort, both Parties were entirely diſpoſed to purſue the ſame end. So that, after ſome ſlight Difficulties, which the *Conſul* removed, he drew up theſe Articles, (whilſt he lay before *Eryx*, in *Sicily*) as the Terms of a Peace. *Friendſhip ſhall be reſtored between* Rome *and* Carthage, *upon the following Conditions, provided the* Roman *People ratify them.* 1. *The* Carthaginians *ſhall entirely abandon* Sicily, *and evacuate all the Places they yet detain in it.* 2. *They ſhall pay the* Romans *the Sum of two thouſand two hundred* Talents *of Silver* [70], *in the Space of twenty Years, in annual and equal Payments.* 3. Carthage *ſhall reſtore all the* Roman *Captives, and Deſerters, without Ranſom; but ſhall pay a certain Sum agreed on for the Redemption of the* Carthaginian *Priſoners.* 4. *The* Carthaginians *ſhall not make War on King* Hiero, *the* Syracuſans, *or their Allies.* As ſoon as theſe Articles were agreed to, *Hamilcar* ſurrendered *Eryx*, on Condition that all his Soldiers ſhould march out with him, upon his paying the Sum of eighteen *Roman Denarii*, for each of them. Securities were given on both Sides, and this long War concluded with a Truce.

Appian. in Excerp. apud Valeſ. *Polyb. B.* 1. *c.* 62.

ALL that now remained to put the finiſhing Hand to this great Work, was to obtain the Conſent of the *Roman* People aſſembled in *Comitia*. They were the ſole Arbiters of Peace, or War. The *Conſul* therefore ſent his Deputies, and the *Carthaginians* their Ambaſſadors, to *Rome*. The Republick was much pleaſed to hear of *Lutatius*'s Victories; but did not ſo well like his Indulgences to the Vanquiſhed. She would have had harder Conditions impoſed upon them; and wanted to fill her exhauſted Treaſury a little more. So that the People did not conſent to all the Articles, but appointed ten Commiſſioners, to go and treat perſonally with *Hamilcar*, and demand greater Advantages of him. They made ſome Alterations in the firſt Treaty, eſpecially as to Money-matters; and inſiſted, that *Carthage* ſhould immediately pay a thouſand *Talents*, and in ten Years, pay two thouſand two hundred *Talents* more, in ten equal Payments. They added, That the *Carthaginians* ſhould yield to the *Romans*, all the Iſlands between *Italy*, and *Sicily*; and That they ſhould never

Zonar. B. 8. *c.* 17. *Polybius B.* 1. *c.* 63.

[70] We have already ſpoken of the different Sorts of *Talents*, and their Value, *B.* 4. *p.* 169. of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 67. According to *Pollux*'s Calculation, the *Talent* of Silver here ſpoken of was worth ſixty *Mina*, and conſequently was the ſame as the *Attick Talent*. This way of reckoning was in uſe among the *Greeks*, and with them, paſſed into *Sicily*, and *Great Greece*. The *Mina* was worth an hundred *Drachma*. *A Drachma* was equal in weight to a *French Groſs* of Silver; which is generally worth ten *Sols*. The Value of the *Drachma* being once fixed, it is eaſy to reduce the *Mina* and *Talent*, to *French* Money. Each *Mina* contained an hundred *Drachmæ*, that is, fifty *French Livres*. The ſixty *Minæ*, which each *Talent* contained, amounted therefore to the Sum of a thouſand *Crowns French*. So that the two thouſand two hundred *Talents*, which the *Romans* demanded of the Republick of *Carthage*, made the Sum of ſix Millions ſix hundred thouſand *French Livres*. Add to this, that by the Terms of the Treaty, theſe *Talents* were to be of the ſame Value, as thoſe uſed in *Euboea*: Now, as *Snell* has very well obſerved, *The Talent of Euboea*, and the *Attick Talent* were the ſame.

* 437250 *l. Sterling. Arbuthnot.*

bring

Year of *ROME* DXI. C. Lutatius Catulus, A. Postumius Albinus, Conſuls.

bring any Ships of War there, or be ſuffered to raiſe any Mercenaries in thoſe Places. And theſe new Conditions were alſo accepted by the *Carthaginian* Plenipotentiary. Neceſſity alone extorted that Conſent from him, which he could not deny his ſinking Country. He at laſt acquieſced; but with great Rage at the *Romans*, which Hatred he carried with him into *Africa*, and retained all his Days. He ſet out for *Lilybæum*, and from thence ſailed to *Carthage*, without tarrying to be a Witneſs of the ſolemn Oath, which was the laſt Ratification of the Peace. It may juſtly be ſaid of *Hamilcar*, That his Country had never yet produced a General equal to him, in Valour and Prudence; and which is more, That in the whole Space of twenty three Years, which this War laſted, *Rome* had not ſent into *Sicily* a greater Officer. He always conquered, as long as his Republick could ſupport him; and only ſunk, in the common Misfortunes of his Country. And at laſt, he only returned into *Africa*, to be the Defender, or rather the Deliverer of *Carthage*, in the cruel War ſhe was to maintain with the revolted Mercenaries. He was great in War, and great in Peace; and had never had an Equal, if he had not been the Father of *Hannibal*, who equalled, or even ſurpaſſed him. As for *Rome* ſhe faithfully obſerved the Treaty ſhe had made with *Hamilcar*, and cultivated, as much as poſſible, a Friendſhip with the *Carthaginians*. She lent them Succours when they wanted them; and in order to aſſiſt them in their War with the Mercenaries, ſent back the *Carthaginian* Priſoners *gratis*, furniſhed them with Proviſions, and gave them leave to raiſe Troops in the Countries in Alliance with the *Roman* Republick. An uncommon Generoſity, eſpecially to a Nation, which had been ſo long her Enemy! But it was always the Character of *Roman* Virtue, to ſhine out in generous Actions, while it ſteadily purſued the Intereſts of *Rome*.

Zonar. B. 8. c. 17.

§. XXXVI. And now the Republick owed *Lutatius*, and the *Prætor Valerius*, who acted as his Collegue, and had merited it, a Triumph; but ſhe did not judge it proper to recall the Conquerors of the *Carthaginians* ſo ſoon from *Sicily*. She continued them in their Province, the next Year, one with the Title of *Proconſul*, the other with that of *Proprætor*. In the *Comitia by Centuries*, *Q. Lutatius*, ſurnamed *Cerco* [71], the Brother of the *Conſul Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Manlius Atticus*, who was now raiſed to this Dignity a ſecond time, were choſen *Conſuls*: and as ſtrange as it may appear, the Republick found Enemies in her own Boſom, in the time of her greateſt Proſperity. The *Faliſci*, an *Hetrurian* Nation, long ſince ſubdued, and which had continued peaceable, during the whole *Carthaginian* War, revolted, when *Rome* had nothing more to fear from Abroad. Their Revolt is ſaid to have begun with an Affront they offered a *Tribune of the People*, named *Genucius*. *Rome*, without doubt, demanded Satisfaction; and the *Faliſci* refuſed it. This gave Riſe to the Inſurrection, which was not to be quelled, but by Force. Their Capital was ſtrongly ſituated; and the Boldneſs and Confidence of the *Faliſci*, increaſed in Proportion to their Strength. And indeed, they raiſed ſo large an Army, that the Preſence of both the new *Conſuls* was neceſſary to reduce them. *Cerco* [72] and *Manlius* therefore marched againſt the Rebels with a *Roman* Army. But the *Faliſci* were not confined to the Defence of their Cities; they ventured to take the Field; meet their Sovereigns, and engage them. Nay, the Infantry of the *Faliſci* was ſuperior to that of the *Conſuls*, who could not have ſuſtained their Attack, without the help of their Cavalry: So that this firſt Battel was doubtful; and the Diſpute could not be determined, without a ſecond. They were both fought in ſix Days; and the laſt turned ſo much to the Diſadvantage of the Rebels, that they were forced to lay down their Arms, and ſurrender to the *Romans*, after they had loſt fifteen thouſand Men. Nevertheleſs, the Revenge of the *Roman* People was not equal to the Crime. The firſt Scheme was to reduce them all to Slavery; but Humanity prevailed over Reſentment. *Papyrius*, who drew up the Articles of their Surrendry, declared, that the *Faliſci* had not ſurrendered themſelves at Diſcretion, but had thrown themſelves upon the Honour of the Republick: and this ſingle Word *Honour* [or Good Faith] had ſuch an Effect on their Minds, that it leſſened the Puniſhment of the Rebels. The *Romans* only razed their Capital,

Year of *ROME* DXII. Q. Lutatius Cerco, A. Manlius Atticus, Conſuls.

Plut. in Gracchis.

Zonaras, B. 8. c. 18.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 5. §. 1. Non poteſtati, ſed fidei Romanorum, ſe commiſerunt [Faliſci.]

71 *Caſſiodorus*, *Oroſius*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, have confounded the two Brothers, by giving one the *Prænomen* and Surname which belonged to the other.

72 *Oroſius* depending on ſome unfaithful Memoirs, has miſtaken the Names of the *Conſuls* who led the *Roman Legions*, againſt the *Faliſci*. He calls one *Tiberius Gracchus*, and the other *Valerius*.

which was ſituated on an inacceſſible Mountain, and gave them Leave to build a new one in the Plain; and confiſcated their Arms, Horſes, a part of their Movables, and half their Lands. As for the *Conſuls*, their Victory was deemed conſiderable enough to merit the Honours of a Triumph, which was reſerved for them, till the end of their Year.

Year of *ROME* DXII. Q. Lutatius Cerco, A. Manlius Atticus, Conſuls.

§. XXXVII. In the mean time, they ſet out for *Sicily*, where there were yet the laſt Ceremonies to be performed, for the Conſummation of the Treaty of Peace, between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*. The Oaths taken by the two Nations were preceded by the ſolemn [73] Sacrifice of a Sow. Thus, in reality, the firſt *Punic* War did not end, till the Year of *Rome* 512, after it had laſted twenty four Years, without Interruption. A memorable War, and one of the moſt obſtinate that had then been ſeen: and which is very ſurpriſing, the Loſſes of the Conquerors were more conſiderable than thoſe of the Conquered. In this War, the *Romans* loſt ſeven hundred *Quinqueremes*; whereas, the *Carthaginians* did not at moſt loſe above five hundred. Fortune often was pleaſed to hold an even Balance between the two Parties, and thereby to prolong the War. The *Carthaginians* taught the *Romans* how to conquer at Sea, and the *Romans* the *Carthaginians* how to fight by Land. They reciprocally inſtructed each other, to their mutual Diſadvantage. *Rome* and *Carthage* became almoſt equal in the Knowledge of military Affairs; but the *Romans* always prevailed by Conſtancy. And we ſhall ſee this ſingle Virtue, which they never communicated to their Enemies, always render *Rome* ſuperior in the Wars, that Ambition and Emulation ſhall hereafter raiſe between the two Republicks.

§. XXXVIII. Thus every thing was ſettled, and ended in *Sicily*, between *Rome* and *Carthage*; but ſtill the Fate of the *Sicilians* remained undetermined. So that the two *Lutatii*, the *Conſul Manlius*, the *Proprætor Valerius*, and probably, the ten Commiſſioners ſent from *Rome* to conclude the Peace, made it their Buſineſs to ſettle the Government of the new Conqueſt. *Sicily* was the firſt Region *Rome* had abſolutely ſubdued, out of *Italy:* and it was therefore neceſſary to determine, with Prudence, upon what Foot the *Sicilians* ſhould ſtand, for the future, with Reſpect to their Conquerors; and what Advantages the Republick ſhould draw from theſe new Subjects. The Statutes that were then made, ſerved in a great Meaſure, for a Rule, for all the vaſt Countries, the *Romans* afterwards ſubdued. And we therefore cannot be too exact in enquiring into the Nature of the Government they eſtabliſhed in *Sicily*. All the Iſland, except the little Kingdom of *Syracuſe*, which the faithful *Hiero* was ſuffered to enjoy, was declared *A Roman Province:* and by the Word *Province*, the *Romans* ever after meant a large Country, brought under the Juriſdiction of the *Romans* by Arms, or ſome other lawful Means. But theſe *Provinces* were not put upon the ſame Foot, as the People *Rome* ſubdued in *Italy*; the latter enjoyed many more Advantages. The *Latins*, for inſtance, were ſcarce any thing more than Allies to the *Romans*. They were perfectly free; were exempted from all Tributes; preſerved their ancient Laws; were governed only by their own Magiſtrates; and were ſubject to *Rome*, in nothing, but the Obligation to furniſh their Contingent of Troops in the Wars, for the common Safety. The other *Italians* indeed were Tributaries to the Republick; but, generally ſpeaking, were governed by their own Laws, and choſe their own Magiſtrates, who adminiſtred Juſtice among them. But the Caſe of the *Provinces* was different. Their old Cuſtoms were aboliſhed, and their old Magiſtrates deprived of all Authority. The *Romans* only governed there. The Republick ſent a *Prætor* to each *Province* every Year, to govern it, and adminiſter Juſtice in it; and a *Quæſtor*, to collect the Tributes it was to pay. They alſo ſettled *Publicans* in each *Province*, who were Men of Subſtance, well enough born, and generally choſen out of the Body of the *Roman Knights*; and it was their Buſineſs to raiſe the Subſidies of the Republick, throughout the *Province*. Theſe Subſidies were either fixed, or caſual. The fixed were called *Tributes*, and conſiſted of a determinate Sum, which the *Province* payed every Year into the *Roman* Treaſury. The caſual Subſidies were raiſed either by Taxes on Lands, which all paid the tenth part of their Product in Specie, or by Cuſtoms upon imported and exported Merchandizes. But it was chiefly theſe *Tenths*, and *Cuſtoms*, that the *Publicans* farmed, at a certain annual

73 See our Account of the Forms and Ceremonies uſed in the Ratification of Treaties, *Book* 2. *p.* 82. of *Volume* 1; and *B.* 7. *p.* 286, of *Volume* 1. *Note* 40.

Year of ROME DXII. Q. Lutatius Cerco, A. Manlius Atticus, Conſuls.

Rent, which they conſtantly paid the Republick, at all Events. Nevertheleſs, theſe fixed Revenues did not hinder the *Romans* from often demanding of the *Provinces*, extraordinary Supplies of Men, Ships, and Corn, as there was Occaſion. Add to this, that all the Cities, and all the Cantons of the ſame *Province*, were not treated alike. Some were exempted from Tributes, others paid more than their Share of them. Some Cities were free, and preſerved their old Laws, and the Right of chooſing their Magiſtrates; others were ſubject to the *Roman* Laws, and had no Judges, but the *Prætors*. Theſe different Conſtitutions were founded in the different Treaties, theſe Cities had made, when they ſurrendered; or on the Services they had done the Republick.

Sol.n.

This, in general, was the State of the *Roman Provinces*; and theſe were the Regulations the Commiſſioners ſettled in *Sicily*, the firſt *Province* the *Romans* eſtabliſhed out of *Italy*. *Sicily* now become *Roman*, was deprived of its Laws, and conſequently, of the beſt part of its Liberty. It obeyed the *Prætors* the Republick ſent thither annually, and the firſt of theſe *Roman* Magiſtrates was *C. Flaminius*. Though Hiſtory does not mention it, it is probable, that a *Quæſtor* attended the *Prætor*, and that under them, *Publicus* farmed the Tenths and Cuſtoms there. By this means all the old Troubles in *Sicily* were appeaſed. This great Iſland became leſs free, and yet more happy. It had been a Scene of War, between three Nations, which diſputed for it, for time immemorial. The *Carthaginians*, the *Mamertini*, and the *Syracuſans*, by endeavouring to get the Dominion of it, laid it waſte. The *Romans*, who came after them, firſt increaſed the Calamity, but afterwards ſecured its Tranquillity. There were now but two Sovereigns in it, *Hiero*, and the *Romans*. A perfect Union reigned between the King and the Republick; and the latter had very lately diſcharged the former, from all the Tributes, that were at firſt laid upon him. So that *Sicily* had quite another Face. It enjoyed the Bleſſings of very great Plenty, in Peace; without diminiſhing itſelf very conſiderably, by what it paid the *Romans*. The *Sicilians* were exceeding happy, if they could have known it. The *Conſuls*, and their Aſſiſtants, delivered them from thoſe *Gauls*, who had been hired into their Service, and had ſettled in the Cities and Lands formerly belonging to the *Carthaginians*. The Pretence *Rome* made uſe of to drive them out of the Iſland, was, their having formerly plundered the Temple of *Venus Erycina*. They were tranſported out of the *Roman* Dominions.

Polybius B. 1. c. 67, &c.

After theſe good Orders were given, and carefully put in execution, thereby to ſettle *Sicily* in perfect Tranquillity, the *Roman* Generals had nothing more to do, but to return Home with their Troops. The two *Lutatii*, the *Conſul Manlius*, and the *Proprætor Valerius*, repaſſed the *Streights*, in order to receive at *Rome* the honourable Reward of their Labours. In this *Conſular* Year, triumphal Proceſſions, which the Inactivity of the *Roman* Generals had long interrupted, were renewed ſeveral times. The *Proconſul Lutatius* was the firſt who triumphed 74, and he would fain have triumphed alone. *It is an Innovation*, ſaid he, *for a Man, who is only a* Proprætor, *to receive the Honours of a Triumph. Ought Men, whoſe Offices are different, to receive the ſame Reward?* On the other hand, *Valerius* pretended, that having had the greateſt Share in the Labours and Dangers of the Battel of the *Ægades*, he ought to ſhare the Glory of it: and the Diſpute was referred to the Arbitration of *Attilius Calatinus*. When the Parties were preparing to maintain each his own Pretenſions; the Arbitrator, before they had ſpoken, addreſſed himſelf to the *Proprætor* thus. *What would you have done, if when you came to deliberate about the Battel, you had been againſt fighting, and the* Conſul *had been for it? Would not you have ſubmitted to his ſuperior Authority? If your* Auſpices *had been contrary to thoſe of the* Conſul, *would you not have been governed by his? I grant I ſhould*, replied *Valerius*; and this Anſwer determined the Arbitrator, to declare for *Lutatius* againſt *Valerius*. But the People did him Juſtice. They were too much rejoiced at the Victory of the *Ægades*, not to recompence both the Authors of it. They decreed both the *Proconſul* and the *Proprætor* a Triumph,

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 8. §. 2.

74 *Pighius* ſays, he ſaw ſome ancient Medals, which perpetuated the Memory of *Caius Lutatius Catulus*'s Triumph. He mentions one among the reſt, the reverſe of which was a triumphal Chariot, and a winged *Victory* crowning the Victor: and *Goltzius* has inſerted this Medal in his *Faſti*. But as this Monument is not allowed to be authentick by any modern Antiquary; we did not think it proper to give it a Place in this Hiſtory, till clearer Proofs are brought of its not being fictitious.

without regarding the Novelty of the thing. So that *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *C. Valerius Falto* 75, entered *Rome* in Triumph; the one four Days before *The Nones of October*, the other *The Eve of the Nones*; and the Joy of the People added great Life to the Proceſſion.

Year of ROME DXII. Q. Lutatius Cerco, A. Manlius Atticus, Conſuls.

§. XXXIX. But theſe Rejoicings of the People were interrupted by two fatal Accidents, which immediately followed one another. The Water and the Fire ſeem to have conſpired together againſt a City, which was ſcarce ever free from ſome War, or domeſtick Calamity. The *Tyber* overflowed all on a ſudden, with ſuch Violence, that it beat down many Houſes in the Plain; and it went ſo far, that the Water, which found no Vent, ſtagnated a great while in the *Forum Romanum*, and damaged the Foundations of the moſt ſolid Buildings. After the Inundation, immediately followed an almoſt general Fire; which the *Pontifex Cæcilius* is ſaid to have been forewarned of, by a Prodigy. As he was going to his Country-houſe, near *Tuſculum*, a Raven attacked him, and forced him to return back, in a manner, whether he would or not. But if there be ſome Truth in the Story, doubtleſs, Accident and Superſtition, were what haſtened the return of the *Pontifex*. All the Myſtery was, that *Cæcilius Metellus* ſaw a Bird, which was reputed inauſpicious, and immediately returned. But be that as it will, he came to the City ſoon enough, to prevent his Country's having a Loſs, with regard to Religion, which would have been thought irreparable. The Fire began in the Upper City; and the Author of it could not be diſcovered. From thence it ſpread far, into all Quarters of the City, and reached the *Forum*, where it did very great Damages. *Rome*, ſays one Hiſtorian, loſt more Wealth in one Day, than ſhe got by ſeveral Victories. The Temple of *Veſta* was not exempted from the common Misfortune; it took Fire, which made the *Veſtals* fly from it to ſave themſelves; and the moſt ancient Monuments of Religion had been burnt, if the *Pontifex* had not ventured his Life to ſave his Gods. He ruſhed through the Flames; went into the Sanctuary, where the *Palladium* 76 was kept, and brought it out of the middle of the Fire. An Action of greater Bravery, than his having conquered the *Carthaginians*, when at the Head of Armies; and more celebrated in Story, than the magnificent Triumph, in which he led in Proceſſion, a vaſt Number of Elephants, which he had taken from the Enemy! But he did not get out of the Fire, without ſome Marks of his Piety. One of his Arms was much hurt in the Fire; and which was much worſe, he entirely loſt his Sight. This heroical Action therefore procured him a Mark of Diſtinction 77, which had never been granted to any other; which was, that he might be carried to the Senate-Houſe in a Chariot.

Oroſius B. 4. c. 11. *D. Aug. de Civ. Dei, B. 3. c. 18.* *Val. Max. B. 1. c. 4. §. 4.* *Livy in Epit. B. 19.* *Pliny B. 7. c. 43.*

At the ſame time that theſe Misfortunes happened, there was a new *Cenſus* of the People made by the *Cenſors*, *Aurelius Cotta*, and 78 *Fabius Buteo*; and unleſs there be

75 Though *Attilius Calatinus* determined in favour of *Caius Lutatius*, againſt *Quintus Valerius Falto*; yet the *Faſti Capitolini* are of Authority enough with us, to convince us, that the latter received the Honours of the Triumph. Which gives us Reaſon to believe, that *Valerius* appealed from *Calatinus*'s Deciſion, to the Tribunal of the People; who probably favoured the *Proprætor*.

76 The *Palladium* was thought the tutelary God of *Rome*, and the ſureſt Pledge of the perpetual Duration of the *Roman* Government. See what we have ſaid of it, *B.* 2. *p.* 62. of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 25; *B.* 12. *p.* 582. of *Vol.* 1. *Note* 57; and in our Hiſtorical Diſſertation on *Devotements*, and *Evocations*, *p.* 164. of this *Vol. Note* 52.

77 *Dion. Hal. B.* 2. tells us, that the Republick erected a Statue to the Honour of *Lucius Cæcilius*, in the *Capitol*, for a perpetual Monument of her Gratitude; and adds, that in his time, there was a legible Inſcription on the Pedeſtal of the Pillar, in praiſe of this *Pontifex*. Mention was there made of the Prerogatives which were given him, out of regard to his Virtue; and *Gruter* has given us the Words of this *Elogium*. If indeed, the Inſcription itſelf be not forged from the Text of *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, *B.* 7. *c.* 43. But however that be, the Reader will find it in that Author. It tells us nothing more than we have ſaid in the Text, of the Exploits of this great Man, and the Titles of Honour which were granted him; unleſs it be, that he was promoted to the Office of *Decemvir*, for the Diſtribution of the conquered Lands, among the new *Colonies*, that the Republick planted in them. And to this it adds, that this *Pontifex* had the Reputation of being a very excellent Orator, and left his Children a great Eſtate.

78 In the *Capitoline Marbles* we find the Name of *Aurelius Cotta*; but not that of his Collegue. Nevertheleſs, the Authorities of *Plutarch* and *Livy*, make us conclude, that *Marcus Fabius Buteo* was the ſecond *Cenſor* for the Year 512. The former, in his *Life of Quintus Fabius Maximus*, and the latter in his 23d *Book*, ſays, that *Fabius Buteo*, had been honoured with the *Conſulſhip*, and *Cenſorſhip*, before he was promoted to the *Dictatorſhip*, in a very advanced Age, after the unfortunate Battel of *Cannæ*. Now this ſeems to be the only Year, in which he could have been *Cenſor*. Both the *Capitoline Tables*, and *Livy*, name other *Cenſors* for all the following Years, quite down to the Battel of *Cannæ*. Some think this was the ſame *Fabius*, of whom *Oroſius* ſpeaks, *B.* 4. *c.* 13; and who killed his own Son *Fabius Buteo*, who was accuſed of having been guilty of Robbery.

ſome-

Year of *ROME* DXII. Q. Lutatius Cerco, A. Manlius Atticus, Conſuls.

ſome Miſtake in the Cyphers in *Euſebius*, and the Number of the Citizens be thereby leſſened, a prodigious Multitude of them muſt have periſhed, in the Inundation and Fire. He reckons up but one hundred and ſixty thouſand Citizens. And may it not be conjectured, that the two new *Tribes*, *Velina* [79], and *Quirina* [80], were inſtituted this Year, only to ſupply the Loſs *Rome* had had? At leaſt it is certain, that from this time the Number of the *Tribes* was reckoned [81] to be thirty five, and was never after increaſed. And now, nothing remained but to conclude the Year with the Triumph of the two *Conſuls*, *Lutatius Cerco*, and *Manlius Atticus*. The one entered *Rome* in Proceſſion on the firſt of *March*, the other on *The fourth of the Nones* of that Month; for having conquered the *Faliſci*, and reduced them to Obedience to the Republick, after they had revolted from her.

§. XL. Among the many Advantages *Rome* gained by her Wars in *Sicily*, one was the Taſte ſhe got for polite Learning. In a Country, which produced ſo many great Poets, a few Years after the Death of *Theocritus*, the *Romans* learnt juſter Notions

Year of *ROME* DXIII. C. Claudius Centho, M. Sempronius Tuditanus, Conſuls. *Cicer. in Bruto*, and *A Gel. B.* 17. *c.* 21.

of Poetry. *Livius Andronicus* [82], the Reformer of the *Roman* Stage, appeared at *Rome*, the firſt Year after the *Romans* were in peaceable Poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, when *C. Claudius Centho*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* were *Conſuls*. Till his time, only *Satyrs* appeared on the *Roman* Stage, who, by ridiculous Geſtures, incoherent Diſcourſes, and unpremeditated Jeſts, amuſed a People, whoſe Taſtes were yet very low. But *Andronicus* introduced regular, well-connected Fables, much like thoſe uſed in *Greece*. His Verſification indeed was by no means in that Perfection, to which it was brought by his Succeſſors. His Verſes were probably only *Saturnian* [83] *Verſes*, that

79 The *Tribe Velina* was ſettled in the Country of the *Sabines*, fifty Miles from *Rome*, near the Lake *Velinus*, from which it took its Name, and not from a City of *Lucania*, called *Velia*, as ſome have falſely ſuppoſed. We have already obſerved, that the Republick eſtabliſhed no new *Tribe* beyond *Campania*.

80 The *Tribe Quirina* was ſo called from the City of *Cures* in *Sabinia*, according to *Feſtus*. *Quirina Tribus a Curenſibus Sabinis videtur appellationem traxiſſe*. *Manius Curius* had ſeveral Years ſince prepared the Way for creating theſe two new *Tribes*, when he forced the *Sabines*, that revolted from the Republick, to ſurrender up themſelves, and their Territory to the *Romans*, at Diſcretion.

81 Indeed, the *Cenſors*, *Publius Licinius Craſſus*, and *Lucius Julius Cæſar*, added ten new *Tribes*, to the thirty five old ones, in the Year of *Rome* 674, after the Republick had, by the *Julian* Law, granted the right of *Roman Citizenſhip*, to the *Hetrurians*, *Umbri*, *Gauls*, and the Inhabitants of *Gallia Ciſpadana*. But theſe ten *Tribes* had not *The Prerogative Right*; and conſequently, no recourſe was had to their Suffrages, unleſs in caſe of an Equality of Votes. This was an odious Exception to theſe People, who complained bitterly of it; and made ſuch Advantage of the Want the Republick was in of their Aſſiſtance, that theſe ten *Tribes* were aboliſhed ſome Years after. The Members of them were incorporated in the old *Tribes*, in which they afterwards voted.

All that remains, is to learn, what were the Boundaries of each of theſe *Tribes*. As to the *City-Tribes*, it is manifeſt, that they extended their Limits, as faſt as the City of *Rome* grew larger. And the *Country Tribes*, created by King *Servius Tullius*, will appear not to have contained above two Leagues each, to any one, who conſiders, that they were all included in *The Roman Territory*. And as for the others of later Date, which the *Conſuls* erected from time to time, it is almoſt impoſſible to diſcover their Limits exactly. Beſides that they were very far diſtant from one another, and in different *Provinces*, they all had near them, *Colonies*, *Municipia*, and *Præfectures*, which divided them from one another. Only it may be obſerved in general, That they were all bounded by the *Tyber*, the *Nar*, and the *Anio*, on one ſide; and on the other, by the *Vulturnus*, to the Eaſt; the Sea, to the South; the *Arno*, to the Weſt; and the *Apennines*, to the North. In After-times, the Limits of theſe *Tribes* were enlarged, by adding the adjacent *Municipal* Towns, and *Colonies* to them, which were not included in them before.

82 St. *Jerom*, in his *Chronic*, gives *Livius Andronicus* the *Prænomen* of *Titus*; and *Scaliger* gives him that of *Marcus*, in his Notes on that Work. But we choſe to follow *Aulus Gellius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, who give this Poet the *Prænomen* of *Livius*. *Coelius Rhodiginus Simber*, *La Popeliniere*, and *Glandorpius*, falſely ſuppoſe, that *Andronicus* wrote eighteen Books of *Roman* Hiſtory, in Verſe. It is plain, as *Voſſius* obſerves, in his firſt Book of *The Latin Hiſtorians*, that theſe three Writers were impoſed on by an incorrect Paſſage of the third Book of *Diomedes*. This Paſſage, as related by *John Cæſarius*, makes *Livy* the Author of the Hiſtory, which belonged of right to *Ennius*; as we learn from *Varro*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 17. *c.* 21. This Poet was *The Freedman* of *Marcus Livius Salinator*, whoſe Children he had educated. His Poetry was grown obſolete in *Cicero*'s time, and, in the Judgment of that Orator, would not bear a ſecond reading. *Terentianus Maurus* affirms, that *Andronicus* wrote a Piece in Heroic Verſe: and *Feſtus* quotes two *Hexameters*, which he ſays were this Poet's, though they were really taken from *Ennius*'s *Annals*. The *Faſti Capitolini* were our Guides, in fixing the Origin of the *Drama* among the *Romans* to the 513th Year of *Rome*. Though *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, places it in the Year of *Rome* 514, that is, in the firſt Year of the 135th *Olympiad*, a Year after the firſt *Punic* War, above a hundred and ſixty Years after the Death of *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*, and fifty two Years after that of *Menander*. See what we have ſaid of *Livius Andronicus*, and the old Comedy, *B.* 15. *p.* 84, 85. of this Volume.

83 *Fortunatian* makes the *Greeks* the Authors of the *Saturnian* Verſes. Others give that Honour to the *Latins*; and pretend, that they took their Name from the City of *Saturnia*, in *Tuſcany*. Some Moderns make no Difference between the *Saturnian* and

that is, a ſort of *Iambicks*, whoſe Numbers were irregular, and their Cadence neither uniform, nor agreable to the Ear. Poets were then Hiſtorians; and Hiſtory began with Poetry, among the *Romans*.

Year of *ROME* DXIII.

C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO, M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS, Conſuls.

IN the mean time, the new *Conſuls* having no particular Employment, and not being called abroad by any Wars, made it their whole Buſineſs to eſtabliſh good Order in *Italy*; to run over the Regions threatened by the *Gauls*, and *Ligures*, and to plant new *Colonies* there. At leaſt, it is certain, that one was ſettled at *Spoletum*, a conſiderable City in *Umbria*, on the Banks of *Teſſin*. This was to keep thoſe *Gauls* in awe, who had been already conquered, as well as thoſe in *Inſubria*, who might perhaps take up Arms. This was a neceſſary Precaution on one ſide; whilſt on the other, *Rome* propoſed to make her ſelf Friends, who were at a great Diſtance.

Ptolomy [84] *Euergetes*, the King of *Egypt*, was within reach of *Carthage*, and might incommode *Sicily* with his Fleets. In order therefore to obtain his Friendſhip, the Republick, which was already famous in all the Ports in the *Mediterranean*, ſent an Embaſſy to him, and offered him Succours againſt *Antiochus* [85], King of *Syria*. The Embaſſadors were well received; but *Ptolomy* was rid of his Enemy. So that he only returned the *Romans* thanks for their Concern for him; and was perhaps glad that he was not under a Neceſſity of introducing the Armies of the ambitious Republick into *Aſia*. And indeed, *Rome* in reality only ſought for Means to interrupt her own Tranquillity; the leaſt Pretences would have made her embark in any Quarrels, from which ſhe always gained ſome Advantage. But being forced to continue in Peace, whether ſhe would or no, ſhe made it her Buſineſs to invent new *Games*. Thoſe which had been celebrated in the Month of *April*, in honour to *Flora*, ever ſince King *Ancus Marcius*'s time [86], are ſaid to have been now transferred to [87] *May*: And this Novelty made the Feſtival the more famous, without leſſening its Obſcenity. We have already obſerved,

and *Feſcennine* Verſes; and the Obſcenity of the latter, and the Nearneſs of the two Cities of *Saturnia* and *Feſcennia*, to one another, confirms this Conjecture. Some ſay, the *Saturnian* Verſes were very early in uſe, and that for this Reaſon, they were called by that Name, as if they had been firſt invented, as early as *Saturn*'s time. *Ennius* ſeems to intend to ſhew the Antiquity of this groſs Way of making Verſes, in the following Lines.

Scripſere alii rem
Verſibus, quos olim Fauni vateſque canebunt,
Cum neque Muſarum Scopulos quiſquam ſuperarat
Nec dicti ſtudioſius erat.

Such, ſays *Ennius*, *were the Verſes, the* Fauni *and old Poets ſung. The Sanctuary of the* Muſes *was not yet opened; nor the Beauties of Language known.*

Terentianus Maurus mentions two ſorts of *Saturnian* Verſes. The firſt were, according to him, a confuſed Jumble of all ſorts of Verſes, according to the Poet's Fancy, and the Nature of his Subject. Afterwards, this Licentiouſneſs was reduced to *Anachreonticks*, of three Feet and an half, and *Choraics* of three Feet; which alternately followed one another.

84 This *Ptolomy*, the third of the Name, was he who ſucceeded his Father *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who died in the Year of *Rome* 507. He declared War with *Antiochus*, and carried his Ravages into the Center of his Dominions. He ſubdued *Cilicia*, and ſome other Countries beyond the *Euphrates*; but his rapid Conqueſts were interrupted by a Revolt of his Subjects, which ſoon recalled him back to *Egypt*, when he was preparing to ſubdue the reſt of *Aſia*. However, he brought with him incredible Riches from all theſe Conqueſts, and among the reſt two thouſand five hundred Statues of falſe Gods. In this Number, were the Images, which *Cambyſes* King of *Perſia* had taken from the *Egyptians*, in the time of *Pſammenitus*; and theſe ſuperſtitious People were ſo delighted with recovering the Poſſeſſion of their Gods again, that they, in Gratitude for it, gave *Ptolomy* the Name of *Euergetes*, or *Benefactor*. The Murder of his Siſter *Berenice*, who had married *Antiochus*, was the Cauſe of this War. See *Juſtin*, *Strabo*, and *Appian in Syriacis*.

85 This is that *Antiochus*, whom the *Mileſians* ſtiled *The God*, for having delivered them from the Tyranny of *Timarchus*.

86 According to *Lactantius*, *Inſtit. B.* 1. *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth King of the *Romans*, erected a Statue to this debauched Woman, in that part of *Rome*, which was called *Velabrum*, inſtituted ſolemn Sacrifices to her Honour, and committed the care of her Worſhip to a Prieſt, whom *Varro* calls *Flamen Floralis*, in his ſixth Book *Of the Latin Tongue*.

87 They who think the *Floralia* were transferred from *April* to *May*, found their Opinion upon this Verſe of *Ovid*, where ſpeaking of the Feſtival inſtituted in honour to *Flora*, he expreſſes himſelf thus,

Incipis Aprili, tranſis in tempora Maii.

But this Interpretation, which *Roſinus* warrants, is diſputed by many Authors; they don't think it the Poet's Senſe. *Ovid*, ſay they, only means, that the *Floralia* began *The fourth of the Calends of May*, that is, the twenty eighth Day of *April*, and did not end till after the beginning of the next Month. During this licentious Solemnity, the People were entertained with Deer-hunting, and Hare-hunting, in the *Circus* of *Flora*. *Ovid* proves this Practice.

Cur tibi pro Libycis clauduntur rete Leænis,
Imbelles Capræ, ſollicituſque Lepus. Faſt. B. 5.

Nardini thinks theſe Verſes a ſufficient Authority for diſtinguiſhing two ſorts of *Floralia*; one, in which impudent Women appeared naked in the Theatre, and broke through all the Laws of Modeſty, by their laſcivious Geſtures, and obſcene Songs. And as if they had been ſorry, that the Night caſt a kind of Veil over their Nakedneſs, they ran about the Streets of *Rome* all Night long, in the ſame laſcivious manner, with Trumpets ſounding

Year of *ROME* DXIII.

C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO, M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS, Conſuls.

Macrob. Sat. B. 1. *D. Aug. de Civit. Dei. B.* 1. *Plut. in Quæſt. Rom.*

Ovid Faſt. B. 8.

ſerved, that this *Flora* was a famous Courtiſan, who, by her Beauty, became [88] firſt the Miſtreſs, and afterwards the Wife, and Heireſs of one *Tarutius*. By her Proſtitutions, and the Liberality of her Huſband, ſhe heaped up great Riches, and left them all to the *Roman* People, upon Condition, that they would annually celebrate her Birth-day with *Games*. But *Games* were religious Ceremonies, and *Rome* did not think it decent, to commemorate a Proſtitute, with Ceremonies appropriated to the Worſhip of the Gods. In order therefore to ſave the Benefaction, and at the ſame time perform, in Appearance at leaſt, the Conditions of it, the *Romans* gave the Name of *Flora*, which was the Name of the Courtiſan, to the Goddeſs, who preſided over the Fruits of Trees, when they are in Flower. And if the Feſtival was at this time removed from *April* to *May*, it was under Pretence of obtaining from the Goddeſs, a happy ripening of the Corn and Grapes, which were then in Bloſſom. However, not to aboliſh entirely the Memory of the Inſtitutreſs, and her Profeſſion, the moſt infamous Licentiouſneſs was allowed to be practiſed, at theſe *Games*. The Perſons chiefly concerned in them, were publick Proſtitutes, who celebrated the Birth-day of *Flora*, by appearing naked, and uſing the moſt impure Geſtures; and in the Night, which was made as light as the Day with Illuminations, they gave themſelves up to the moſt abominable Impurities. A copious Subject to exerciſe the Zeal of *The Fathers* of the Church! How judicious are their Reflections, both on the Inſtitution of a Feſtival, in honour to a Strumpet, on the Goddeſs, who was ſubſtituted in her room, and on the Brutalities of her Worſhip! Theſe *Games*, ſay they, were too bad, for even the Prophane themſelves to ſee, who had not loſt all Senſe



Silver.

ſounding, and Flambeauxs. In the other *Floralia*, according to him, Deer and Hares were hunted in the *Circus*. The former, ſays he, were celebrated in *April*; the latter in the beginning of *May*. But in this *Nardini* is contradicted by moſt Commentators, who with Reaſon think, that theſe two Shews were both preſented in the ſame Feſtival, and were parts of the ſame *Games*.

88 It muſt be owned, that this Account of *Lactantius* does not well agree with that of *Varro*, *B.* 4. *de Ling. Latina*. The latter ſufficiently ſhews, that the Worſhip of *Flora* was much older than *Rome* itſelf, when he declares, that it was introduced there by *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*. So that ſhe muſt have been worſhiped in *Sabinia*, before the beginning of the *Roman* Monarchy. Beſides, *Pliny B.* 38. commends a famous Statue, which the *Greeks* had erected in honour to the Goddeſs *Flora*; and which was made by *Praxiteles*. This Statue, which had been brought to *Rome*, was to be ſeen there in *Pliny*'s time: and this has made ſome believe, that the Worſhip of this ſtrange Goddeſs was brought into *Italy* from *Greece*. *Ovid* goes up to the fabulous Times for her Origin. He ſays, that ſhe was a Nymph, whoſe Name at firſt was *Chloris*, and that afterwards ſhe married *Zephyrus*, who, for her Dowry, gave her the Sovereignty over the Flowers in the Spring. Some Moderns are greatly miſtaken, when they ſay, upon *Plutarch*'s Authority, that in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, there was an Image of the Goddeſs *Flora*, in a *Tunick*, and holding Bean, and Peaſe-Flowers, in her right Hand. It is plain, they miſunderſtood *Plutarch*. He only ſays, that when *Cæcilius Metellus* adorned the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* with the moſt valuable Paintings, and fineſt Statues, he put there a Picture of *Flora*, *Pompey the Great*'s Miſtreſs, who was one of the greateſt Beauties in *Rome*. Nor is another modern Writer leſs in Fault; who pretends, that during the Solemnization of the *Floralia*, the *Ædiles* diſtributed Beans, and Peaſe, and other Pulſe, among the People. He quotes *Val. Maximus*, *B.* 2. *c.* 2. in proof of this; but the Misfortune is, that we find no Foundations of this Cuſtom there. *Tiraquean*, in his Commentary on *Alexander ab Alexandro*, falls into the ſame Miſtake. Among other ancient Monuments, a Silver Medal of the *Servilian* Family, has tranſmitted down to us the Head of *A Flora*, as ſhe uſed to be repreſented. The Inſcription, FLORALIA PRIMUS, ſeems to ſhew, that one *Caius Servilius*, whoſe Name the Medal bears, was the firſt who ordered the *Floralia* to be celebrated. But in order to reconcile the Medals and the Hiſtorians, we ſhall obſerve, That theſe *Games* had been interrupted for ſeveral Years; and That after this long Interruption, *Caius Servilius* was the firſt, who renewed this Solemnity. It ought alſo to be remarked here, that from the Year of *Rome* 513, to the Year of *Rome* 580, the *Floralia* were not regularly celebrated every Year. The *Sybilline* Books, and the Irregularity, and Inclemency of the Seaſons, were what determined the Celebration of theſe *Games*. But the Coiner might intend no more by the Word PRIMUS, than either to ſignify the Surname of *Servilius*, or elſe to ſhew that he was the Chief of the *Curule Ædiles*, who preſided in the Feſtival of *Flora*.

of

of Modesty. *Marcius* * *Portius Cato* 89 left the Place where they were celebrated, lest his Eyes should be polluted, with the Sight of such infamous Abominations.

90 Two Brothers, named *Publicii*, who were now *Plebeian Ædiles*, had the care of celebrating the *Floralia* this 91 Year; and they defrayed the Expences of the *Games*, out of the Fines they laid upon all those, who had fed their Flocks, in the Pastures belonging to the Publick. A strict Enquiry was made after them, and upon being prosecuted by the *Ædiles*, the Delinquents were obliged to pay great Sums. With these Fines, the *Publicii* were ordered to build a Temple in 92 honour to *Flora*, to defray the Expences of the *Games* dedicated to her, and to pave the rough and uneven Way 93, from *Rome*, to the Hill *Aventinus*, with fine Stones. The levelling of this Hill, made it very commodious for Carriages to pass; and the Memory of this useful piece of Service, which the two Brothers did the Republick, is preserved, by an ancient 94 Medal.

Year of ROME DXIII. C. Claudio Centho, M. Sempronio Tuditano, Consuls.

* *Val. Max. B. 2. c. 10. § 8.*

89 The Fact, as it is related by *Valerius Maximus*, and *Seneca the Philosopher*, is this. *Cato* was present at the Celebration of the *Floralia*; and his Presence kept the People in awe. Whilst so severe a Man was present, the Assembly durst not call for the debauched Women to appear, as usual. *Cato* was informed of the great Regard and Honour the People payed him, by his Friend *Favorinus*, who sate by him; and he chose to withdraw, rather than either interrupt the Celebration of the Festival, or pollute his Eyes with the Sight of these infamous naked Women. Then the Spectators, charmed with *Cato*'s Complaisance, gave him many Acclamations. Nevertheless, *Martial* ridicules this Proceeding of this *Roman*, in one of his Epigrams. *Why*, says he, addressing himself to him, *did you appear at these* Games, *since you knew the Licentiousness of them? Did you go into the Theatre, only to come out again?*

Cur in Theatrum Cato severe venisti?
An ideo tantum veneras ut exires?

90 *Festus* calls these two Brothers by the Names of *Lucius Poblicius Malleolus*, and *Marcus Poblicius Malleolus*. They were both *Plebeian Ædiles*, and not *Curule Ædiles*, as he pretends. He is contradicted in this, by *Ovid* and *Varro*.

91 In the old Editions of *Pliny the Naturalist*, the Institution of the *Floralia* is postponed three Years, that is, to the Year 516. *Floralia, quarto Kalendas Maii, instituerunt, Urbis anno* 516, *ex oraculis Sybillæ, ut omnia bene defloresceret.* But the Mistake has not escaped the Criticks. Some have put 513 instead of 516, in order to reconcile the Passage with the *Fasti Capitolini*. Others have thought, that it ought to be read 514, still preserving the Difference of one Year, which there is between *Pliny*'s Chronology, and the *Fasti Capitolini*. What is certain, is, that the Ancients, and particularly *Velleius Paterculus*, agree, that these *Games* were first celebrated in the *Consulship* of *Caius Claudius Centho*, and *Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus*, who were *Consuls* in the Year of *Rome* 513. The Testimony of so many Writers, who fix the Rise of the *Floralia* to this time, is therefore a pretty decisive Proof against *Lactantius*'s Account of it. His Opinion is, That they were first instituted in the earliest Ages of *Rome*; and That the *Floralia* were celebrated at that time, in Compliance with the Terms required of the *Roman* People, by the Will of a Strumpet.

92 This Temple was built, according to *Tacitus*, in the second Book of his *Annals*, near *The Great Circus*: and, according to him, *Tiberius* repaired it.

93 This Way reached, say some, from the Ox-Market, or, according to *Festus*, from that part of the Hill *Palatinus*, which was called *Velia*, to the Hill *Aventinus*. The Street was called *Clivus Publicius*. *Pighius* thinks, the Word *Velia* may have crept into the Text of *Festus*, instead of *Vehia*, a Term borrowed from the *Osci*, which signified a Carriage, or Waggon.

94 This Medal, according to many Authors, who refer to it, was stamped on one side, with The Genius of the *Roman* People; and on the other, with a Sheep, the Symbol of pecuniary Fines; either because Fines were, in the first Ages of *Rome* payed in Cattle, or because the first Money was stamped with the Figure of this Animal.

BRITISH MUSEUM

The End of the Second Volume.

THE

FASTI CONSULARES,

OR

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

CONTINUED.

BRITISH MUSEUM

31. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 362.

L. LUCRETIUS FLAVUS.
SER. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS.
M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a ſeventh time.
AGRIPPA FURIUS FUSUS.
C. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People.
C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
L. HORTENSIUS.
C. ACUTIUS.
Q. ROMULEIUS.
M. TERENTIUS.
L. APPULEIUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
Q. MANLIUS.
L. RABULEIUS.
N. OTACILIUS.

Ædiles.
T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.

Military Quæſtors.
SER. SULPITIUS RUFUS.
C. SERGIUS FIDENAS.

32. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 363.
Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
Q. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a fourth time.
SERVIUS CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.

Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the *Gauls*.

Gen. of Horſe. L. VALERIUS POTITUS.

Tribunes of the People.
L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. ÆLIUS POETUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.
M' OTACILIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
L. PUPIUS.
M. APPULEIUS.
M. ALBINIUS.
C. OPPIUS.

Ædiles.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
M. TITINIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. MENENIUS LANATUS.
C. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

Military Quæſtors.
L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
L. ANTISTIUS.

Year 364.
Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Gen. of Horſe. L. VALERIUS POTITUS.

Tribunes of the People.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
L. HORTENSIUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
L. FULVIUS CURVUS.
L. MARCIUS.
C. APPULEIUS.
C. SEXTILIUS.
M' POMPONIUS.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
Q. PETILIUS.

Ædiles.
L. APPULEIUS.
L. VIRGINIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS.
	T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Military Quæſtors.	L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
	L. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
33. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 365.	L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a ſecond time.
	L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
	P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
	A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
	L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLENSIS.
Dictator.	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a third time. He triumphs over the *Volſci*, *Æqui*, and *Hetrurians*.
Gen. of Horſe.	C. SERVILIUS AHALA.
Tribunes of the People.	C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
	L. ÆLIUS POETUS.
	C. OTACILIUS.
	M. APPULEIUS.
	LUCIUS ALBINIUS.
	Q. CONSIDIUS.
	Q. HORTENSIUS.
	N. OTACILIUS.
	L. ALLIENIUS.
	C. ACUTIUS.
Ædiles.	M. ALBINIUS.
	L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	C. FABIUS DORSO.
	C. APPRONIUS.
Military Quæſtors.	C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
	M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
34. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 366.	T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
	L. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a fifth time.
	L. JULIUS IULUS.
	L. AQUILIUS CORVUS.
	L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.
	SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
Tribunes of the People.	M. TITINIUS.
	CN. APPULEIUS.
	L. SEXTIUS.
	L. NUMITORIUS.
	C. APPULEIUS.
	C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
	C. SEXTILIUS.
	M. JUVENTIUS.
	L. FULCINIUS.
	T. ROSCIUS.
Ædiles.	L. HORTENSIUS.
	C. OPPIUS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
	M. POETELIUS LIBO.
Military Quæſtors.	SP. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
	M. MÆNIUS.
35. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 367.	L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
	C. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a ſecond time.
	L. MENENIUS LANATUS.
	L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a third time.
	C. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
Tribunes of the People.	L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
	C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
	Q. HORTENSIUS.
	L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
	M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
	L. ANTISTIUS.
	C. ACUTIUS.
	L. ALBINIUS.
	SP. MÆCILIUS.
	M. APPULEIUS.
Ædiles.	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
	SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
Quæſtors of Rome.	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
	Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.
Military Quæſtors.	SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS.
	CN. APRONIUS.
36. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 368.	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fourth time.
	Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a ſixth time.
	L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
	L. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
	P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA.
Tribunes of the People.	C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
	SP. METILIUS.
	A. SELLIUS.
	C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
	M. POMPILIUS.
	SEX. TEMPANIUS.
	P. SCAPTIUS.
	P. SILIUS.
	C. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
	TI. PONTIFICIUS.
Ædiles.	C. SEXTILIUS.
	C. APPULEIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Military Quæſtors.
M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
P. MÆNIUS.

37. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 369.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a ſecond time.
P. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a ſecond time.
T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a ſecond time.
C. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a ſecond time.

Dictator.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS. He triumphs over the *Volſci.*

Gen. of Horſe.
T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People.
L. HORTENSIUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
C. ANTISTIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
L. APRONIUS.
L. SEXTIUS.
C. ANTISTIUS.
M. ALBINIUS.
A. LUCERIUS.
L. CÆDICIUS.

Ædiles.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
L NUMITORIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Military Quæſtors.
C. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

38. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 370.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a third time.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a ſecond time.
M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth time.
SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, a ſecond time.
C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People.
M. MÆNIUS.
SP. MECILIUS.
Q. HORTENSIUS.
C. FURIUS.
T. ROMULEIUS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
P. MÆNIUS.

CN. APRONIUS.
P. MÆLIUS.
Q. TERENTIUS.

Ædiles.
L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
L. ALBINIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.

Military Quæſtors.
SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.
M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.

39. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 371.
L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a fourth time.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a third time.
SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS, a third time.
L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, a third time.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.

Tribunes of the People.
L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
M. ALBINIUS.
L. OPPIUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
M. CLAUDIUS.
C. SEXTILIUS.
T. JUVENTIUS.
C. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
M. DUILIUS.

Ædiles.
C. APRONIUS.
C. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
SP. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.

Military Quæſtors.
Q. CLAUDIUS SICULUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

40. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 372.
SP. PAPIRUS CRASSUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a fourth time.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a fourth time.

Tribunes of the People.
L. SICILIUS DENTATUS.
L. ALBINIUS.
L. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
L. PETILIUS.
C. CANULEIUS.

C. ICILIUS

C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mænius.
L. Publilius Philo Volscus.
L. Canuleius.
L. Rabuleius.

Ædiles. M. Mænius.
L. Sextius.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Military Quæstors. P. Pupius.
L. Mæcilius.

41. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 373. M. Furius Camillus, a sixth time.
A. Postumius Albinus Regillensis.
L. Furius Medullinus.
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, a third time.
M. Fabius Ambustus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Antistius.
A. Lucerius.
A. Tempanius.
Cn. Sellius.
C. Apronius.
C. Marcius Rutilus.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
Sp. Metilius.
L. Tempanius.
C. Sellius.

Ædiles. Q. Hortensius.
Q. Publilius Philo.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Licinius Calvus.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Military Quæstors. Ser. Sulpicius Longus.
L. Æmilius Barbula.

42. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 374. L. Valerius Poplicola, a fifth time.
P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola, a fifth time.
L. Menenius Lanatus, a second time.
C. Sergius Fidenas, a third time.
Sp. Papirius Cursor.
Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis, a fifth time.

Dictator. T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS. He triumphs over the *Præneſtini.*

Gen. of Horſe. A. Sempronius Atratinus.

Cenſors. C. Sulpicius Camerinus.
Sp. Postumius Albus Regillensis. The latter dies in his Office, and the former abdicates on account of the Death of his Collegue.

Tribunes of the People. M. Mænius.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Pompilius.
C. Mamilius.
Sex. Titinius.
Cn. Apronius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
Q. Marcius Tremulus.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
C. Titius.

Ædiles. M. Duilius.
C. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. Silius.
M' Sergius Fidenas.

Military Quæstors. C. Titinius.
Q. Antonius Merenda.

43. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 375. P. Manlius Capitolinus.
C. Manlius Capitolinus.
C. Julius Iulus, a second time.
C. Sextilius.
M. Albinius.
L. Antistius.

Tribunes of the People. C. Apronius.
L. Sextius.
C. Canuleius.
M. Titius.
L. Rabuleius.
L. Marcius Rutilus.
P. Decius Mus.
Q. Publilius Philo.
Q. Canuleius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Ædiles. P. Mænius.
L. Canuleius.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Genucius Aventinensis.
P. Sextius Capitolinus.

Military Quæstors. M. Genucius Aventinensis.
L. Virginius Tricostus Coelimontanus.

44. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 376. Sp. Furius Medullinus.
Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas, a second time.
C. Licinius Calvus
P. Cloe-

P. Cloelius Siculus.
M. Horatius Pulvillus.
L. Geganius Macerinus.

Cenſors. Sp. Servilius Priscus.
Q. Cloelius Siculus.

THE NINETEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. L. Sicinius Dentatus.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mucius Scævola.
C. Ælius Pætus.
P. Ælius Pætus.
L. Petillius.
C. Ælius Pætus.
M. Duilius.

Ædiles. A. Tempanius.
C. Sellius.

Quæſtors of Rome. P. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Valerius Potitus.

Military Quæſtors. A. Cornelius Cossus.
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.

45. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 377. L. Æmilius Mamercinus, a fifth time.
Ser. Sulpicius Prætextatus, a ſecond time.
P. Valerius Potitus Poplicola, a fourth time.
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a ſecond time.
C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
Cn. Pupius.
Voler. Publilius Philo.
L. Atinius Longus.
M. Fulcinius.
M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Popilius.
L. Villius.
A. Trebonius.

Ædiles. Q. Decius Mus.
C. Titius.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

Anarchy. Year 378. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
M. Mænius.
Cn. Lucretius.
C. Metilius.
C. Sellius.
Q. Mælius.
A. Acutius.
A. Tempanius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.

Ædiles. Q. Canuleius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Anarchy. Year 379. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
Q. Publilius Philo.
Q. Decius Mus.
C. Atinius Longus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
L. Villius.
P. Plautius Proculus.
Q. Mamilius.

Ædiles. P. Mucius Scævola.
L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Anarchy. Year 380. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
Cn. Pupius.
Q. Silius.
Cn. Sicilius Bellutus.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
P. Pupius.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

Ædiles. M. Fulcinius.
A. Trebius.

Anarchy. Year 381. L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo.
C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
M. Popilius Lænas.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Titinius.
Volero Publilius Philo.
K. Atinius.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles. C. Metilius.
A. Acutius.

46. *Military Tribuneſhip.* L. Furius Medullinus, a ſecond time.

Year 382.
P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a fifth time.
A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a fourth time.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS, a fifth time.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS.
SERV. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a ſixth time.

Tribunes of the People.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS, the Son of *Publius*.
P. CURATIUS.
L. FURIUS.
P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Ædiles.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
L. VILLIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

Military Quæſtors.
M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
M. POPILIUS.

47. *Military Tribuneſhip.* *Year* 383.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a third time.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
C. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS, a ſecond time.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
P. LICINIUS.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS
M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.

Ædiles.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
C. SULPICIUS PETICUS.
Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Military Quæſtors.
SP. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
Q. POMPONIUS.

48. *Military Tribuneſhip.* *Year* 384.
L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SP. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a ſeventh time.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS, a fourth time.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

Tribunes of the People.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
JUVENTIUS THALNA.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
C. DUILIUS.
CN. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
L. ATINIUS LONGUS.

Ædiles.
K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPER.
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.

Military Quæſtors.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
CN. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Year 385.
Dictator. M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth time.
Gen. of Horſe. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
Dictator. P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Gen. of Horſe. C. LICINIUS CALVUS.

Tribunes of the People.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
M' MARCIUS.
M. CONSIDIUS.
C. PETILLIUS.
L. ALLIENIUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
M. PLÆTORIUS.

Ædiles.
VOLER. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Military Quæſtors.
C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.

49. *Military*

49. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 386.	A. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a ſecond time.
	L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS, a ſecond time.
	M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a ſecond time.
	P. VALERIUS POTITUS POPLICOLA, a ſixth time.
	M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
	P. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a ſecond time.
Dictator.	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a fifth time. He triumphs over the *Gauls*.
Gen. of Horſe.	T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS CAPITOLINUS.
Tribunes of the People.	L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
	C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
	M. POPILIUS.
	C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
	C. RACILIUS.
	C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
	C. PLÆTORIUS.
	L. FULCINIUS.
	T. STATIUS.
Ædiles.	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
	C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
	M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
Military Quæſtors.	L. PINARIUS NATTA.
	M. POMPONIUS.
89. *Conſulſhip. Year* 387.	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
	L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS. He was the firſt *Plebeian* who was made *Conſul*.
Prætor.	SP. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
Curule Ædiles.	CN. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
Tribunes of the People.	M. PLÆTORIUS.
	C. NUMITORIUS.
	C. ANTIUS.
	M. ACUTIUS.
	M. PONTIFICIUS.
	L. STATIUS.
	M. ANTIUS.
	C. MÆCILIUS.
	C. LUCERIUS.
	L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
Quæſtors of Rome.	CN. MANLIUS CAPITO. TORQUATUS.
	Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
Military Quæſtors.	P. LICINIUS CALVUS.
	C. TERENTIUS ARSA.
90. *Conſulſhip. Year* 388.	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
	Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.
Prætor.	L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.
Curule Ædiles.	JUVENTIUS THALNA.
	C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
Tribunes of the People.	Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
	C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
	L. LUCERIUS.
	C. TREBONIUS.
	C. VOLSCIUS.
	M. POPILIUS.
	T. METILIUS.
	M. SELLIUS.
	T. STATIUS.
	C. RACILIUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
	C. MARTIUS RUTILUS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
	L. HORTENSIUS.
Military Quæſtors.	M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
	L. FULVIUS CURVUS.
91. *Conſulſhip. Year* 389.	C. SULPICIUS PETICUS.
	C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
Prætor.	CN. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Curule Ædiles.	P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.
	AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.
Tribunes of the People.	C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
	C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
	M. CONSIDIUS.
	L. APPULEIUS.
	C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
	L. RACILIUS.
	C. PLÆTORIUS.
	M. ALLIENIUS.
	M. MARCIUS.
	C. FULVIUS CURVUS:

Plebeian

Plebeian Ædiles. L. FULCINIUS.
L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.

Quæstors of Rome. M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.

Military Quæstors. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

92. Conſulſhip. Year 390. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a ſecond time.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Dictator. L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.

Gen. of Horſe. L. PINARIUS NATTA.

Cenſors. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, the Son of *Cæſo.*
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.

THE TWENTIETH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, the Son of *Numerius.*

Curule Ædiles. C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
L. STATIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
C. ANTIUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. ANTIUS.
C. NUMITORIUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
L. PUPIUS.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
A. ALLIENIUS.
L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
C. JULIUS IULUS.

Military Quæſtors. Q. HORTENSIUS.
M' CURIUS.

93. Conſulſhip. Year 391. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA, a ſecond time.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS, a ſecond time.

Dictator. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.

Gen. of Horſe. P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Prætor. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Curule Ædiles. CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.
C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. POMPONIUS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.
C. OPPIUS.
C. TERENTIUS ARSA.
Q. ROMULEIUS.
C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
N. OTACILIUS.
M. TERENTIUS.
L. RABULEIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. LUCRETIUS.
C. VOLSCIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. PETELLIUS.

Military Quæſtors. L. MÆNIUS.
L. AQUILIUS CORVUS.

94. Conſulſhip. Year 392. C. LICINIUS CALVUS, a ſecond time.
C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the *Hernici.*

Dictator. T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CAPITOLINUS CRISPINUS. He triumphs over the *Gauls.*

Gen. of Horſe. SERV. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Curule Ædiles. M. PLOETORIUS.
M. CONSIDIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. PLÆTORIUS.
L. ALLIENIUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
M. MARCIUS.
M' OTACILIUS.
C. LÆTORIUS, the Son of *Caius.*
P. FURIUS.
L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
P. LICINIUS CALVUS.
Q. MÆLIUS.
C. LÆTORIUS, the Son of *Publius.*
L. VIRGINIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.
M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Military

Military Quæſtors. M. DUILIUS.
C. DUILIUS.

95. *Conſulſhip. Year* 393. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. PETILIUS LIBO VISOLUS. The latter triumphs over the *Gauls*, and the *Tiburtini*. The former, after having defeated the *Hernici*, obtains the Honours of an *Ovation*.

Prætor. SPURIUS FURIUS CAMILLUS, a ſecond time.

Curule Ædiles. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
C. JULIUS IÜLUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.

Tribunes of the People. K. DUILIUS.
M. CÆDICIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS
L. HORTENSIUS.
C. CURATIUS.
L. SEXTIUS.
C. TITIUS.
M. TITINIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Military Quæſtors. T. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS TORQUATUS.
C. LIVIUS DENTER.

96. *Conſulſhip. Year* 394. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.

Prætor. SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.

Curule Ædiles. M. POMPONIUS.
L. RABULEIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. TERENTIUS ARSA.

Tribunes of the People. M. MARCIUS.
SEX. MANILIUS.
P. SILIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
M. TERENTIUS.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.
C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS,
SEX. POMPILIUS.
P. VILLIUS.
C. SEXTIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Military Quæſtors. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
C. SERVIUS FIDENAS.

97. *Conſulſhip. Year* 395. C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS, who triumphs over the *Privernates*.

Dictator. C. SULPICIUS PETICUS. He triumphs over the *Gauls*.

Gen. of Horſe. M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Prætor. T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CAPITOLINUS CRISPINUS.

Curule Ædiles. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.

Plebeian Ædiles. K. DÜILIUS.
L. VIRGINIUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. PETILIUS.
L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
L. HORTENSIUS.
Q. HORTENSIUS.
C. SEXTILIUS.
M. CÆDICIUS.
P. FURIUS.
P. LICINIUS.
C. LÆTORIUS.
M. MÆNIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
P. MÆNIUS.

Military Quæſtors. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

98. *Conſulſhip. Year* 396. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. He triumphs over the *Privernates*.
CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS, a ſecond time.

Prætor. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Curule Ædiles. C. DUILIUS.
L. SEXTIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. CURATIUS.
C. TITIUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. DUILIUS.
L. MÆNIUS.
M. POMPONIUS.
M. TITINIUS.

	C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
	C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
	C. APRONIUS.
	T. SICINIUS.
	C. OTACILIUS.
	M' CURIUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
	TI. CORUNCANIUS.
Military Quæstors.	SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
	M' POMPONIUS.
99. *Consulship. Year* 397.	M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a second time.
	M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a second time.
Dictator.	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. He triumphs over the *Hetrurians.*
Gen. of Horse.	C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
Prætor.	T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
Curule Ædiles.	L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
	SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
	C. SEXTIUS.
Tribunes of the People.	C. LIVIUS DENTER.
	P. LICINIUS CALVUS.
	Q. HORTENSIUS.
	C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.
	M. MARCIUS.
	P. MÆNIUS.
	K. DUILIUS.
	L. ICILIUS RUGA.
	L. ANTISTIUS.
	C. PETILLIUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	SEX. TULLIUS.
	M. PÆTILIUS LIBO.
Military Quæstors.	M. FABIUS DORSO.
	SER. SULPICIUS PRÆTEXTATUS.
100. *Consulship. Year* 398.	C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a third time.
	M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
Prætor.	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
Curule Ædiles.	M. DUILIUS.
	L. MÆNIUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M. MÆNIUS.
	P. FURIUS.

Tribunes of the People.	L. HORTENSIUS.
	C. ANTISTIUS.
	C. DUILIUS.
	CN. APPULEIUS.
	C. APPULEIUS.
	L. ALBINIUS.
	L. FULCINIUS.
	L. ALBINIUS.
	C. CONSIDIUS.
	L. NUMITORIUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
	Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.
Military Quæstors.	TI. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
	C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENSIS.
101. *Consulship. Year* 399.	M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a third time. He triumphs over the *Tiburtini.*
	T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CAPITOLINUS CRISPINUS.
Prætor.	C. JULIUS IULUS.
Curule Ædiles.	L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
	M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	C. LIVIUS DENTER.
	Q. HORTENSIUS.
Tribunes of the People.	C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
	SP. MÆCILIUS.
	L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
	SP. MÆTILIUS.
	A. SELLIUS.
	K. DUILIUS.
	T. ROSCIUS.
	SEX. TEMPANIUS.
	L. VILLIUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
	A. LUCERIUS.
Military Quæstors.	C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
	C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
102. *Consulship. Year* 400.	C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a fourth time.
	M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
Dictator.	T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.
Gen. of Horse.	A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.
Prætor.	L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Curule

Curule Ædiles. L. HORTENSIUS.
M. MARCIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. ANTISTIUS.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
P. DECIUS MUS.

Military Quæstors. C. MÆNIUS.
CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
L. MÆNIUS.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
C. TITIUS.
C. SEXTIUS.
M. DUILIUS.
C. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
C. APRONIUS.
L. SEXTILIUS.

103. *Consulship. Year* 401. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a second time.

Dictator. C. JULIUS IULUS.

Gen. of Horse. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Prætor. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENSIS.

Curule Ædiles. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
L. PINARIUS NATTA.

Plebeian Ædiles. CN. APPULEIUS.
L. ALBINIUS.

Tribunes of the People. SEX. TULLIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
M' POMPONIUS.
L. CÆDICIUS.
P. MÆLIUS.
P. MÆNIUS.
Q. HORTENSIUS.
M. MÆNIUS.
C. FURIUS.
C. CANULEIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Military Quæstors. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

104. *Consulship. Year* 402. C. SULPICIUS PETICUS, a fifth time.
T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS CAPITOLINUS.

Dictator. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Gen. of Horse. Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Censors. CN. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS IMPERIOSUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS. The first *Plebeian* who was made *Censor.*

THE TWENTY FIRST LUSTRUM.

Prætor. M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
C. ANTISTIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. ANTISTIUS.
L. VILLIUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. OVINIUS.
C. DUILIUS.
L. CANULEIUS.
L. RABULEIUS.
T. ROMULEIUS.
M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
CN. POETELIUS LIBO.
P. MÆNIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Q. TERENTIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. SER. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.

Military Quæstors. P. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.
Q. CÆDICIUS.

105. *Consulship. Year* 403. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a third time. He triumphs over the *Gauls.*
L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Dictator. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Gen. of Horse. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Prætor. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Curule Ædiles. M. FABIUS DORSO.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. SEXTILIUS.
C. MAMILIUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. MÆNIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
T. JUVENTIUS.
L. OPPIUS.
P. DECIUS MUS.
C. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
C. LIVIUS DENTER.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. ÆLIUS POETUS.

Quæstors

Quæſtors of Rome. M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.

Military Quæſtors. C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS REGILLENSIS.

106. *Conſulſhip. Year* 404. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS. He died in his Office.

Dictator. T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a ſecond time.

Gen. of Horſe. A. CORNELIUS ARVINA.

Prætor. L. PINARIUS NATTA.

Curule Ædiles. M' POMPONIUS.
L. CÆDICIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. SEX. TULLIUS.
C. FURIUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.
M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
L. ANTISTIUS.
PUPIUS.
L. PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLSCIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
Q. ANTONIUS MÆRENDA.

Military Quæſtors. C. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

107. *Conſulſhip. Year* 405. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a fourth time.
M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Dictator. C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENSIS.

Gen. of Horſe. C. LIVIUS DENTER.

Prætor. M. FABIUS DORSO.

Curule Ædiles. Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. POETELIUS LIBO.
P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. K. DUILIUS.
A. TREBIUS.
CN. LUCERIUS.
A. TEMPANIUS.
CN. SELLIUS.
P. DECIUS MUS.
C. APPULEIUS.
Q. MÆCILIUS.
Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
L. PETILIUS.

Military Quæſtors. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
M. FULCINIUS.

108. *Conſulſhip. Year* 406. C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.

Prætor. SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.
P. DECIUS MUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
T. JUVENTIUS.

Tribunes of the People. SEX. TULLIUS.
C. MÆNIUS.
L. ANTISTIUS.
M' POMPONIUS.
C. DUILIUS.
VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO VOLSCUS.
L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
P. MÆNIUS.
P. PUPIUS.
C. ANTISTIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Military Quæſtors. C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
SER. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

109. *Conſulſhip. Year* 407. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the *Antiates*, *Volſci*, and *Satricani*.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

SECULAR GAMES.

Prætor. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.

Curule Ædiles. Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
SP. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. ICILIUS RUGA.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Tribunes of the People. P. DECIUS MUS.
M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
C. ÆLIUS

C. Ælius Pætus.
P. Licinius Stolo.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Fabricius Luscinus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
Q. Cædicius.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Military Quæstors. A. Sempronius Atratinus.
Q. Canuleius.

110. *Consulship. Year* 408. M. FABIUS DORSO.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Dictator. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a second time.

Gen. of Horse. Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus.

Prætor. Q. Servilius Ahala.

Curule Ædiles. C. Mænius.
Q. Mæcilius.

Plebeian Ædiles. A. Trebius.
Cn. Lucerius.

Tribunes of the People. C. Claudius Hortator.
Q. Publius Philo.
L. Cædicius.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
M. Titinius.
C. Duilius.
P. Ælius Pætus.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
Sex. Titius.
Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.

Quæstors of Rome. T. Veturius Calvinus.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Military Quæstors. Cn. Pupius.
M' Sergius Fidenas.

111. *Consulship. Year* 409. C. MARTIUS RUTILUS, a third time.
T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a second time.

Dictator. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Gen. of Horse. C. Fabius Ambustus.

Prætor. L. Furius Camillus.

Curule Ædiles. L. Æmilius Mamercinus Privernas.
Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. Decius Mus.
L. Atinius Longus.

Tribunes of the People. P. Mænius.
Q. Manilius.
C. Pompilius.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
L. Volumnius Flamma.
C. Titinius.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.
Q. Silius.
L. Villius.
L. Titius.

Quæstors of Rome. Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.

Military Quæstors. M. Claudius Marcellus.
Cn. Fulvius Poetinus.

112. *Consulship. Year* 410. M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a third time. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.

Censors. M. Fabius Ambustus.

THE TWENTY SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætor. Ser. Sulpicius Longus.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Cædicius.
P. Licinius Stolo.

Plebeian Ædiles. Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Tribunes of the People. P. Ælius Pætus.
M. Antonius.
Sex. Titius.
C. Claudius Hortator.
M. Atilius Regulus.
N. Sextius Sextinus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus.
L. Coedicius.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Papirius Crassus.
L. Papirius Cursor.

Military Quæstors. C. Plautius Decianus.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.

113. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 411.	C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, a fourth time.
	Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.
Dictator.	M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
Gen. of Horſe.	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. PRIVERNAS.
Prætor.	L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
Curule Ædiles.	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
	C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M. TITINIUS.
	CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
Tribunes of the People.	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
	C. MÆNIUS.
	L. FURIUS.
	P. CURATIUS.
	Q. CANULEIUS.
	M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
	M. DECIUS MUS.
	P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
	CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
	P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
Military Quæſtors.	P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
	M. AULIUS CORRETANUS.
114. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 412.	C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS, a ſecond time.
	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.
Prætor.	T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
Curule Ædiles.	C. TITINIUS.
	Q. MANILIUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	C. POMPILIUS.
	L. VILLIUS.
Tribunes of the People.	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
	M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
	K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
	C. DUILIUS.
	K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
	CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
	CN. PUPIUS.
	C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
	L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
	C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.
	SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
Military Quæſtors.	D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
	L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
115. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 413.	T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS, a third time. He triumphs over the *Latins*, *Campani*, *Sidicini*, and *Aurunci*.
	P. DECIUS MUS.
Dictator.	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
Gen. of Horſe.	L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
Prætor.	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, who was created *Dictator*.
Curule Ædiles.	M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
	C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENSIS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M. ANTONIUS.
	L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
Tribunes of the People.	L. ALLIENIUS.
	M. PLÆTORIUS.
	M' MARCIUS.
	C. POPILIUS.
	C. PETILLIUS.
	C. MÆCILLIUS.
	P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
	C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
	M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
	M. CONSIDIUS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	P. SALLONIUS SARRA.
	L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
Military Quæſtors.	C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
	L. PINARIUS NATTA.
116. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 414.	T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. He triumphs over the *Latins*.
Dictator.	Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
Gen. of Horſe.	D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
Prætor.	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.
Curule Ædiles.	M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
	P. CURATIUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
	L. FURIUS.
Tribunes of the People.	C. LUCERIUS.
	M. PONTIFICIUS.
	L. VILLIUS.
	C. POMPILIUS.
	M. ACUTIUS.
	CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
	L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.

T. VE-

T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
Q. MAMILIUS.
P. SILIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
M. GEGANIUS MAMERCINUS.

Military Quæſtors.
M. DUILIUS.
M. MÆCILIUS.

117. *Conſulſhip. Year* 415.
L. FURIUS CAMILLUS. He triumphs over the *Pedani* and *Tiburtini*.
C. MÆNIUS. He triumphs over the *Antiates*, *Lavinians*, and *Velitrani*.

Prætor.
M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles.
T. VETURIUS CRASSUS.
CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.

Plebeian Ædiles.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.

Tribunes of the People.
P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
P. SALLONIUS SARRA.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
M. MINUCIUS AUCURINUS.
C. TERENTIUS ARSA.
M. DECIUS MUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. TITINIUS.
Q. CANULEIUS.
M' JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Quæſtors of Rome.
C. SULPICIUS PETICUS.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

Military Quæſtors.
P. FURIUS.
C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

118. *Conſulſhip. Year* 416.
C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Dictator.
C. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENSIS.

Gen. of Horſe.
C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.

Prætor.
T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.

Curule Ædiles.
P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Plebeian Ædiles.
C. PETILIUS.
L. ALLIENIUS.

Tribunes of the People.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
Q. POMPONIUS.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
L. ATTILIUS REGULUS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.
L. JULIUS IULUS.

Military Quæſtors.
Q. DECIUS MUS.
C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.

119. *Conſulſhip. Year* 417.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
K. DUILIUS.

Prætor.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO. The firſt *Plebeian* who was raiſed to this Office.

Curule Ædiles.
SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Plebeian Ædiles.
P. SALLONIUS SARRA.
P. SILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People.
L. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M' MARCIUS NEPOS.
C. POPILLIUS NEPOS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
L. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

Military Quæſtors.
L. FULVIUS CURVUS.
M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

120. *Conſulſhip. Year* 418.
M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a fourth time. He triumphed over the Inhabitants of the Territory of *Cales*.
M. ATTILIUS REGULUS.

Dictator.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

Gen. of Horſe.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Prætor.
CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.

Curule Ædiles.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.
L. VALERIUS POTITUS.

M. JU-

Plebeian Ædiles. M. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
Q. CANULEIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
L. PLÆTORIUS.
L. FULCINIUS.
C. NUMITORIUS.
M. MÆCILIUS.
C. PLÆTORIUS.
C. RACILIUS.
T. STATIUS.
C. ANTIUS RESTIO.
C. LUCERIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.

Military Quæstors. L. JULIUS LIBO.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

121. *Consulship. Year* 419. T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Dictator. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.

Gen. of Horse. M. ANTONIUS.

Prætor. M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. SALLONIUS SARRA.
T. METILIUS.
M. SCAPTIUS.
M. MAMILIUS.
C. MEMMIUS.
L. RACILIUS.
M. SELLIUS.
P. SILIUS.
Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
P. FURIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASS. SABIN. REGILLENSIS.

Military Quæstors. C. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
T. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.

122. *Consulship. Year* 420. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Prætor. C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
C. CANULEIUS NEPOS.
Q. HORTENSIUS.
C. LÆTORIUS.
C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. TERENTIUS.
M' JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.
Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Military Quæstors. C. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

123. *Consulship. Year* 421. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Dictator. M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Gen. of Horse. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

Censors. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

THE TWENTY THIRD LUSTRUM.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. PLÆTORIUS.
C. PLÆTORIUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. RACILIUS.
L. FULCINIUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. FULVIUS CURVUS.
L. HORTENSIUS.
A. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.
L. ÆLIUS POETUS.
M. LÆTORIUS.
M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
M' CURIUS DENTATUS.

Quæstors of Rome. M. FLAVIUS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.

Military Quæstors. M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

124. *Con-*

124. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 422.	M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. C. VALERIUS POTITUS.
Dictator.	CN. QUINTILIUS VARUS.
Gen. of Horſe.	L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
Prætor.	M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
Curule Ædiles.	Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS. M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.
Plebeian Ædiles.	L. RACILIUS NEPOS. M. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
Tribunes of the People.	Q. AULUS CERRETANUS. L. PUPIUS NEPOS. C. LIVIUS DENTER. C. FULVIUS CURVUS. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. SP. ICILIUS RUGA. M' POMPONIUS MATHO. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA. M. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. M. MARCIUS NEPOS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	L. VALERIUS FLACCUS. Q. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.
Military Quæſtors.	M. ÆMILIUS PAPUS. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
125. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 423.	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS, a ſecond time. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
Prætor.	P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.
Curule Ædiles.	C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS. C. LÆTORIUS NEPOS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	C. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS. C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
Tribunes of the People.	M. LIVIUS DENTER. L. FULVIUS CURVUS. A. ALLIENIUS NEPOS. M. RACILIUS NEPOS. A. TREBONIUS ASPER. M. AULIUS CERRETANUS. L. APULEIUS NEPOS. L. PLETORIUS NEPOS. L. FULCINIUS NEPOS. P. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS. C. PETILLIUS NEPOS.
Military Quæſtors.	L. HORATIUS PULVILLUS. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
126. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 424.	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS, a ſecond time. C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS. Both triumph over the *Privernates.*
Prætor.	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
Curule Ædiles.	L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M' CURIUS DENTATUS. Q. DECIUS MUS.
Tribunes of the People.	C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS. C. FESCENNIUS NEPOS. T. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS. SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS. SP. ANTIUS RESTIO. C. ACUTIUS NEPOS. P. SILIUS NEPOS. SEX. MANLIUS NEPOS. M. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
Military Quæſtors.	M. POPILIUS LÆNAS. P. VILLIUS NEPOS.
127. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 425.	C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS. P. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.
Prætor.	D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
Curule Ædiles.	M. VALERIUS CORVUS. C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	C. FULVIUS CURVUS. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
Tribunes of the People.	M. AULIUS CERRETANUS. M. TITINIUS NEPOS. CN. APRONIUS NEPOS. C. SEXTILIUS NEPOS. L. MÆNIUS NEPOS. T. SICINIUS DENTATUS. SEX. TITIUS NEPOS. C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS. C. CURATIUS NEPOS. A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
Quæſtors of Rome.	L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS. Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
Military Quæſtors.	P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

128. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
Year 426. Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a ſecond time.

Dictator. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Gen. of Horſe. Sp. Posthumius Albinus.

Prætor. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.

Curule Ædiles. M. Fabius Ambustus.
Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Fulvius Curvus.
M. Livius Denter.

Tribunes of the People. M. Flavius Nepos.
C. Lætorius Nepos.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
C. Aquillius Florus.
C. Otacilius Nepos.
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Mælius Capitolinus.
C. Rabuleius Nepos.
L. Hortensius Nepos.
Q. Decius Mus.

Quæſtors of Rome. M. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
M. Foslius Flaccinator.

Military Quæſtors. C. Julius Iulus.
L. Romuleius Nepos.

129. *Conſulſhip.* C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS, a ſecond time.
Year 427. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

Prætor. C. Plautius Decianus.

Curule Ædiles. L. Valerius Flaccus.
A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Plebeian Ædiles. Sex. Manilius Nepos.
Sex. Pompilius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. C. Petillius Nepos.
M' Curius Dentatus.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
Ti. Coruncanius.
L. Icilius Ruga.
C. Fulvius Curvus.
C. Antistius Nepos.
Sex. Tullius Nepos.
T. Sempronius Blæsus.
L. Marcius Rutilus.

Quæſtors of Rome. Q. Mælius Nepos.
L. Manlius Capitolinus.

Military Quæſtors. P. Manlius Vulso.
Ti. Claudius Cicero.

Proconſul. Q. Publilius Philo. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Palæpolitani.*

Pro-Quæſtor. L. Romuleius.

130. *Conſulſhip.* L. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a ſecond time.
Year 428. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.

Dictator. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Gen. of Horſe. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, who abdicates; and L. Papirius Crassus is choſen in his room.

Prætor. L. Fulvius Curvus.

Curule Ædiles. C. Foslius Flaccinator.
M. Æmilius Papus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Flavius Nepos.
A. Virginius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. L. Plautius Venno.
C. Plautius Hypsæus.
C. Considius Nepos.
L. Numitorius Nepos.
Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.
C. Popilius Lænas.
L. Albinius Nepos.
L. Fulcinius Trio.
T. Roscius Nepos.
A. Lucerius Nepos.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. Quinctius Capitolinus.
M. Antistius Nepos.

Military Quæſtors. P. Valerius Poplicola.
P. Plautius Hypsæus.

Dictator. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. He
Year 429. triumphs over the *Samnites.*

Gen. of Horſe. L. Papirius Crassus.

Cenſors. M. Valerius Corvus.
C. Poetelius Libo Visolus.

THE TWENTY FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. M. Fabius Ambustus.

Curule Ædiles. L. Papirius Crassus.
L. Furius Camillus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Cæcilius Metellus.
L. Hortensius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. P. Ælius Pætus.
C. Fulvius Curvus.
Sex. Tempanius Nepos.
L. Apronius Limo.
C. Mænius Nepos.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Sp. Metilius Nepos.
L. Villius Nepos.
L. Sextilius.
P. Virginius.

Quæstors of Rome. Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
C. Fabius Ambustus.

Military Quæstors. P. Decius Mus.
T. Pontificius Nepos.

131. *Consulship. Year* 430. C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

Prætor. Q. Fabius Ambustus.

Curule Ædiles. M. Foslius Flaccinator.
Q. Æmilius Barbula.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Marcius Rutilus.
T. Sempronius Blæsus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Flavius Nepos.
M. Poetelius Libo.
C. Canuleius Nepos.
M. Aulius Cerretanus.
M' Curius Dentatus.
L. Icilius Ruga.
M. Popillius Lænas.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
Q. Ælius Pætus.
Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Cominius Nepos.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

Military Quæstors. M. Valerius Maximus.
A. Virginius Tricostus Rutilus.

132. *Consulship. Year* 431. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Apulians*.
L. FULVIUS CURVUS. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.

Dictator. A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.

Gen. of Horse. M. Fabius Ambustus.

Prætor. L. Plautius.

Curule Ædiles. C. Plautius Hypsæus.
A. Lucerius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles. Sp. Mæcilius Nepos.
L. Albinius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Sex. Tullius Nepos.
C. Petillius Nepos.
C. Considius Nepos.
M. Trebonius Flavus.
A. Atilius Bulbus.
L. Albinius Nepos.
L. Fulcinius Trio.
L. Numitorius Nepos.
C. Volumnius Flamma.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Sestius Capitolinus.
Q. Publilius Philo.

Military Quæstors. M' Sergius Fidenas.
C. Apuleius Pansa.

133. *Consulship. Year* 432. T. Veturius Calvinus, a second time.
SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, a second time.

Dictators. Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
M. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

Generals of Horse. P. Ælius Pætus.
L. Valerius Flaccus.

Prætor. M. Valerius Corvus.

Curule Ædiles. M. Popillius Lænas.
Sp. Metilius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles. Sex. Tempanius Nepos.
L. Villius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. M. Poetelius Libo.
C. Mamilius Vitulus.
L. Sextilius Nepos.
C. Mænius Nepos.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
T. Roscius Nepos.
L. Apronius Nepos.
L. Cædicius Nepos.
C. Furius Nepos.
L. Canuleius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. Cn. Furius Pacilus.
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

Military Quæstors. Sp. Papirius Crassus.
Cn. Lucerius Nepos.

134. *Consulship. Year* 433. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a second time.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a third time.

Dictators.

Dictators. C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
T. MANLIUS IMPERIOSUS TORQUATUS.

Generals of Horſe. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Prætor. Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Curule Ædiles. L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
C. CANULEIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. L. LIVIUS DENTER.
Q. MÆLIUS NEPOS.
T. NUMICIUS NEPOS. Theſe were all three obliged to abdicate, in order to go to *Caudium*, as Hoſtages for the Performance of the Treaty concluded at *The Caudian Forks*
P. DECIUS MUS.
L. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS LATERANUS.
P. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
M. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.
P. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
T. ROMULEIUS NEPOS.
C. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
T. JUVENTIUS NEPOS.
C. LICINIUS CALVUS STOLO.

135. *Conſulſhip. Year* 434. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a third time. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS, a ſecond time.

Cenſors. C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS. They both abdicate.

Prætor. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Curule Ædiles. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
M. POETELIUS LIBO.
L. APRONIUS NEPOS.
L. COMINIUS NEPOS.
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
L. SEXTILIUS NEPOS.
L. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.
C. FURIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

Military Quæſtors. Q. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

136. *Conſulſhip. Year* 435. L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.
M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.

Cenſors. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
C. MÆNIUS.

THE TWENTY FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. DECIUS MUS.
T. ROSCIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. MÆLIUS NEPOS.
C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
P. PUPIUS NEPOS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.
SEX. TULLIUS NEPOS.
C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.

Military Quæſtors. M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS.
T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

137. *Conſulſhip. Year* 436. Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. POETELIUS LIBO.
L. LIVIUS DENTER.

Plebeian Ædiles. T. NUMICIUS NEPOS.
M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. L. COMINIUS NEPOS.
C. APPULEIUS PANSA.

M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
Q. MÆCILIUS NEPOS.
CN. SELLIUS NEPOS.
A. TREBIUS NEPOS.
CN. LUCERIUS NEPOS.
SP. METILIUS NEPOS.
L. VILLIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.
L. PAPIRIUS MASO.

Military Quæstors. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
M. FULCINIUS NEPOS.

138. *Consulship. Year* 437. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Dictator. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS PRIVERNAS.

Gen. of Horse. L. FULVIUS CURVUS.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. MÆLIUS NEPOS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. APRONIUS LIMO.
L. SEXTILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. P. DECIUS MUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
SEX. TITIUS NEPOS.
L. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.
P. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.
C. FURIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. TI. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Military Quæstors. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

139. *Consulship. Year* 438. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a fourth time.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO, a fourth time.

Dictator. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

Gen. of Horse. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS, who was kill'd in a Battle, and C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS chosen in his room.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles. AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.
M. FABIUS DORSO.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. COMINIUS NEPOS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Tribunes of the People. L. LIVIUS DENTER.
M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.
Q. CANULEIUS NEPOS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
T. NUMICIUS NEPOS.
Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
P. LICINIUS NEPOS STOLO.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Quæstors of Rome. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.

Military Quæstors. M. LIVIUS DENTER.
L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

140. *Consulship. Year* 439. M. POETELIUS LIBO.
C. SULPICIUS LONGUS, a third time. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.

Dictator. C. MÆNIUS.

Gen. of Horse. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
Q. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. APPULEIUS PANSA.
A. TREBIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. MÆLIUS NEPOS.
TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
M. TREBIUS.
M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS.
M. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS.
SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Military Quæstors. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

141. *Consulship. Year* 440. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a fifth time.

C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS, a ſecond time.

Dictator. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Gen. of Horſe. M. POETELIUS LIBO.

Prætor. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.
AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
SEX. TITIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. L. COMINIUS NEPOS.
M. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
CN. PUPIUS NEPOS.
Q. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
Q. PETILIUS NEPOS.
L. LIVIUS DENTER.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
L. FURIUS NEPOS.

Military Quæſtors. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.

142. *Conſulſhip. Year* 441. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Sorani.*
P. DECIUS MUS.

Dictator. C. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

Gen. of Horſe. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

Cenſors. AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.
C. PLAUTIUS VENOX.

THE TWENTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.

Curule Ædiles. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.
L. PAPIRIUS MASO.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.

Tribunes of the People. L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
A. TREBIUS NEPOS.
L. VILLIUS NEPOS.
Q. SILIUS NEPOS.
Q. MANILIUS NEPOS.
M. FULCINIUS NEPOS.
A. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
CN. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.

Military Quæſtors. CN. SEMPRONIUS GRACCUS.
Q. APPULEIUS PANSA.

143. *Conſulſhip. Year* 442. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS, a third time. He triumphs over the *Samnites.*
Q. ÆMILIUS BARBULA, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the *Hetrurians.*

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
TI. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Tribunes of the People. L. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.
T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. TREBIUS NEPOS.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. LIVIUS DENTER.
L. TITIUS NEPOS.
N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.

Military Quæſtors. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

144. *Conſulſhip. Year* 443. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a ſecond time.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, who was afterwards called CENSORINUS.

Prætor. P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.

Curule Ædiles. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS.
L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
Q. PETILLIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. FUL-

M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS.
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Q. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
SP. ICILIUS RUCA.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.
M. MINUCIUS FESSUS.

Military Quæstors. T. POPILLIUS NEPOS.
CN. FULVIUS MAX. CENTUMALUS.

Dictator. Year 444. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. He triumphs over the *Samnites*.

Gen. of Horse. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

Proconsuls. Q. FABIUS MAX. RULLIANUS. He triumphs over the *Hetrurians*.
P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS CORVUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
L. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
Q. MANILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
M. LIVIUS DENTER.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
M' MARCIUS NEPOS.
C. POPILIUS NEPOS.
L. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. VALERIUS FALTO.
L. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Military Quæstors. P. LICINIUS VARUS.
M. DUILIUS NEPOS.

145. *Consulship. Year* 445. P. DECIUS MUS, a second time.
C. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a third time.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. DECIUS MUS.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. L. FURIUS NEPOS.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
Q. APPULEIUS PANSA.
M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
M. TREBIUS NEPOS.
M. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.
M. FULCINIUS NEPOS.
M. MÆCILIUS TULLUS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Military Quæstors. Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

146. *Consulship. Year* 446. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.

Censors. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS

THE TWENTY SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Proconsul. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

Prætor. T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Q. POMPONIUS NEPOS

Tribunes of the People. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
M. LIVIUS DENTER.
L. LUCERIUS NEPOS.
L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
P. SILIUS NEPOS.
Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.
CN. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
M. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
P. VILLIUS NEPOS.
Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.

Quæstors of Rome. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Military Quæstors. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS ARVINA.

147. *Consulship. Year* 447. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS. He triumphs over the *Samnites*, and the Inhabitants of *Anagnia*.

Dictator.

Dictator. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS.

Gen. of Horse. P. Decius Mus.

Prætor. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.

Curule Ædiles. M. Cornelius Corvus.
P. Valerius Falto.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. Sempronius Sophus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Tribunes of the People. Cn. Flavius Nepos.
M. Decius Mus.
M. Fulvius Pætinus.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.
P. Furius Nepos.
L. Furius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Antonius Nepos.
P. Curatius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Carvilius Maximus.
L. Julius Libo.

Military Quæstors. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
L. Julius Iulus.

148. *Consulship. Year* 448. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, who is killed fighting with the *Samnites*; and
M. FULVIUS CURVUS PÆTINUS chosen in his room. The latter triumphs over the *Samnites*.

Prætor. Ap. Claudius Cæcus.

Curule Ædiles. M. Æmilius Paulus.
L. Cornelius Blasio.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Livius Denter.
Q. Appuleius Pansa.

Tribunes of the People. C. Marcius Rutilus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
L. Ogulnius Gallus.
Q. Decius Mus.
M. Duilius Nepos.
M. Minucius Fessus.
M' Juventius Thalna.
P. Licinius Varus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Q. Pomponius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome. Cn. Ogulnius Gallus.
M. Mamilius Vitulus.

Military Quæstors. C. Sergius Fidenas.
M. Geganius Macerinus.

149. *Consulship. Year* 449. C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
He triumphs over the *Æqui*.
P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
He triumphs over the *Samnites*.

Censors. Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.
P. Decius Mus.

THE TWENTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. P. Valerius Falto.

Curule Ædiles. Cn. Flavius Nepos.
Q. Anicius Prænestinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.
L. Furius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. Cn. Flavius Nepos.
Q. Papirius Turdus.
D. Junius Pera.
M' Pomponius Matho.
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
T. Popilius Nepos.
Q. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
M. Atilius Regulus.
C. Plautius Proculus.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Papirius Cursor.
M' Curius Dentatus.

Military Quæstors. L. Ælius Pætus.
P. Junius Brutus Scæva.

150. *Consulship. Year* 450. SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Prætor. M. Valerius Corvus.

Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Scipio.
A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Genucius Aventinensis.
P. Furius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
L. Publicius Malleolus
M. Allienius Nepos.
L. Plætorius Nepos.
L. Racilius Nepos.
Sex. Statius Nepos.
L. Considius Nepos.

C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
C. NUMITORIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. FULVIUS CURVUS.

Military Quæstors. M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

151. *Consulship. Year* 451. M. LIVIUS DENTER.
M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Dictator. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS. He triumphs over the *Æqui.*

Gen. of Horse. M. TITINIUS NEPOS.

Prætor. Q. APULEIUS PANSA.

Curule Ædiles. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. FURIUS NEPOS.
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. METILIUS NEPOS
A. SELLIUS NEPOS.
Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
TI. PONTIFICIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
L. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
C. ACUTIUS NEPOS.

Military Quæstors. C. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Dictators. Year 452. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.
M. VALERIUS CORVUS. He triumphs over the *Hetrurians.*

Generals of Horse. M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

Prætor. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Curule Ædiles. C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
D. JUNIUS PERA.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.
Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.
M. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
C. MEMMIUS NEPOS.
P. FURIUS NEPOS.
C. LÆTORIUS NEPOS.
C. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
M. TERENTIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.
Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.

Military Quæstors. C. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

152. *Consulship. Year* 453. Q. APULEIUS PANSA.
M. VALERIUS CORVUS, a fifth time.

Prætor. CN. FULVIUS MAXIMUS CENTUMALUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. JULIUS IULUS.
L. JULIUS LIBO.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
M. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
C. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
Q. TERENTIUS ARSA.
M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. FABIUS GURGES.
M. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

Military Quæstors. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
L. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

153. *Consulship. Year* 454. M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Nequinates.*
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, who dies in his Office. And to supply his room,
M. VALERIUS CORVUS is chosen *Consul* a sixth time.

Censors. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

THE TWENTY NINTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
C. METILIUS NEPOS

Tribunes of the People. L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
D. JUNIUS PERA.
C. FULVIUS CURVUS.
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
L. PUPIUS NEPOS.
M. VOLCIUS FICTOR.
C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS CORVINUS.

Military Quæstors. M. LIVIUS DENTER.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.

154. *Consulship. Year* 455. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians.*

Prætor. M. LIVIUS DENTER.

Curule Ædiles. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.
C. LÆTORIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. M' CURIUS DENTATUS.
Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
M. MARCIUS NEPOS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
M. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
L. PLAUTIUS VENNO.

Quæstors of Rome. C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
M. SCANTIUS NEPOS.

Military Quæstors. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS.

155. *Consulship. Year* 456. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a fourth time.
P. DECIUS MUS, a second time.

Prætor. L. JULIUS IULUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.

Tribunes of the People. Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
C. PETILLIUS NEPOS.
A. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
C. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
M. ÆMILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS.
M. POETELIUS LIBO.
L. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.
C. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.

Military Quæstors. L. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SER. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.

156. *Consulship. Year* 457. AP. CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, a second time.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS, a second time.

Prætor. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
C. FULVIUS CURVUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.
Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
P. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.
Q. SALLONIUS SARRA.
M' CURIUS DENTATUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
M. RACILIUS NEPOS.
SP. ANTIUS RESTIO.
M. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
M. METILIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.

Military Quæstors. L. FLAMINIUS CHILO.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Proconsuls in Samnium. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.
P. DECIUS MUS.

157. *Con-*

157. *Consulship. Year* 458.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS, a fifth time. He triumphs over the *Samnites*, the *Hetrurians*, and the *Gauls*.
P. DECIUS MUS, a third time.

Prætor.
Ap. Claudius Cæcus.

Curule Ædiles.
Q. Fabius Gurges.
L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.
Q. Hortensius Nepos.
L. Plautius Venno.

Tribunes of the People.
Q. Cædicius Noctua.
P. Villius Nepos.
Sex. Pompilius Nepos.
L. Sicinius Dentatus.
Sex. Titius Nepos.
C. Ælius Pætus.
P. Silius Nepos.
C. Manilius Nepos.
Q. Titinius Nepos.
Cn. Apronius Nepos.

Quæstors of Rome.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
Cn. Æmilius Papus.

Military Quæstors.
C. Ælius Pætus.
C. Fabricius Luscinus.

Proconsuls.
L. Volumnius Flamma Violens.
L. Cornelius Scipio.
Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus.
L. Postumius Megellus.
M. Livius Denter.

158. *Consulship. Year* 459.
L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS, a second time. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS. He triumphs over the *Volsciensès* and the *Samnites*.

Censors.
P. Cornelius Arvina.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

THE THIRTIETH LUSTRUM.

Prætor.
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

Curule Ædiles.
M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus.
P. Cornelius Rufinus.

Plebeian Ædiles.
M' Curius Dentatus.
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People.
C. Trebonius Asper.
M. Livius Denter.
C. Claudius Canina.
C. Sextilius Nepos.
L. Mænius Nepos.
A. Virginius Nepos.
C. Sextius Calvinus.
C. Curatius Nepos.
T. Memmius Nepos.
M. Lætorius Plancianus.

Quæstors of Rome.
L. Opimius Pansa.
Q. Marcius Philippus.

Military Quæstors.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.
C. Servilius Tucca.

159. *Consulship. Year* 460.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. They both triumph over the *Samnites*.

Prætor.
M. Atilius Regulus.

Curule Ædiles.
C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Q. Cædicius Noctua.

Plebeian Ædiles.
P. Numitorius Pullus.
Sp. Antius Restio.

Tribunes of the People.
M. Scantius Nepos.
Q. Hortensius Nepos.
C. Canuleius Nepos.
C. Aquilius Florus.
Q. Ogulnius Gallius.
Ti. Claudius Cicero.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
L. Romuleius Nepos.
C. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Aurelius Cotta.

Quæstors of Rome.
Ti. Coruncanius.
L. Furius Camillus.

Military Quæstors.
Q. Mælius Nepos.
C. Furius Pacilus.

160. *Consulship. Year* 461.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS GURGES.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CÆVA.

Dictator.
APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS.

Gen. of Horse.
C. Marcius Rutilus.

Prætor.
L. Papirius Cursor.

Curule

Curule Ædiles. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. APRONIUS NEPOS.
P. SILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. C. RABULEIUS NEPOS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
M. PUPIUS NEPOS.
M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.
L. FLAMINIUS CHILO.
L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.
SEX. TULLIUS NEPOS.
C. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
M. ATILIUS NEPOS.

These ten abdicated, because their Election was deemed defective; and in their room were chosen

L. TULLIUS NEPOS.
M. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
L. ALBINIUS NEPOS.
C. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.
M. RACILIUS NEPOS.
C. JUNIUS PULLUS.
P. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
L. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
L. FULCINIUS TRIO.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. AURELIUS PAPUS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Military Quæstors. C. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.
P. DECIUS MUS.

161. *Consulship. Year* 462. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS, a third time.
C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS CORVINUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. LIVIUS DENTER.
C. TREBONIUS ASPER.

Tribunes of the People. Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
T. ROSCIUS NEPOS.
SEX. TEMPANIUS.
Q. HORTENSIUS.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
L. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.
CN. LUCERIUS NEPOS.
C. SCAPTIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA MAXIMUS.
L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Military Quæstors. L. ANTIUS RESTIO.
SP. MÆLIUS NEPOS.

Proconsul in Samnium. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS GURGES. He triumphs over the *Samnites.*

Pro-Quæstor. L. AURELIUS COTTA.

162. *Consulship. Year* 463. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
M' CURIUS DENTATUS. The latter triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Sabines* at two different times.

Prætor. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Curule Ædiles. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
CN. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

Tribunes of the People. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
C. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
L. APRONIUS NEPOS.
L. COMINIUS NEPOS.
A. ATILIUS BULBUS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
CN. APRONIUS NEPOS.
C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.
M. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.

Military Quæstors. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

163. *Consulship. Year* 464. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS CORVINUS.
Q. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.

Censors. M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.

THE THIRTY FIRST LUSTRUM.

Prætor. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Curule

Curule Ædiles. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
C. SERVILIUS TUCCA.

Plebeian Ædiles. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.

Tribunes of the People L. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
P. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. CANULEIUS NEPOS.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.
C. FURIUS ACULEO.
T. NUMICIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Military Quæstors. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

Proconsul in Lucania. M' CURIUS DENTATUS. He enjoys the Honours of an *Ovation*, after having subdued the *Lucani*.

Pro-Quæstor. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

164. *Consulship. Year* 465. Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
P. CORNELIUS ARVINA.
Both the second time.

Prætor. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
Q. ROMULEIUS NEPOS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
P. DECIUS MUS.
M. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.

Quæstors of Rome. M. LICINIUS CALVUS.
M. FABIUS DORSO.

Military Quæstors. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.

165. *Consulship. Year* 466. M. CLADIUS MARCELLUS.
C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Dictator. Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS. He dies in his Office.

Gen. of Horse. M. LIVIUS DENTER, who abdicated, after the Death of *Hortensius*.

Dictator. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS RULLIANUS.

Gen. of Horse. L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.

Prætor. C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.

Curule Ædiles. Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.
C. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.

Plebeian Ædiles. TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
P. DECIUS MUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
P. PUPIUS NEPOS.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
L. LIVIUS DENTER.
Q. MARCIUS TREMULUS.
C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
L. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.
L. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Quæstors of Rome. M. FULVIUS CURVUS.
L. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Military Quæstors. CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.

166. *Consulship. Year* 467. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætor. C. SERVILIUS TUCCA.

Curule Ædiles. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA MAXIMUS.
L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
C. FURIUS ACULEO.

Tribunes of the People. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
A. TREBIUS NEPOS.
SP. MÆCILIUS NEPOS.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
M. ALBINIUS NEPOS.
C. ANTIUS NEPOS RESTIO.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.
M. MÆCILIUS TULLUS.

Quæstors

Quæstors of Rome. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. METILIUS NEPOS.

Military Quæstors. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

167. *Consulship. Year* 468. C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Prætor. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
P. DECIUS MUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
T. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.
C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
C. CLAUDIUS HORTATOR.
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. PAPIRIUS MASO.

Military Quæstors. L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

168. *Consulship. Year* 469. C. SERVILIUS TUCCA.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Prætor. C. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Tribunes of the People. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
Q. CANULEIUS NEPOS.
M. LICINIUS CALVUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
P. LICINIUS STOLO.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.

Quæstors of Rome. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
C. FABIUS DORSO LICINUS.

Military Quæstors. L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
M. DECIUS MUS.

169. *Consulship. Year* 470. P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA MAXIMUS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Prætor. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. He was killed in a Battel with the *Hetrurians*; and
M' CURIUS DENTATUS, was chosen in his room.

Curule Ædiles. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
M. FABIUS DORSO.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. ALBINIUS NEPOS.
M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
C. JUNIUS PULLUS.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
L. ATINIUS LONGUS.
Q. PETILLIUS NEPOS.
P. DECIUS MUS.
M. FULVIUS CURVUS.
L. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
M. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.

Quæstors of Rome. SP. FURIUS PURPUREO.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Military Quæstors. Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

170. *Consulship. Year* 471. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. He triumphs over the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*.
Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

Prætor. M. LIVIUS DENTER DRUSUS.

Curule Ædiles. CN. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Tribunes of the People. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
L. TREBIUS NEPOS.
L. VILLIUS NEPOS.
Q. SILIUS NERVA.
CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
M. TREBIUS NEPOS.
C. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.
C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
Q. VALERIUS FALTO.

Military Quæstors. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.
P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

171. *Consulship. Year* 472. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. He triumphs over the *Hetrurians.*

Prætor. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.

Curule Ædiles. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. TITIUS NEPOS.
P. LICINIUS VARUS.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
CN. PUPIUS NEPOS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
T. POPILLIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

Military Quæstors. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.

172. *Consulship. Year* 473. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS. He triumphs over the *Volsinienses*, and *Volcientes.*

Censors. CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS GURGES.

THE THIRTY SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætor. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

Curule Ædiles. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. PAPIRIUS MASO.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. FULVIUS CURVUS.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
Q. PETILIUS NEPOS.
Q. APULEIUS PANSA.
M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
M. ALBINIUS NEPOS.
Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.

Quæstors of Rome. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
SP. CARVILIUS RUGA.

Military Quæstors. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
L. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.

Proconsul against the Samnites, Tarentini, *and* Salentini. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA. He triumphs over the *Tarentini*, *Samnites*, and *Salentini.*

Pro-Quæstor. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

173. *Consulship. Year* 474. P. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
P. DECIUS MUS.

Prætor. TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
C. FABIUS DORSO LICINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. TREBIUS NEPOS.
Q. SILIUS NERVA.

Tribunes of the People. L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
P. SALLONIUS SARRA.
L. VILLIUS NEPOS.
Q. SILIUS NERVA.
Q. MANILIUS NEPOS.
L. TREBIUS NEPOS.
A. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.
C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
CN. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Quæstors of Rome. C. FABIUS PICTOR.
D. JUNIUS PERA.

Military Quæstors. Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

174. *Consulship. Year* 475. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS, a second time. He triumphs over the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, *Tarentini*, and *Samnites.*
Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS, a second time.

Prætor. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Curule Ædiles. L. TITIUS NEPOS.
T. POPILLIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. LICINIUS VARO.
C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.
L. FURIUS NEPOS.
T. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
M. TITIUS RUFUS.

C. Cu-

C. CURATIUS NEPOS.
T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.

Quæstors of Rome. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Military Quæstors. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
T. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

475. *Consulship. Year* 476. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS, a second time.
C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS, a second time. He triumphs over the *Lucani* and *Brutii.*

Prætor. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
Q. VALERIUS FALTO.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. APULEIUS PANSA.
C. PLAUTIUS DECIANUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
Q. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
M. FULVIUS CURVUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
CN. PUPIUS NEPOS.
M. LIVIUS DENTER.
CN. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.

Quæstors of Rome. C. PAPIRIUS MASO.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Military Quæstors. CN. FULVIUS MAXIMUS CENTUMALUS.
M. DUILIUS NEPOS.

176. *Consulship. Year* 477. Q. FABIUS MAX. GURGES, a second time. He triumphs over the *Lucani* and *Brutii.*

Dictator. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.

Gen. of Horse. C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætor. SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.

Curule Ædiles. C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
P. SALLONIUS SARRA.

Tribunes of the People. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
T. POPILIUS NEPOS.
C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
CN. APULEIUS PANSA.
M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
M' MARCIUS NEPOS.
Q. PETILLIUS NEPOS.
Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
L. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
N. FABIUS PICTOR.

Military Quæstors. L. JULIUS LIBO.
CN. APRONIUS LIMO.

177. *Consulship. Year* 478. M' CURIUS DENTATUS, a second time. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and King *Pyrrhus.*
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, who has the Surname of CAUDINUS given him. He triumphs over the *Samnites* and *Lucani.*

Censors. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

THE THIRTY THIRD LUSTRUM.

Prætor. C. FABIUS DORSO LICINUS.

Curule Ædiles. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. TITIUS RUFUS.
N. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
Q. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.
L. TREBIUS NEPOS.
L. LUCERIUS NEPOS.
L. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
L. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
L' ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.
M. TREBIUS NEPOS.
M. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
TI. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Quæstors of Rome. C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Military Quæstors. L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

178. *Consulship. Year* 479. M' CURIUS DENTATUS, a third time.
SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.

Prætor. L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Curule Ædiles. C. FABIUS PICTOR.
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

Tribunes of the People. D. JUNIUS PERA.
M. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
C. CURATIUS NEPOS.
Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
P. FURIUS NEPOS.
T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
C. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Quæstors of Rome. AP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX.
Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Military Quæstors. L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
L. FLAMINIUS CHILO.

179. *Consulship. Year* 480. C. FABIUS DORSO LICINUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA, a second time. He triumphs over the *Lucani*, *Samnites*, and *Brutii*.

Prætor. C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.

Curule Ædiles. T. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. FULVIUS PETINUS.
Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
M' JUVENTIUS THALNA.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
L. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
CN. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
M. AQUILIUS FLORUS.
SP. CARVILIUS MAX. RUGA.
L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. POMPONIUS MATHO.
CN. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.

Quæstors of Rome. M' CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Military Quæstors. T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

180. *Consulship. Year* 481. L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR, a second time. He triumphs over the *Tarentini*, *Samnites*, *Lucani*, and *Brutii*.
SP. CURVILIUS MAXIMUS, a second time. He triumphs over the *Lucani*, *Brutii*, *Samnites*, and *Tarentini*.

Censors. M. CURIUS DENTATUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

THE THIRTY FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Curule Ædiles. L. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
Q. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
D. JUNIUS PERA.

Tribunes of the People. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
C. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
M. ALIENIUS NEPOS.
M. DUILIUS NEPOS.
CN. FULVIUS MAX. CENTUMALUS.
M' MARCIUS NEPOS.
Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
L. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
M' VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

Military Quæstors. CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
C. DUILIUS NEPOS.

181. *Consulship. Year* 482. C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.
L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Prætor. C. FABIUS PICTOR.

Curule Ædiles. L. JULIUS LIBO.
N. FABIUS PICTOR.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
M. MINUCIUS FESSUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
C. RACILIUS NEPOS.
SEX. STATIUS NEPOS.
L. FLAMINIUS CHILO.
CN. APRONIUS LIMO.
C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
C. NUMITORIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Military Quæstors. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

182. *Consulship. Year* 483. C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA, a second time.
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO. He triumphs over the *Sarsinates.*

Prætor. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
M. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

Tribunes of the People. D. JUNIUS PERA.
A. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
C. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
A. SILIUS NEPOS.
Q. RACILIUS NEPOS.
M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
TI. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.
C. METILIUS NEPOS.
C. SALLONIUS SARRA.
C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.

Military Quæstors. C. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
Q. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.

183. *Consulship. Year* 484. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
C. FABIUS PICTOR.

Silver first coined at *Rome.*

Prætor. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Curule Ædiles. AP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX.
L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. DUILIUS NEPOS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
Q. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.
M. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
C. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
L. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.
L. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
M' MARCIUS NEPOS.
C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS.

Military Quæstors. L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
L. PINARIUS NATTA.

184. *Consulship. Year* 485. P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS. He triumphs over the People of *Picenum.*
APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSUS. He triumphs over the same Nation.

Prætor. N. FABIUS PICTOR.

Curule Ædiles. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
C. APUSTIUS FULLO.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
C. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.

Tribunes of the People. T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
M' POMPONIUS MATHO.
M' CURIUS DENTATUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
M. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
L. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
L. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.

Quæstors of Rome. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.

Military Quæstors. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.
Q. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.

185. *Consulship. Year* 486. M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
L. JULIUS LIBO. They both triumph over the *Salentini.*

Prætor. L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Curule Ædiles. M' VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
C. SALLONIUS SARRA.

Tribunes of the People. CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
Q. TERENTIUS ARSA.
C. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.
C. DUILIUS NEPOS.
CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
M. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Quæstors of Rome. TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

Military Quæſtors. Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

186. *Conſulſhip Year* 487. N. FABIUS PICTOR. He triumphs twice. *1ſt.* Over the *Saſſinates.* *2dly.* Over the *Salentini*, and *Meſſapii.*
D. JUNIUS PERA. He triumphs twice. *1ſt.* Over the *Saſſinates.* *2dly.* Over the *Salentini* and *Meſſapii.*

Prætor. AP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX.

Curule Ædiles. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
CN. APRONIUS LIMO.

Tribunes of the People. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS SCÆVA.
C. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
C. MANILIUS NEPOS
C. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.
L. MEMMIUS NEPOS.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
L. MAMILIUS NEPOS.
M. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.

Military Quæſtors. A. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

187. *Conſulſhip Year* 488. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS GURGES, a third time.
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Cenſors. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS, who was then ſurnamed CENSORINUS.

THE THIRTY FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Curule Ædiles. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.
Q. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
C. ATILIUS CALATINUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. TITIUS NEPOS.
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
L. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
C. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. C. AURELIUS COTTA.
Q. ÆMILIUS PAPUS.

Military Quæſtors. C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.
M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.

Four new *Quæſtors* created, for the Provinces in *Italy* which were become ſubject to the Republick.

188. *Conſulſhip Year* 489. AP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS. He triumphs over the *Volſinienſes.*

Prætor. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. PINARIUS NATTA.
L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. DUILIUS NEPOS.
CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS.
C. ÆLIUS CARUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
L. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
M. POETELIUS LIBO.
Q. TERENTIUS ARSA.
M. MARCIUS NEPOS.
T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
M. RACILIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome. M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Military Quæſtors. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
SP. FURIUS PHILUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. C. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.
P. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.
L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.

189. *Conſulſhip Year* 490. M' VALERIUS FLACCUS, who was then ſurnamed MESSALA. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*, and King *Hiero.*
M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Dictator. CN. FULVIUS MAX. CENTUMALUS.

Q. MAR-

Gen. of Horſe. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Prætor. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.
CN. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

Tribunes of the People. CN. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.
L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
L. FESCENNIUS NEPOS.
M. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
Q. SELLIUS NEPOS.
Q. CÆDITIUS NEPOS.
SP. ANTIUS RESTIO.
C. SALLONIUS SARRA.
C. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome. Q. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

Military Quæſtors. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
L. JUNIUS PULLUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. L. OPIMIUS PANSA.
A. TREBONIUS ASPER.
Q. SALLONIUS SARRA.
SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS.

190. *Conſulſhip. Year* 491. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS.
Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Prætor. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.

Curule Ædiles. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
C. OPPIUS CORNICEN.

Plebeian Ædiles. A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
CN. DOMICIUS CALVINUS.

Tribunes of the People. TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
Q. TITINIUS NEPOS.
L. SEXTILIUS RUFUS.
Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
C. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
L. MEMMIUS NEPOS.
T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

Military Quæſtors. M. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. CN. APRONIUS NEPOS.
C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
SEX. TITIUS NEPOS.
C. JULIUS IULUS.

191. *Conſulſhip. Year* 492. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Prætor. CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. MANLIUS VULSO.
A. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. ATILIUS REGULUS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Tribunes of the People. C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
L. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.
A. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
L. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
C. CANULEIUS NEPOS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
TI. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M. PUPIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome. Q. FABIUS MAX. GURGES.
L. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

Military Quæſtors. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. C. FURIUS PACILUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

192. *Conſulſhip. Year* 493. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA.
C. DUILIUS. He was the firſt who obtained the Honour of a Naval Triumph, for having deſtroyed the *Carthaginian* Fleet.

Prætor. C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.

Curule Ædiles. TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
Q. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.
C. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
P. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.
L. TULLIUS NEPOS.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.
M' MARCIUS NEPOS.

L. AL-

L. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
L. TREBONIUS FLAVUS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Military Quæstors. P. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
Q. PETILLIUS NEPOS.

Provincial Quæstors. P. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.
P. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
C. FULCINIUS TRIO.
L. VETURIUS PHILO.

193. *Consulship. Year* 494. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*, *Sardinians*, and *Corsicans*.
C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.

Prætor. C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
SP. FURIUS PHILUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.
SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

Tribunes of the People. C. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
Q. SALLONIUS SARRA.
M. ACUTIUS NEPOS.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
SP. ANTIUS RESTIO.
C. LUCERIUS NEPOS.
P. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Quæstors of Rome. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS.
SER. CORNELIUS RUFINUS.

Military Quæstors. C. CORNELIUS SCAPULA.
L. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.

Provincial Quæstors. C. ANTIUS RESTIO.
L. ROSCIUS NEPOS.
A. ATTILIUS BULBUS.
P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

194. *Consulship. Year* 495. A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
C. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians* and *Sardinians*.

Censors. C. DUILIUS NEPOS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CAUDEX.

THE THIRTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. L. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS.

Curule Ædiles. L. AURELIUS COTTA.
L. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. A. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.
A. TREBONIUS ASPER.
SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
L. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.
L. JUNIUS PULLUS.
P. SILIUS NEPOS.
Q. TITINIUS NEPOS.
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Quæstors of Rome. N. FABIUS BUTEO.
C. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Military Quæstors. L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.

Provincial Quæstors. C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.
Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

Pro-Consul. C. AQUILIUS FLORUS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*.

Pro-Quæstor. L. ROSCIUS NEPOS.

195. *Consulship. Year* 496. C. ATILIUS REGULUS SERRANUS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*, whom he had beaten at Sea.
CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Dictator. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

Gen. of Horse. M. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.

Prætor. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.

Curule Ædiles. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. AURELIUS COTTA.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.

Tribunes of the People. L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
L. COMINIUS NEPOS.
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.
P. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
Q. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
CN. APRO-

	Cn. Apronius Nepos.
	M. Cædicius Nepos.
	C. Mænius Nepos.
	L. Papirius Turdus.
	T. Æbutius Carus.
Quæstors of Rome.	T. Geganius Macerinus.
	C. Cominius Nepos.
Military Quæstors.	Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
	M' Æmilius Lepidus.
Provincial Quæstors.	C. Sulpicius Longus.
	L. Æmilius Barbula.
	P. Sulpicius Saverrio.
	P. Furius Aculeo.
Pro-Consul.	A. Atilius Calatinus. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians.*
196. *Consulship. Year* 497.	A. MANLIUS VULSO LONGUS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*, whom he had beaten at Sea.
	Q. CÆDICIUS, who died in his Office; and in his room
	M. ATILIUS REGULUS, was chosen *Consul* a second time.
Prætor.	M. Lætorius Plancianus.
Curule Ædiles.	Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges.
	Sp. Veturius Crassus.
Plebeian Ædiles.	Q. Marcius Censorinus.
	M. Claudius Marcellus.
Tribunes of the People.	L. Minucius Thermus.
	T. Numicius Nepos.
	Q. Romuleius Nepos.
	L. Hortensius Nepos.
	L. Aurelius Cotta.
	C. Claudius Cicero.
	L. Canuleius Nepos.
	M. Oppius Cornicen.
	P. Ælius Pætus.
	C. Fabricius Luscinus.
Quæstors of Rome.	C. Fabius Dorso Licinus.
	C. Fundanius Fundulus.
Military Quæstors.	M. Veturius Crassus.
	M. Canuleius Nepos.
Provincial Quæstors.	Cn. Quinctilius Varus.
	P. Decius Mus.
	L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
	M. Licinius Calvus.
197. *Consulship. Year* 498.	SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR.
	M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
Prætor.	T. Sempronius Blæsus.
Curule Ædiles.	C. Furius Pacilus.
	P. Claudius Pulcher.
Plebeian Ædiles.	L. Junius Pullus.
	L. Cæcilius Metellus.
Tribunes of the People.	C. Aurelius Cotta.
	C. Claudius Hortator.
	Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus.
	P. Plautius Hypsæus.
	M. Antistius Nepos
	C. Rabuleius Nepos.
	Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.
	P. Popilius Lænas.
	Q. Petillius Nepos.
	C. Fulcinius Trio.
Quæstors of Rome.	M. Fabius Licinus.
	M. Cornelius Cethegus.
Military Quæstors.	Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
	P. Quinctilius Varus.
Provincial Quæstors.	P. Mucius Scævola.
	L. Papirius Maso.
	Q. Æmilius Barbula.
	L. Livius Denter.
Pro-Consul.	M. Atilius Regulus.
Pro-Quæstor.	M. Canuleius Nepos.
198. *Consulship. Year* 499.	CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA, a second time.
	A. ATILIUS CALATINUS, a second time.
Prætor.	P. Servilius Geminus.
Curule Ædiles.	A. Manlius Torquatus.
	P. Cornelius Dolabella.
Plebeian Ædiles.	L. Papirius Turdus.
	C. Mænius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People.	C. Marcius Censorinus.
	C. Flaminius Nepos.
	C. Atilius Bulbus.
	C. Antius Restio.
	M. Tullius Nepos.
	L. Marcius Philippus.
	L. Numitorius Pullus.
	L. Roscius Nepos.
	L. Antistius Nepos.
	M. Albinius Nepos.

Quæstors

Quæſtors of Rome. M. FABIUS BUTEO.
M. CALPURNIUS FLAMMA.

Military Quæſtors. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.

Pro-Conſuls. SER. FULVIUS PÆTINUS NOBILIOR. He triumphs over the *Cocyræans* and *Carthaginians*, whom he had beaten at Sea.
M. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. He triumphs over the ſame Nations.

199. *Conſulſhip. Year* 500. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*.

Cenſors. D. JUNIUS PERA.
L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS. He died in his Office, and after his Death, his Collegue abdicated, according to Cuſtom.

Prætor. L. POSTUMIUS MEGELLUS, who was *Cenſor* at the ſame time.

Curule Ædiles. N. FABIUS BUTEO.
T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
L. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. ATILIUS BULBUS.
L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
L. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA VIOLENS.
L. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome. T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
Q. LUTATIUS CERCO.

Military Quæſtors. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
SER. SULPICIUS LONGUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.
L. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
A. VIRGINIUS RUTILUS.

Pro-Conſul. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASINA. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*.

Pro-Quæſtor. SP. PAPIRIUS CURSOR.

200. *Conſulſhip. Year* 501. C. AURELIUS COTTA. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians* and *Sicilians*.
P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.

Cenſors. M. VALERIUS MAX. MESSALLA.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

THE THIRTY SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Curule Ædiles. L. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
P. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Tribunes of the People. L. JUNIUS PULLUS.
L. COMINIUS NEPOS.
C. FULCINIUS TRIO.
L. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.
C. ANTIUS RESTIO.
P. FURIUS ACULEO.
M. ALBINIUS NEPOS.
M. TREBIUS GALLUS.
L. ROSCIUS NEPOS.
L. MÆCILIUS TULLUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.

Military Quæſtors. SER. SULPICIUS SAVERRIO.
L. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
L. QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS FLACCUS.
L. ALBINIUS NEPOS.

201. *Conſulſhip. Year* 502. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Prætor. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS.

Curule Ædiles. A. ATILIUS BULBUS.
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. TULLIUS NEPOS.
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
M. LICINIUS CALVUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
Q. SILIUS NERVA.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
M. CANULEIUS NEPOS.
P. DECIUS MUS.
M. METILIUS NEPOS.
C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

Quæstors of Rome. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.

Military Quæstors. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Provincial Quæstors. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.
C. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
L. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
SP. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

202. *Consulship. Year* 503. C. ATILIUS REGULUS, a second time.
L. MANLIUS VULSO, a second time.

Prætor. N. FABIUS BUTEO.

Curule Ædiles. M. FABIUS LICINUS.
M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. ATILIUS BULBUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Tribunes of the People. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
N. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.
L. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.
L. LIVIUS DENTER.
L. CÆDICIUS NEPOS.
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
C. LICINIUS STOLO.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

Quæstors of Rome. Q. VALERIUS FALTO.
C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.

Military Quæstors. C. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.
SP. FURIUS PURPUREO.

Provincial Quæstors. C. LICINIUS VARUS.
M' ÆMILIUS NUMIDA.
C. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Pro-Consul. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. He triumphs over the *Carthagi-nians.*

Pro-Quæstor. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.

203. *Consulship. Year* 504. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
L. JUNIUS PULLUS.

Dictator. M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA. He was forced to abdicate, and
A. ATILIUS CALATINUS, chosen in his room.

Gen. of Horse. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS

Prætor. C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. FABIUS BUTEO.
C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. FURIUS ACULEO.
L. MÆCILIUS TULLUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. CALPURNIUS FLAMMA.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
M. TULLIUS NEPOS.
PAPIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors of Rome. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Military Quæstors. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

Provincial Quæstors. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
C. ATILIUS LONGUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
L. QUINCTIUS CLAUDUS.

Pro-Consul. L. MANLIUS VULSO.

Pro-Quæstor. SP. FURIUS PURPUREO.

204. *Consulship. Year* 505. C. AURELIUS COTTA.
P. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
Both a second time.

Prætor. M. FABIUS LICINUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
P. DECIUS MUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. LICINIUS CALVUS.
Q. SILIUS NERVA.

Tribunes of the People. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
L. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
C. SCANTIUS NEPOS.
C. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
Q. LUTATIUS CERCO.
Q. ANI-

Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.
Q. APULEIUS PANSA.
Q. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
Q. MAMILIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
P. VALERIUS FALTO.

Military Quæſtors. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
M. VALERIUS POTITUS.
T. POPILLIUS SABELLUS.
P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

205. *Conſulſhip. Year* 506. L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, a ſecond time.
M. FABIUS BUTEO.

Cenſors. A. ATILIUS CALATINUS.
A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS.

THE THIRTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor. C. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
L. LIVIUS DENTER.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
C. LICINIUS STOLO.

Tribunes of the People. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Q. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
L. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
N. SEXTIUS LATERANUS.
M. ANICIUS GALLUS.
C. SICINIUS NEPOS.
M. TITIUS RUFUS.
L. ALBINIUS NEPOS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Quæſtors of Rome. M. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.

Military Quæſtors. T. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
T. CLÆLIUS SICULUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA.
C. PAPIRIUS MASO.
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
Q. SEXTIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Pro-Conſul. C. AURELIUS COTTA.

Pro-Quæſtor. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.

206. *Conſulſhip. Year* 507. M'. OTACILIUS CRASSUS, a ſecond time.
M. FABIUS LICINUS.

Dictator. TI. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.

Gen. of Horſe. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætor. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Curule Ædiles. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. CORNELIUS NEPOS.
L. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
L. TREBIUS NEPOS.
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.
K. DUILIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Military Quæſtors. M. GENUCIUS CIPUS.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. C. FABIUS PICTOR.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
CN. FURIUS BROCHUS.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.

207. *Conſulſhip. Year* 508. M. FABIUS BUTEO.
C. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Prætor. L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles. Q. VALERIUS FALTO.
M' ÆMILIUS NUMIDA.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. LUTACIUS CERCO.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Tribunes of the People. C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
CN. PUPIUS NEPOS.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Q. ANICIUS PRÆNESTINUS.
CN. APULEIUS PANSA.
C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
M. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.
M. ANICIUS GALLUS.
Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. D. JUNIUS PERA.
L. VETURIUS PHILO.

Military Quæſtors. L. FURIUS BIBACULUS.
M' POMPONIUS MATHO.

Provincial Quæſtors. Q. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
CN. POMPONIUS RUFUS.
Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
M. LIVIUS DENTER.

208. *Conſulſhip. Year* 509. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS, a ſecond time.

Prætor. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
C. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. CORUNCANIUS NEPOS.
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
Q. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
P. SILIUS NERVA.
Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
Q. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.
L. TREBIUS NEPOS.
M. SILIUS NERVA.

Quæſtors of Rome. L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Military Quæſtors. M. JUNIUS PERA.
N. FABIUS PICTOR.

Provincial Quæſtors. P. CLAUDIUS NERO.
L. TITINIUS NEPOS.
T. VIRGINIUS RUTILUS.
CN. APRONIUS LIMO.

209. *Conſulſhip. Year* 510. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.

Prætor. T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Curule Ædiles. P. VALERIUS FALTO.
M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS RUGA.
T. POPILLIUS SABELLUS.
T. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
M. MANILIUS NEPOS.
L. TITIUS RUFUS.
Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
L. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
Q. SICINIUS NEPOS.
Q. MANILIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

Military Quæſtors. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. L. ANICIUS GALLUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
Q. SERVILIUS AHALA.

210. *Conſulſhip. Year* 511. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætors. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Q. VALERIUS FALTO.

The Eſtabliſhment of a ſecond *Prætorſhip.*

Curule Ædiles. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
C. PAPIRIUS MASO.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
C. LICINIUS VARUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
L. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
CN. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
TI. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
SEX. CURATIUS NEPOS.
L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
Q. FULVIUS PÆTINUS.
M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA.

Quæſtors of Rome. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS VERRUCOSUS.
C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Military Quæſtors. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
C. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. M. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
M' OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
M' JUVENTIUS THALNA.
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

211. *Conſulſhip. Year* 512. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS ATTICUS, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the *Faliſci.*

Q. LU-

Q. LUTACIUS CERCO. He triumphs over the *Faliſci*.

Cenſors. C. AURELIUS COTTA.
M. FABIUS BUTEO.

THE THIRTY NINTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors. C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
P. VALERIUS FALTO.

Curule Ædiles. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CAUDINUS.
C. FABIUS PICTOR.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS SOPHUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. GENUCIUS CIPUS.
CN. FURIUS BROCHUS.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
C. ATILIUS REGULUS.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
M. FLAVIUS NEPOS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
C. ATINIUS LONGUS.
M. MARCIUS RACCA.

Quæſtors of Rome. CN. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Military Quæſtors. C. AQUILIUS FLORUS.
C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
P. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
M. ATILIUS REGULUS.
L. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Pro-Conſul in Sicily. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*, who were beaten at Sea.

Pro-Prætor. Q. VALERIUS FALTO. He triumphs over the *Carthaginians*, who were beaten at Sea.

Pro-Quæſtors. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
C. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

212. *Conſulſhip.* C. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.
Year 513. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætors. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS POTITUS.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
L. FURIUS BIBACULUS.

Dramatick Pieces compoſed by *Livius Andronicus* now firſt acted at *Rome*.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.
M. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. POMPONIUS MATHO.
CN. POMPONIUS RUFUS.
Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
C. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.
SEX. STATIUS NEPOS.
D. JUNIUS PERA.
M. LIVIUS DENTER.
M. ALLIENIUS NEPOS.
C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
M. CLAUDIUS GLICIA.

Quæſtors of Rome. M. ÆMILIUS BARBULA.
CN. OTACILIUS NEPOS.

Military Quæſtors. C. DUILIUS NEPOS.
M. MAMILIUS VITULUS.

Provincial Quæſtors. L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Pro-Conſul in Sicily. Q. LUTACIUS CERCO.

Pro-Quæſtor. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

The End of the *FASTI CONSULARES*, to the Year of *Rome* 513 inclusive, as collected from the *Annals* of VINANDUS PIGHIUS.

FINIS.

BOOKS juſt Publiſhed,

I. THE Roman Hiſtory; with Notes Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Critical. Illuſtrated with Maps, Copper Plates, and a great Number of Authentick Medals. Done into Engliſh from the Original French of the Reverend Fathers Catrou and Rouillé, and Corrected with their Approbation. To which is prefix'd, A New and Connected Summary of the Work.

N. B. The Roman Money is here reduced to Engliſh, according to Dr. *Arbuthnot*'s Calculation; and in the ſucceeding Volumes, Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronological Obſervations will be thrown into additional Notes in proper Places.

II. The Works of Mr. John Selden. In ſix Volumes in Folio. To which is prefix'd, An Account of his Life and Writings.

III. The Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of Mexico by the Spaniards. Done into Engliſh, from the Original Spaniſh of Don Antonio de Solis, Secretary and Hiſtoriographer to His Catholick Majeſty. By Thomas Townſend, Eſq;

IV. A Collection of ſeveral Tracts of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Clarendon, Author of The Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. Publiſh'd from His Lordſhip's Original Manuſcripts.

V. A New Syſtem of Agriculture: Being a Complete Body of Husbandry and Gardening, in all the Parts of them; viz. Husbandry in the Field, and its Improvements. Of Foreſt and Timber Trees, great and ſmall; with Ever-Greens, and Flowering-Shrubs, &c. Of the Fruit Garden. Of the Kitchen Garden. Of the Flower Garden. In five Books. Containing all the beſt and lateſt, as well as many new Improvements; uſeful to the Husbandman, Graſier, Planter, Gardiner and Floriſt. Wherein are interſperſed many curious Obſervations on Vegetation; on the Diſeaſes of Trees, and the general Annoyances to Vegetables, and their probable Cures. As alſo, A particular Account of the famous Silphium of the Antients. By John Laurence, M. A. Rector of Biſhops-Weremouth, in the Biſhoprick of Durham, and Prebendary of the Church of Sarum.

VI. The Hiſtory of Japan: Giving an Account of the antient and preſent State and Government of that Empire; of its Temples, Palaces, Caſtles, and other Buildings; of its Metals, Minerals, Trees, Plants, Animals, Birds and Fiſhes; of the Chronology and Succeſſion of the Emperors, Eccleſiaſtical and Secular; of the original Deſcent, Religions, Cuſtoms and Manufactures of the Natives; and of their Trade and Commerce with the Dutch and Chineſe. Together with a Deſcription of the Kingdom of Siam. Written in High Dutch, by Engelbertus Kæmpfer, M. D. Phyſician to the Dutch Embaſſy to the Emperor's Court; and tranſlated from his original Manuſcript, by J. G. Scheuchzer, F. R. S. and a Member of the College of Phyſicians, London; with the Life of the Author, and an Introduction. To which is added, Part of a Journal of a Voyage to Japan, made by the Engliſh, in the Year 1673. Illuſtrated with many Copper Plates. In two Volumes, Folio.

VII. The Works of Tacitus: containing the Annals. Volume I. To which are prefixed, Political Diſcourſes upon That Author.

VIII. A Collection of ſeveral Pieces of Mr. John Toland, with ſome Memoirs of his Life and Writings. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. Containing, 1. A Specimen of the Celtick Religion and Learning; with an Account of the Druids, or the Prieſts and Judges; of the Vaids, or the Diviners and Phyſicians; and of the Bards, or the Poets and Heralds of the antient Gauls, Britons, Iriſh and Scots. 2. An Account of Jordano Bruno's Book, of the infinite Univerſe, and innumerable Worlds. 3. A Catalogue of Books mention'd by the Fathers, and other antient Writers, as truly or falſely aſcribed to Jeſus Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and other eminent Perſons. 4. The Secret Hiſtory of the South-Sea Scheme. 5. The Scheme of a National Bank; with other Pieces. Vol. II. A Letter concerning the Roman Education. 2. A Diſſertation, proving the received Hiſtory of the Death of Atilius Regulus, the Roman Conſul, to be a Fable. 3. Several Letters of Pliny, tranſlated into Engliſh. 4. A new Deſcription of Epſom. 5. The Primitive Conſtitution of the Chriſtian Church. 6. Some Memorials concerning the State of Affairs in England, in the Year 1711, and 1714. 7. Phyſick without Phyſicians. 8. Several Letters from and to Mr. Toland, with an Appendix, containing ſome curious Pieces found among his Papers.

IX. A new Treatiſe of the Art of Thinking; or, A Complete Syſtem of Reflections, concerning the Conduct and Improvement of the Mind. Illuſtrated with Variety of Characters and Examples, drawn from the ordinary Occurrences of Life. Written in French, by Mr. Crouzaz, Profeſſor of Philoſophy and Mathematicks in the Academy of Lauſane. Done into Engliſh. In Two Volumes.

X. A General Treatiſe of Husbandry and Gardening; containing a New Syſtem of Vegetation. Illuſtrated with many Obſervations and Experiments. In Two Volumes. Formerly publiſh'd monthly; and now methodized and digeſted under proper Heads, with Additions and great Alterations. In Four Parts.

Part I. Concerning the Improvement of Land, by fertilizing bad Soils; of ſtocking Farms with Cattle, Poultry, Fiſh, Bees, Graſſes, Grain, Syder, &c.

Part II. Inſtructions to a Gardiner; wherein is demonſtrated the Circulation of Sap, the Generation of Plants, the Nature of Soils, Air and Situation. Of the Profits ariſing from planting and raiſing Timber.

Part III. Of the Management of Fruit Trees, with particular Obſervations relating to graffing, inarching, and inoculating.

Part IV. Remarks on the Diſpoſition of Gardens in general; of the Method of managing Exotick Plants and Flowers, and naturalizing them to our Climate; with an Account of Stoves and artificial Heat. Adorn'd with Cuts. By R. Bradley, Profeſſor of Botany in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and F. R. S. In Two Volumes.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM